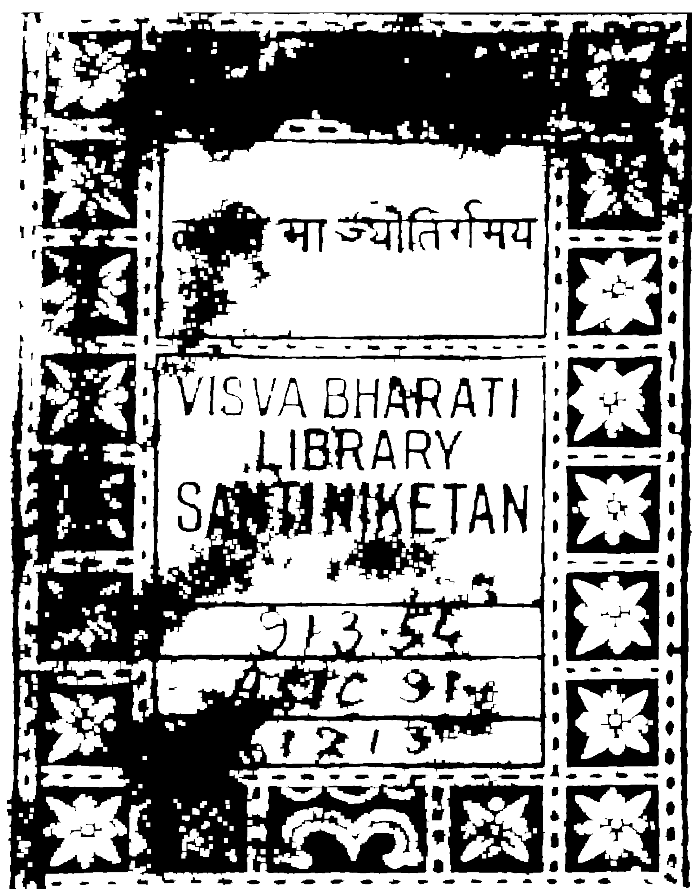


ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

FOUR REPORTS

MADE DURING THE YEARS

1862–63–64–65,

BY

ALEXANDER CUNNINGHAM, C. S. I.,

MAJOR-GENERAL, ROYAL ENGINEERS (BENGAL RETIRED):
DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA:
MEMBER, ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY: HON. MEMBER, BENGAL ASIATIC SOCIETY:
MEMBER, ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE:
MEMBER, NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

VOLUME II

"What is aimed at is an accurate description, illustrated by plans, measurements, drawings or photographs, and by copies of inscriptions, of such remains as most deserve notice, with the history of them so far as it may be traceable, and a record of the traditions that are preserved regarding them." — LORD CANNING.

"What the learned world demands of us in India is to be quite certain of our data, to place the monumental record before them exactly as it now exists, and to interpret it faithfully and literally." — JAMES PRINSEP.

Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1838, p. 227.

SIMLA:
PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.
1871.

...
rnos
o
the pos

CONTENTS.

VOLUME II.

DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF PLATES.

No.		Page.
LXXIII.	Plan of the Great Masjid at Ajmer, called Arhai-din-ki-Masjid, or "The Mosque of Two-days-and-a-half" (in building)	259
LXXIV.	Inscriptions from the Ajmer Masjid	261
LXXV.	Map of Jhâlra Pâtan, or Chandrâvati	264
LXXVI.	Plan of Temple and Inscriptions	267
LXXVII.	Map of Dhamnâr Hill, showing the positions of the Buddhist Caves and Brahmanical Rock-cut Temples ...	270
LXXVIII.	Plan of the Buddhist Caves of Dhamnâr	271
LXXIX.	View of the Buddhist Cave called the Barâ Kacheri ...	271
LXXX.	Façade of the Cave called Bhim's Bazar at Dhamnâr, and sections of Buddhist Caves at Dhamnâr and Kholvi ...	272
LXXXI.	Elevations of Stupas or Topes in the Caves of Dhamnâr ...	274
LXXXII.	Plan of the Brahmanical Excavations at Dhamnâr ...	276
LXXXIII.	Elevation of the Mandapa of the Brahmanical Temple, with details	278
LXXXIV.	Plan of the Buddhist Caves at Kholvi	281
LXXXV.	View of the Old Hindu Palace at Ranod or Narod ...	304
LXXXVI.	Map of the Fortress of Gwalior, showing the positions of the Temples, Caves, and Palaces	331
LXXXVII.	Plans of the Hindu Palaces	347
LXXXVIII.	Plans of the Muhammadan Palaces	351
LXXXIX.	Plan of the Great Sâs-bhao Temple	357
XC.	Plans of the Teli Mandar Temple, the Smaller Sâs-bhao Temple, and a ruined Jain Temple	361
XCI.	Plan of the Tomb of Muhammad Ghaus	369
XCII.	View of the Gateway of the long deserted city of Buri Chânderi	403
XCIII.	Map of Chânderi	404
XCIV.	View of the *Katti-Ghâti*, literally "Cut-Gate" or Rock-hewn Gateway at Chânderi	106
XCV.	Map of the Ruins of Khajurâho, the ancient capital of the Chândels	412
XCVI.	Plan of the Granite Temple called Chaonsat Jogini, or "The Sixty-four Female Demons	416
XCVII.	Plans of Saiva Temples at Khajurâho	419
XCVIII.	Plans of Vaishnava Temples at Khajurâho, and of the Kakra-Marh Temple at Mahoba	421
XCIX.	Map of Mahoba, the second capital of the Chândels ...	439

ARCHÆOLOGICAL REPORT

Report of the Archæological Surveyor to the Government of India during Season 1863-64.

In describing the ancient state of the Panjâb, the most interesting subject of enquiry is the identification of those famous peoples and cities, whose names have become familiar to the whole world through the expedition of Alexander the Great. To find the descendants of those peoples and the sites of those cities amongst the scattered inhabitants and ruined mounds of the present day, I propose, like Pliny, to follow the track of Alexander himself. This plan has a double advantage, for as the Chinese pilgrims, as well as the Macedonian invaders, entered India from the West, the routes of the conquerors and the pilgrims will mutually illustrate each other. As the subject is naturally divided into two parts, one relating to the people themselves, and the other to their works, I will discuss them separately under the heads of *Ethnology* and *Antiquities*. Under the first head will be described the various races which have settled in the Panjâb from the earliest times down to the Muhammadan conquest, and an attempt will be made to trace the downward course of each separate tribe, until it joins the great stream of modern history. Under the second head will be described the ruined cities and ancient buildings, which still exist in many parts of the Panjâb; and these descriptions will be compared first with the mediæval accounts of the Chinese pilgrims, and afterwards with the more ancient records of the companions of Alexander. The account of the antiquities will be illustrated by numerous plates, which are necessary to make the subject intelligible.

ETHNOLOGY.

The population of the Panjâb Proper, excluding Peshâwur and the Trans-Indus Districts, attached to the Leia and

[illegible] amounts to upwards of ten millions, who [illegible] as follows:—

		Population.
[illegible] Division	...	2,465,019
" Lahor "	...	4,0[illegible],122
" Multân "	...	1,474,574
" Râwal Pindi "	...	2,197,401
Total	...	10,220,116

Of the whole number seven-twelfths are Musalmâns, four-twelfths or one-third Hindus, and only one-twelfth Sikhs.* The Hindus, perhaps, predominate in most of the provinces to the east of the Chenâb, but to the west of that river the whole mass of the population is Muhammadan, with the single exception of the widely-spread tribe of *Katris* or grain merchants, who are all Hindus. The greater bulk of the population, however, is of Indian descent, being the offspring of Indian converts, and not of their Muhammadan conquerors. But though Indian by descent, they are, as I am now prepared to show, mostly of Turanian, and not of Arian, extraction.

Following my views, the population of the Panjâb may be divided into three distinct classes according to their presumed extraction. These are—

1. Early Turanians, or Aborigines.
2. Aryas, or Brahmanical Hindus.
3. Later Turanians, or Indo-Scythians.

The early *Turanians* include all those races of undeniable antiquity who do not belong to any one of the three classes of Aryas. Such are the *Takkas* and the *Megs*, the *Dunds* and the *Satis*, the *Sadan*, and perhaps also the *Dâmaras* of Kashmirian history. I call them Turanians rather than Moguls, because the route from Turân to the Panjâb is not only much shorter, but also much more easy than that from Mongolia.

* These numbers are taken from the last census. The total number of Sikhs in the Panjâb is 787,534, and in the Districts of Ludiana, Ambala, and Sirsa, to the east of the Satlaj there are [illegible], making the total number of Sikhs in the British Provinces 960,912

The *Aryans* include all the tribes of pure Kshatriya descent, such as the *Suraj-Vansis* and *Som-Vansis* of the hills, the *Janjûhas* of the Salt Range, and the *Bhatis* of the Central and Eastern Doâbs. This class also includes all the *Katris* or grain-sellers, and all the *Dogras* of mixed extraction, as their Aryan descent, though not pure, is generally acknowledged. The classification of the Awâns is doubtful; but as they would appear to be the *Jûd* tribe of the Emperor Baber, who were derived from the same ancestor as the Janjûhas, and as their name may perhaps be traced in that of *Amanda*, the ancient Province of Taxila, I think that the probabilities are in favour of their Aryan descent.

The *later Turanians* include the *Gakars*, the *Kâthis*, and the *Bálas* of the first immigration (which took place either before or during the reign of Darius Hystaspes); the *Jats* and *Meds* (Sus and Abârs) of the second immigration (towards the end of the second century before Christ), and the *Gujars* (*Tochâri*) of the third immigration, about the middle of the following century. I am aware that the Jâts, Meds, and Gujars are generally considered to belong to the earliest inhabitants of the Panjâb; but as I have failed to find any trace of their names in the historians of Alexander, I conclude that their entrance into the Panjâb is of later date than the period of the Macedonian invasion. The Jâts and Meds have, I believe, been identified by Professor Lassen with the *Jârttikas* and *Madras* of the Mahâbhârata; but for the reason above given, as well as for others which I will adduce hereafter, I think that this identification cannot be maintained.

Before proceeding to discuss the history and ethnic affinities of the various tribes who now inhabit the Panjâb, it will be useful to compare their relative numbers as a guide to our estimation of the relative importance of the different ancient races with whom I propose to identify them.

The most numerous race in the Panjâb is undoubtedly that of the Jats, who form nearly one-half of the population of the various Doâbs from the foot of the hills down to Multân. In the upper part of the Sindh-Sâgar Doâb they are scarcely known, excepting perhaps about Mânikyâla, where the people called Pakbriâl are said to be Jats. I think, therefore, that my brother's estimate of the number of Jats as forming about four-tenths of the entire population

is most probably correct. The next most numerous race is that of the Gujars, who are found scattered over all the Doabs, but in greatest number to the westward of the Râvi. They form the bulk of the population in Hazara, and are found in considerable numbers about Hasan Abdal, Shah-dheri, Rawal Pindi, and Gujar Khan, in the Sindh-Sagar Doab. They are also very numerous about Gujarât and Gujarânwala in the Chaj and Rechna Doabs. I estimate their numbers at one-half that of the Jats, or about two-tenths of the entire population. The remaining four-tenths may be divided between the several different races of Aryan and Turanian extraction, the former, however, being considerably more numerous than the other.

The following table exhibits the relative approximate numbers of all the different races now inhabiting the Panjâb. It shows also what portion of each race has adopted Muhammadanism. The Sikhs are entered as Hindus under the heads of Hindu Jats and Gujars, from which tribes they have almost wholly been derived. According to the census they form one-twelfth of the population, or rather less than 1,000,000:

	Hindus	Musalmâns.	Total.	
Indo-Scythians.				
Jats .	·10	·30	·40	
Gujars ...	·5	·15	·20	
	·15	·45	·60	Indo-Scythians.
Hindus.				
Hill Rajputs ..	·12			
Takkas, Megs ...	·08			
Katris ...	·01			
Dogras ...	·04			
Bhatis ...	...	·05		
Janjuhas ...	...	·03		
Awâns ...	...	·02		
	·20	·10	·30	Hindus.

	Hindus.	Musalmâns	Total	
Musalmans.				
[illegible] ...	0	·04		
[illegible] ...	0	·03		
[illegible] ...	0	·03		
	·00	·10	·10	Musalmâns.
Total ...	·35	·65	1·00	

By changing these names for those of the ancient tribes, with whom I have proposed to identify them, we obtain the relative approximate numbers of the descendants of the three great classes into which I have divided the present population of the Panjâb. Much accuracy cannot be expected in an estimate of this kind, but I believe that the numbers give very fair approximations to the truth.

		Total.
Early Turanians.		
Takkas	·01	
Megs	·01	
Dunds, Satis, &c.*	·01	
		·03
Aryas.		
Hill Rajputs	·12	
Katris	·01	
Dogras	·04	
Janjuhas	·03	
Awâns	·02	
Bhatis	·05	
		·27
Later Turanians.		
Gakars	·05	
Kathis	·05	
	·10	
Jats	·40	
Gujars	·20	
		·70
Total	...	1·00

* Major G. C. Smith, *Reigning Family of Lahor*, p. 205, estimates these as follows :—

Dunds	50,000
Satis	20,000
...	40,000
Total ...	110,000

A.—EARLY TURANIANS.

1. TAKKAS.

Of the *early Turanians*, I have but little to say, but even that little is of considerable interest, as there can be no reasonable doubt that the famous city of *Takkasila*, or *Taxila*, derived its name from the *Takkas*. Now, when *Taxila* was founded, the Takkas must have been in possession of at least the Sindh-Sâgar Doâb. But as, when first mentioned in history, about the beginning of the Christian era, we find them coupled with the *Bâhikas* or *Madras* of the Central Panjâb, it is certain that they had already been ejected from their original seats, that is, from the Western Panjâb, beyond the Jhelam. In the utter absence of all information, we can only make guesses, more or less probable, regarding either the date or the cause of this event. Now, in the first century of our era, the District of Taxila was already called *Amanda*,* or *Amandra*, a name which at once recals the *Awâns* of the present day, and their country *Awânkâri*. As the letters *m* and *v* are interchangeable, the two names are so precisely the same that I feel little hesitation in proposing the identification of the *Awâns* with the people of the ancient *Amanda*. Unfortunately, it is impossible to say whether Pliny derived his information from a new source, or from the old historians of Alexander. As the latter is by far the more likely source, we may conclude with some probability that the Takkas had already been ejected previous to the expedition of Alexander. The cause of their ejectment may, therefore, be assigned, with much probability, to the immigration of the Turanian Colony of Gakars, whose settlement must have taken place either during the reign of Darius Hystaspes, or at some not much earlier period of Turanian supremacy under the long lived Afrâsiyâb.

There is, however, one trait of the customs of the people of Taxila, recorded by Q. Curtius, which is so peculiar that, when we find it afterwards mentioned not only by Philostratus but by the Chinese Pilgrim Fa-Hian in A. D. 400, we can scarcely come to any other conclusion than that the people of Taxila were of the same race at

---

* Plinii Hist. Nat., VI, 23. Taxilla cum urbe celebri, jam in plana demisso tractu cui universo nomen Amanda.

these two distant periods. Curtius relates that Taxiles entertained Alexander splendidly for "three days."* According to Philostratus, the King of Taxila was addressed by Apollonius in these words: "I have been now three days your guest, and on the morrow I mean to take my departure in compliance with your law."† The statement of the pilgrim refers to the neighbouring district of *Udyâna*, and not to Taxila itself, but the two districts were only separated by the Indus, and the people were most probably of the same race. Indeed the provinces immediately adjoining Udyâna on the south are still called *Tâk-Banu* or *Banu-Tâk*. It is certain at least that those of Udyâna were Indians and not Afghans, as the pilgrim mentions that they spoke the language of Central India. The peculiar custom of the country is thus described by Fa-Hian: "If any foreign ecclesiastic arrives, they are all ready to entertain him for 'three days;' after which they bid him seek for himself another resting place."‡ The continued observance of this peculiar custom would seem to show that the same people had occupied the country from the time of Alexander down to A. D. 400. I conclude, therefore, with some certainty, that the *Takkas* had been ejected from the Sindh-Sâgar Doâb previous to the time of Alexander.

But there is another town of little less celebrity than that of Taxila, which in all probability still preserves the name of the *Tak* or *Takka tribe*. This town is *Attak* on the Indus, a name which is not older than the time of Akbar. The old name is preserved by Rashid-uddin, who says that the Kabul River joins the Indus "near the fort of *Tankur*," or *El-Tankur*, as it is written with the Arabic article.§ This form of the name no doubt suggested to Akbar the word *Attak*, meaning "hindrance or obstacle," just as *Parshâwar* suggested to him *Peshâwur*, the "frontier town." *Tankur* or *Takor* is most probably the *Takora* of the Peutingerian Tables, which is placed to the westward of *Spatura* (Kaspaturos) and Alexandria Bucefalos.

---

* Vita Alexandri, VIII. 12. Per triduum hospitaliter Alexander recepisset.

† Vita Apollonii, II. 40. See also II. 23, where the King invites Apollonius to be "his guest for three days, as the laws of the country did not allow strangers to remain longer than that time in the city."

‡ Beale's Fa Hian, c. VIII., p. 27.

§ Sir H. M. Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, p.

In A. D. [illegible] we find the district of [illegible] forming part of the kingdom of Gurjjara, or Gujarât, [illegible] Raja Sankara Varmma of Kashmir, who reigned from A. D. 883 to 901, annexed it to his own dominions.* At that time *Takka-desa* must have been situated to the north or north-east of Gujarât towards Kashmir, which is the very position in which we find the Takkas of the present day, namely, in the hilly country on both banks of the Chenâb within the Jammu territory. But it seems probable that *Takkades* must at one time have comprised a considerable portion of the plains, as the annals of Jaisalmer record that the *Yâdavas* dispossessed the *Tâks* before the foundation of *Sâlivâhanpur*, which is generally identified with Syâlkot.

Up to this point I have dealt only with the *Tâks* or *Takkas* of the Northern Panjâb, but as the *Tâks* or Tanks of Sindh are mentioned by several writers as one of the three aboriginal races of the province, it would seem that on their first ejection from Taxila some portion of the tribe must have sought refuge towards the south.† Nothing further is recorded of the Tâks of Sindh; but as towards the end of the 12th century we find a *Tâk* Chief in possession of the strong fortress of Aser, we may conclude that the tribe had extended itself towards the east some time before the Muhammadans appear in India. According to Chand, this Chief, named *Châta Tâk*, with the title of *Râwat*, played a conspicuous part in the wars of Prithi Raj, and was wounded at Kanoj. Just two centuries later, one *Sârang Tâk* became the first Muhammadan king of Gujarât, under the title of Muzafar Shah.‡

The former importance of this race is perhaps best shown by the fact that the old *Nâgari* character, which is still in use throughout the whole country from Bamiyan to the banks of the Jumna is named *Tâkari*, most probably because this particular form was first brought into use, either by them or by the race who succeeded them in Taxila. I have found this character in common use under

---

* Troyer's Raja Tarangini, V. 150, and 155, Calcutta edition.

† Postans in Journal of Bengal Asiatic Society, 1844, p. 185; see also Dowson's edition of Sir Henry Elliot, II. 123

‡ Briggs, IV. 2, *Note*, says that Muzaffar was born a Hindu Prince.

MAP
of the
PUNJAB
showing the
Campaign of ALEXANDER, B. C. 326
and the
Route of HWEN-THSANG, A. D. 630.

TAXILA
BUKEPHALA
NIKAIA
SANGALA
LABOKLA
AMAKATIS
KATHÆI
SUDRAKÆ
ALEXANDRIA SORIANE
City taken by Perdikkas
DAIDALA
ARBONE
MALLI
MALLORUM Metropo
Kasyapapura

A Cunningham del.

Litho. at the Survr. Genl's. Office; Cal. November 1871.

the same name amongst the grain dealers to the west of the Indus and to the east of the Satlaj, as well as amongst the Brâhmans of Kashmir and Kangra. It is used in the inscriptions, as well as upon the coins of Kashmir and Kangra. It is seen on the Sati monuments of Mandi, and in the inscriptions of Pinjor; and lastly the only copy of the Raja Tarangini of Kashmir was preserved in this character. I have obtained copies of the alphabet from twenty-six different places between the Yuzufzai country and Simla. In several of these places the *Tâkari* is also called *Munde* and *Lunde*, which means simply "short," that is a cursive form of writing. The chief peculiarity of this alphabet is, that the vowels are never attached to the consonants, but are always written separately with, of course, the single exception of the short *a*, which is inherent. It is remarkable also that in this alphabet the initial letters of the cardinal numbers have almost exactly the same forms as the nine unit figures at present in use.

According to Colonel Tod, the Tâk tribe were descended from *Takshaka*, the founder of the *Nâgavansis*, or serpent race, who, according to Hindu belief, had the power of assuming the human form at pleasure. It seems probable that the *Nâgas*, who throughout the Vedas appear as the enemies of the primitive Aryas, were really a race of dragon worshippers, akin to the Scytho-Median *Zohâk*. That the *Takkas* or *Takshakas*, were also dragon worshippers, we have a convincing proof in the fact that the king of Taxila kept two large serpents at so late a period as the time of Alexander. We know also that the famous spring at Hasan Abdâl was called the fount of *Elâpatra*, the dragon brother of Takshaka. Admitting, therefore, that these ophiolatrous Takkas were actually the same as the Takshakas of the Hindus, we may extract a meaning from the Puranic story of the death of Parikshita by the bite of the serpent Takshaka. Parikshita was the grandson of Arjuna Pândava, and is said to have succeeded Yudhisthira on the throne of Indraprastha, or ancient Delhi. His death by the bite of Takshaka may, therefore, be interpreted as showing a conflict between the *Pândavas* of ancient Delhi, and the *Takkas* of the Panjâb, in which the latter were victorious. This event may be dated about 1400 B. C.

According to the *Mahâbhârata* and the *Purânas*, the [illegible] were the descendants of Takshaka, one of the many sons of *Kasyapa* by his serpent wife *Kadru*. Other sons were called *Nâga*, *Karkota*, *Vâsuki*, *Sesha*, *Mahapadma*, &c., all of whom were equally regarded as kings of the serpents, while their names are used quite indiscriminately to designate the ophite race. Thus *Nâgas*, *Kârkotakas*, and *Takshakas* are all names of but one and the same people. As descendants of *Kadru*, they are also called *Kâdravas* or *Kâdraveyas*. This name I find upon three very old cast coins in my own possession, given in its Pali form as *Kâdasa*. The coins are of two different types, but in all the specimens the name is accompanied by the figure of a snake. This pictorial illustration of the name seems to me quite sufficient to prove that these coins must belong to the ophiolatrous race of *Kâdravas*, and as the coins were obtained in the Western Panjâb, while the characters are similar to those of Asoka's inscriptions, I think that they may be attributed with much confidence to the early *Takkas* of *Takka-desa*.

I cannot close this brief notice of the *Takkas* without stating my belief that the valley of Kashmir was originally peopled by this ophiolatrous race. In the Raja Tarangini the whole country is said to be under the protection of Nila, the king of the serpents, whose dwelling was in the Vitasta, or Hydaspes, and so deeply rooted in the hearts of the people was this serpent worship, that even to this day every spring and river-source in the valley is dedicated to some particular *Nâga*. The serpent worship was abolished by the Buddhist King Kanishka about the beginning of the Christian era; but shortly after his death the *Nâga* sacrifices, processions, and other ceremonies were all restored by Gonarda III. according to the ritual of the *Nila Purâna*. At a late date, in the beginning of the 7th century, a certain *Nâga* named *Durlabha* established the Karkota dynasty, which ruled Kashmir with great splendour for nearly two centuries and a half.

It now only remains to notice the social position of the *Takkas* who are found in the hill states of *Jammu*, *Râmnagar*, and *Kashtwar*. I have called them *Turanians* because they certainly are not *Aryas*. According to my

authorities, Mahárája Guláb Singh of Jammu and the ex-Raja of Kishtwár, both of whom knew them well, the *Takkas* are inferior to Rajputs and equal to Jats. The very same position is assigned to them by Mr. Gardner, who calls them "a Hindu Jat zemindar race."* The same grade may also be assigned to the Takkas on the authority of a story told by Colonel Tod, who relates that the children of the *Bhâti* Chief Mangal Rao became *Jats* by eating with Satidâs *Tâk*. From all these instances, it is clear that the *Takkas* or *Tâk* cannot possibly belong to the Aryan family, and as the name of Takkasila is much older than the time of Alexander, it is equally certain that they do not belong to the later Turanians or Indo-Scythians. For these reasons I have assigned them to the class of early Turanians, who were in all probability the aborigines of the country.

2. MEGS.

Connected with the Takkas by a similar inferiority of social position is the tribe of *Megs*, who form a large part of the population of Riyâsi, Jammu, and Aknur. According to the annals of the Jammu Rajas, the ancestors of Gulâb Singh were two Rajput brothers, who, after the defeat of Prithi Raj, settled on the bank of the *Tohi* or *Tohvi* River amongst the poor race of cultivators called *Megs*. Mr. Gardner calls them "a poor race of low caste," but more numerous than the Takkas.† In another place he ranges them amongst the lowest class of outcasts; but this is quite contrary to my information, and is besides inconsistent with his own description of them as "cultivators." They are but little inferior, if not equal, to Takkas. I have failed in tracing their name in the middle ages, but I believe that we safely identify them with the *Mekei* of Aryan, who inhabited the banks of the River *Saranges* near its confluence with the Hydraotes.‡ This river has not yet been identified with certainty, but as it is mentioned immediately after the *Hyphasis* or Biâs, it should be the same as the

* Smith's *Reigning Family of Lahor*, p 232, and Appendix p. xxix In the text he makes the "Takkers" Hindus, but in the Appendix he calls the "Tuk" a "Brahman caste." The two names are, however, most probably not the same.

† *Ibid*, pp. 232, 254, and Appendix p xxix.

‡ Indica, 4.

[illegible]. In Sanskrit the Satlaj is called *Satadru*, or the "hundred channelled," a name which is fairly represented by Ptolemy's [illegible], and also by Pliny's *Hesudrus*, as the Sanskrit [illegible] *H* in many of the W. Dialects. In its upper course the commonest name is *Sutudr* or *Sutudr*, a spoken form of *Satudra*, which is only a corruption of the Sanskrit *Satadru*. By many Brahmans, however, *Satudra* is considered to be the proper name, although from the meaning which they give to it of "hundred-bellied," the correct form would be *Satodra*. Now Arrian's *Saranges* is evidently connected with these various readings, as *Satânga* means the "hundred divisions," or "hundred parts," in allusion to the numerous channels which the Satlaj takes just as it leaves the hills. According to this identification the *Mekei*, or ancient *Megs*, must have inhabited the banks of the Satlaj at the time of Alexander's invasion.

In confirmation of this position, I can cite the name of *Megarsus*, which Dionysius Periegetes gives to the Satlaj, along with the epithets of great and rapid.* This name is changed to *Cymander* by *Avienus*, but as Priscian preserves it unaltered, it seems probable that we ought to read *Mycander*, which would assimilate it with the original name of Dionysius. But whatever may be the true reading of Avienus, it is most probable that we have the name of the *Meg* tribe preserved in the *Megarsus* River of Dionysius. On comparing the two names together, I think it possible that the original reading may have been *Megandros*, which would be equivalent to the Sanskrit *Megadru*, or river of the *Megs*. Now in this very part of the Satlaj, where the river leaves the hills, we find the important town of *Makhowâl*, the town of the *Makh* or *Magh* tribe, an inferior class of cultivators, who claim descent from Raja *Mukhtesar*, a Sarsuti Brahman and King of *Mecca*! "From him sprang Sahariya, who with his son *Sal* was turned out of Arabia, and migrated to the Island of Pandri; eventually they reached Mahmudsar, in Barara, to the west of Bhatinda, where they colonised seventeen villages. Thence they were driven forth, and, after sundry migrations, are now settled in the districts of Patiala, Shahabad, Thanesar,

* Orbis Descriptio, V. 1145.

[illegible] the *Zendavesta* of the Parsis, and in the *Maha-bharata* [illegible] of the Hindus. But as the first of these [illegible] only of the western Aryas, we must draw all our information regarding the early settlements of their eastern brethren from the Indian authorities alone.

According to these accounts, the valleys of the Ganges and Indus were occupied by the various descendants of *Yayâti*, the founder of the *Chandravansis*, or Lunar race. Thus the progeny of his son *Yadu*, called *Yâdavas*, occupied the lower Indus, and gradually extended their power until they subjugated the whole of the country to the eastward, as far as Mathura on the Jumna, and Mahesmati and Chedi on the Narbadda.

The Panjâb was appropriated by the *Anavas*, or descendants of a second son *Anu*, who are severally named *Vrisha-darbha*, *Suvira*, *Kaikeya*, and *Madra*, and who are said to have given their names to the different districts which they occupied. Thus *Madra-desa* was the plain country between the Jhelam and the Ravi, while *Sauvira* was the plain country between the Indus and Jhelam, in which was most probably included the whole of the Salt range of hills. The name of Vrishadarbha is perhaps preserved in the *Brisabrita* or *Brisambritæ* of Pliny, who being coupled with the *Taxillæ*, must have been near neighbours of the Sauviras. The exact position of *Kaikeya* is doubtful. Professor Lassen places it between the Biâs and Râvi, but the passage which he quotes from the *Râmâyana* would rather seem to show that it was somewhere on the line of the Jhelam, as the ambassadors of Dasaratha are described as passing right through the territories of the *Bâhikas* (or *Madra-desa*) before they reached *Girivraja*, the capital of *Kaikeya*.* I would identify *Girivraja* or *Girivrajaka*, with *Girjâk* which was the ancient name of Jalâlpur on the Jhelam, and which is still applied to the old ruined fort on the top of the hill immediately overhanging the town.

To the east of the Panjâb Proper another descendant of *Anu*, called *Trina*, became the founder of *Yaudheya*, a name that is seen on two classes of coins, which are found most plentifully in the country to the westward of the Jumna.

---

* Pentapotamia Indica, p. 13.

The whole valley of the Ganges above the Delta was appropriated by the *Pauravas* or descendants of *Puru* a third son of *Yayáti*. Thus at the time of the Mahâbhârata we find Magadha occupied by *Jarasandha*, Panchâla by *Drupada*, Hastinapura by *Duryodhana*, and Indraprastha by *Yudhishthira* and his brothers. Of these four, however, Drupada was the only one who kept the old family name of *Paurava*, the tribes of Jarasandha and Duryodhana having adopted the new patronymic of *Kaurava*, from their common ancestor *Kuru*, while Yudhishthira and his brothers, the sons of Pandu, were called the *Pancha Pándava* or five *Pándus*, a name which has since become famous all over India. The occupation of the Delta of the Ganges is attributed to three brothers, descendants of *Anu*, called *Anga*, *Banga*, and *Kalinga*, who gave their names to the districts which they held.* A fourth brother named *Pundra* is said to have been the founder of the *Paundras*, a tribe which is coupled with the *Dárvábhisáras* and *Dáradas* in the Raja Tarangini, and whose name perhaps may be still preserved in the modern *Putawár*, which would be an easy and natural corruption of *Paundrawára*, through the Pali form of *Paudawár*, or *Poddawár*.

On the extreme west, the country of *Gandhára*, which corresponds with the modern districts of Peshâwar, is said to have been named after its occupant, who was descended from *Druhya*, a fourth son of *Yayáti*.

The above is a rapid sketch of the earliest distribution of territory amongst the *Chandravansi Aryas* down to the time of the great war, or about B. C. 1426, as recorded in the sacred writings of the Hindus themselves. At the same period the country occupied by the *Surajvansi Aryas* would appear to have been confined to the districts on the north of Ganges called Ayodhya, Mithila, and Vaisâli. But this distribution of territory was soon disturbed by the expulsion of Krishna and his followers from the lower Indus, and by a general immigration of the *Yâdavas* into the Panjâb.

At this point of their history we lose the guidance of the Purânas, and are obliged to consult the meagre chronicles

* Wilson's Vishnu Purana B. IV., c. 18. Usinara, the eighth descendant from Anu, had five sons—1, Sivi, founder of the Sivas; 2, Trina, founder of the Yaudheyas; 3, Nava, founder of the Navarashtras; 4, Krimi, founder of the city of Krimila; and 5, Darvan, founder of the Ambashtas. The eldest Sivi had four sons—1, Vrishadarbha; 2, Suvira, founder of the Sauviras; 3, Kaikeya, founder of the Kaikeyas; and 4, Madra, the founder of the Madras.

[illegible] king of *Marusthala*. The precise [illegible] is doubtful, but, judging from its name, we may [illegible] refers to the desert country between the [illegible] and the Jhelam. This position is almost confirmed by the subsequent acquisition of *Bhera* on the Jhelam by [illegible] the nephew of *Nila*, and his followers, in consequence of which the Salt Range is said to have received the name of *Jádu-ka-dáng* or the "Jádum Mountains." About this time also, according to the chronicles of the Rajas of Kangra, the North-East Panjáb was occupied by another branch of the *Chandrawansi* race, which had previously held Multán. *Susarma Chandra*, the leader of this branch, is said to have taken part in the great war on the side of Duryodhana against the Pándavas, and afterwards to have been expelled from this country, when he retired to the hills of the *Kalock*, and established himself firmly by building the strong Fort of Kángra. This account of the early settlement of the Lunar race in the North-East Panjáb is supported by the fact that the *Traigarttas*, or people of the *Jálandhara Doáb*, are mentioned in the Mahábhárata as having taken part in the great war. From that time down to the present day, the descendants of Susarma Chandra have continued to hold the greater portion of the hill states between the Satlaj and the Ravi. Beyond these limits the only tribes whom they claim as brethren are the *Chibhs* or *Chibhán* of Bhimbar, between the Jhelam and the Rávi, and the *Janjúhas* to the west of the Jhelam. Both of these races are now Musalmans, but they still assert their descent from the heroes of the Mahábhárata.

From the close of the great war to the invasion of Alexander the Great, a period of just eleven centuries, the only clue which we have to guide us in discovering the changes that may have taken place in the Panjáb, consists of an imperfect comparison between the names of tribes and districts in the heroic ages just described, and those which we find in the historians of Alexander. But this comparison, in spite of the very few names that have been handed down to us, at once reveals the fact that a [illegible] successful immigration of the [illegible] must have taken place into the very heart of the Panjáb. Thus between the Hydaspes and the Akesines, Alexander encountered a King,

whom the Greeks called *Porus*, and in the next Doab he found another Porus, the nephew of the former. That this was not the real name of these kings, but simply that of their tribe, the *Pauravas*, or descendants of *Puru*, was first pointed out by Professor Lassen, who further quoted the authority of Ptolemy to show that in his time the country on the upper Hydaspes was in the possession of the *Pândavas* the most powerful branch of the family of Puru. Just ten years ago I drew attention to another fact, preserved by Plutarch, that the great ancestor of Alexander's antagonist was called *Gegasius*, a name in which we cannot fail to recognize that of *Yayâti*, or *Jajâti*, the common progenitor of all the Lunar families.* Such remarkable coincidences of name are quite sufficient to show that the upper portions of the *Chaj* and *Rechna* Doâbs had already been occupied by the *Pauravas* at some period prior to the Macedonian invasion. These districts they must have wrested from the *Takkas* or *Bâhikas*, who are the earliest inhabitants of *Madra-desa*, of whom we have any record.

JANJUHAS AND AWANS.

The *Janjûhas*, who occupy the eastern portion of the salt range, claim to be descended from Raja *Mall*, the founder of the old fort of *Mallot*, who is variously said to have been either a contemporary or a descendant of the heroes of the Mahâbhârata. According to the Emperor Babar the *Jûd* and the *Janjûha* were "two races descended from the same father,"† who from old times had been rulers of the hills between Nilâb and Bhera, that is, of the salt range. "On one-half of the hill lived the *Jûd*, and on the other half the *Janjûha*." The *Awâns* now occupy the western half of these hills towards Nilâb, and, from all I could learn, they would appear to have been settled there for many centuries. They must therefore be the *Jûd* of Baber's memoirs, for Jûd was not the true name of the people, but was applied to them as the inhabitants of *Mt. Sakeswar*, which was called *Jûd* by the Muhammadans on account of its fancied resemblance to *Mt. Jûd*, or Ararat in Armenia. According to their own accounts the *Janjûhas* once occupied

* Plutarch de Fluviis—in voce Hydaspes.

† Autobiography translated by Erskine, p.

the whole of [illegible] from which they were ejected by the Gakars. [illegible] partly confirmed by Baber's statement that the Janjuhas were "old enemies of the Gakars," and partly by the traditions of the Gakars themselves, who affirm that on their arrival from the west they drove out the Janjûhas. But as the Janjûhas now occupy Makhyâla and other places in the Salt Range, which are known to have been Gakar possessions in former days, we may infer either that they have recovered some of their original holdings, or that they have wrested new places from their old enemies.*

According to my view the Janjûhas, who claim to be Aryas, are most probably *Anavas*, or descendants of *Anu*. In the spoken dialects they would be called *Anu* and *Anuwân*, and the latter form indeed would seem to be the original name of the present *Awân* tribe. In the total absence of all written records, I have almost nothing to offer in favour of this identification, except its great probability. The two names are absolutely the same; the district which the Awâns now occupy was colonized by the *Anuwân*, or descendants of Anu; and the neighbouring district of Taxila was called *Amanda* in the time of Pliny. On these rather light foundations I venture to raise the conjecture, that at the period of Alexander's expedition the Awâns were probably in possession of Taxila, and the Janjûhas of Pindi Gheb, while the Gakars, or people of Abissares, held the greater part of Putawâr. Just two centuries later the first invasion of Indo-Scythians must have caused a very general displacement of the ruling races. Their coins alone, which are found in such numbers in the Sindh Sâgar Doâb, show most decisively that the principal cities, such as Taxila, Mânikyâla and Pûta (Jhelam), were at once occupied by the conquerors. The vanquished would naturally have sought refuge in the less accessible districts around, and to this period, therefore, I would refer the settlement of the *Awâns* and *Janjûhas* in the salt range to the south, and of the Gakars in the hilly tracts of Pharwâla and Dângali to the north-east.

Of their subsequent history but little is recorded; we know only that they were divided into several branches,

* According to Abul Fazl, Ain Akbari, II., 377, the *Janjuhas*, *Jharegas*, and *Bhatis* were all branches of the *Jâdus* or *Yâdavas*.

and had all become Muhammadans. In the time of Baber, the ruling tribe, called the *Karluki Hazâras*, held the districts on both banks of the lower Suhân River, under their Chiefs Sangar Khan Karluki, and Mirza Malvi Karluki. At a still earlier period the Chiefs of this tribe, Hasan Karluk and his son Muhammad had asserted their independence by striking coins in their own names. The coins of the father are of the well known "Bull and Horseman" type, with the legend in Nâgari letters, "*Sri Hasan Karluk.*" The coins of the son are of three different kinds, two with Persian characters only, and the third with Persian on one side and Nâgari on the other. On the last coin there is a rude figure of a horse surrounded by the Chief's title, *Nâser-ud-dunya-wa-ud-din* in Persian letters, and on the reverse his name in three lines of Nâgari letters, *Sri Muhammad Karluk.* On one of the Persian coins this Chief calls himself Muhammad bin *Hasan Karluk,* and on the other he takes the titles of *Ul-Malik-ul-Muâzam Muhammad bin Hasan.* From the types and general appearance of these coins their date may be fixed with certainty as coëval with those of Altamsh and his sons, or from A. D. 1210 to 1265.

The old mound near Dârâpur on the west bank of the Jhelam, now occupied by the village of Dilâwar, would appear to have been the principal seat of this family, as the people affirm that most of their coins are found there. My own experience shows that the belief of the people is well founded, as out of 48 coins which I obtained at Dilâwar and Dârâpur, 26, or rather more than one-half, belonged to the Karluki family.*

BHATIS.

The Bhatis, who are found chiefly in the central and eastern districts of the Panjâb, are *Yâdavas* of acknowledged descent through the far famed Krishna. The

* Early last year (1870) I discovered six large silver coins of *Saif-uddin Hasan Karlugh* in the Masson collection of the East India Museum, with the dates of A. H. 633, 634; and early in the present year I obtained at Delhi a large silver coin of his son *Nâser-uddin Muhammad* with the unit date of 7, the tens and hundreds being gone. I read the name of the mint as *Kahror,* an old city to the south-east of Multân, where, according to Abu Rihân, Vikramaditya defeated the Sakas in A. D. 78. Mr. Thomas, in his coins of the Pathân Kings, p. 92, has assigned the true place to these two Princes. The father, *Saif-uddin,* was one of the leading generals of Jalâl uddin of Khwarazm, and was put in charge of Ghor and Ghazni when that monarch [illegible] India in A. H. 620 or A. D. 1223. There he continued to rule until A. H. [illegible], when the Mogul advance in force drove him towards Sindh and Multân. He was killed during the same year at the siege of Multân. His son *Nâser-uddin Muhammad* appears to have succeeded to his father's dominions in Sindh, and to have been held in consideration as a powerful monarch. He was still reigning on the arrival of Hulâgu Khan's ambassadors in A. H. [illegible].

original name of the tribe was *Yadu*, and this name is still held by the Hindu Yâdavas of Jesalmer, but their brethren of the Panjâb, who have become Muhammadans, are universally known as *Bhatis*. According to the generally accepted tradition of the race, their *Yâdava* ancestors occupied *Gajni*, or *Gajnipur*, which is said to have been fortified by Raja *Gaj* or *Gajpat*, who reigned fourteen generations before Sâlivâhan. The actual foundation of the city is placed twelve generations before Raja Gaj. At four generations to a century, which is the average rate in India, the date of Raja Gaj may be fixed at about B. C. 300, and the foundation of the city somewhere about B. C. 600. Colonel Tod has identified this *Gajnipur* with the Ghazni of Afghanistan; but the true position would appear to be at Râwal Pindi, where tradition places an ancient city named Gajipur. The British cantonment now occupies the site of this city, which would appear to have been of considerable size, as ancient coins and broken bricks are still found over an extent of two square miles. Greek silver coins of Apollodotus, Hippostratus, Azas, and Azilises, now in my possession, have been dug up near the Sadar Bâzâr, and several figures, together with an inscribed lamp and a steatile box, were found to the east of the jail. Near this spot there was formerly a tope, which is mentioned by General Court, but the stones were removed some years ago to build the jail, and nothing now remains of the monument save its name, which is preserved in the neighbouring village of Topi.

Here then at Râwal Pindi, the ancient *Gajipur*, it seems probable that the descendants of Krishna may have reigned for several generations prior to the invasion of the Indo-Scythians. During the same period, as I have already pointed out, their *Yâdava* brethren, the *Awâns* and *Janjûhas*, most probably held the neighbouring districts of Taxila and Pindi Gheb. Unfortunately, there exist no genealogies of these two races, in which we might search for the name of *Mophis*, King of Taxila, the munificent host of Alexander, and there is no name in the *Bhâti* genealogy of Jesalmer that can possibly be identified with it. But another name has been preserved in these chronicles, which seems to me to confirm beyond all reasonable doubt the identification of Râwal Pindi with the *Gajnipur* of the ancient Yâdavas. On the invasion of India by Farid Shah of Khorâsân, Raja *Rijh* marched to oppose him as far as *Harro*, which I take

it be the same as *Hera*, the old name of Hasan Abdál. What makes this identification almost sure is the fact that Hasan Abdál is the one great strategical position on the high road between Râwal Pindi and the Indus, where an invading army could be successfully opposed.

On the settlement of the Indo-Scythians in the Sindh Sâgar Doab towards the end of the second century before Christ, I conclude that the Yâdavas must certainly have been expelled from Gajipur, and most probably from all their possessions to the west of the Jhelam. This conclusion is in perfect accordance with the traditions of the people themselves, both in the Panjâb and in Jesalmer. According to these traditions, the father of Sâlivâhan lost his life in battle against the invaders, while the young prince established a new capital at *Sâlbâhanpur*, which is generally identified with *Syâlkot*, to the east of the Chenab. Afterwards he defeated the Indo-Scythians in a great and decisive battle near *Kahror*, within 60 miles of Multân. So great was the fame of this victory that the conqueror assumed the title of *Sâkâri*, or "foe of the Sakas," and received from his subjects the auspicious title of *Sri*. At the same time, to commemorate the event, he established the *Saka* era from the date of the battle, an epoch which is still in general use throughout India. But in spite of fame of this great victory, it seems clear to me from the position of the battle field that the Indo-Scythians were simply checked in their career of conquest, and that none of the old Yâdava territory to the west of the Jhelam was recovered by Sâlivâhan. In proof of this, I can adduce the fact that Râsâlu, the son of Sâlivâhan, and the one great hero of all Panjâb tradition, is said to have been Raja of Syâlkot. As the curious story of Râsâlu's fabulous exploits will be considered separately, I need only mention here that, although the Yâdava dominion in the Panjâb may have been extended during his life-time, it is certain that it dwindled and soon disappeared altogether after his death.

According to the Panjâb traditions Râsâlu left no children, and was succeeded in Syâlkot itself by his great enemy Raja Hudi, who, as he is specially stated not to have been a Hindu, must certainly have been an Indo-Scythian. The connexion between Raja Hudi of Syâlkot and Raja

Hudi of the Bhatti legends is proved by the fact that the Syâl tribe claim to be the descendants of the latter. In the Jesalmer annals it is related that, shortly after the death of Sâlivâhan, the Turks began to increase, and that his numerous sons and grandsons dispersed and founded places in their own names, such as Bijnot, Kallarkot, Sirsa, &c., where they made themselves independent. As all the places that are named in two different copies of the annals* are to the east of the Satlaj, I conclude that the Yadava kingdom of Syâlkot must have been broken up by Raja Hudi, and that the mass of the people was driven to the eastern borders of the Panjâb. There they have since maintained themselves poor but safe, in the uninviting wilds of the Indian desert or *Jangal-des*. The head of the Hindu portion of the tribe is the *Bhâti* Raja of Jesalmer, but the Musalmân *Bhatis*, who perhaps out-number their Hindu brethren, are the subjects of the border states of Bikaner and Bahâwalpur, and of the Lahor and Multân divisions of the Panjâb Government. To the west they are bounded by the Chenâb, their head-quarters being Pindi Bhatiân. To the south they are found in considerable numbers in North Sindh, and also in Jodhpur, where they again meet with their brethren the Hindu Bhâtis.

It is certain, however, that one portion of the tribe must have remained in the Panjâb, as we find in the middle ages that the Chiefs of *Sahi* or *Lohara*, a petty hill state in the neighbourhood of Abhisâra, traced their descent from Sâlivâhan. The genealogy of eight princes is given in the Raja Tarangini, from Bharadhwâja to Sinha Raja, the father of *Diddu*, the notorious queen of Kashmir.† At her death, in A. D. 1005, the son of her brother Udaya, Raja of Lohara, ascended the throne, and from that time until the close of the Hindu monarchy in A. D. 1339, the descendants of Sâlivâhan retained undisputed possession of the fertile vale of Kashmir.

III.—LATER TURANIANS.

GAKARS.

Although the evidence which I am able to bring forward in favour of the next important change in the population

* I quote from copies in my own possession.

† Raja Tarangini, VI., 367 and VII., 1288.

of the Panjab is less decidedly conclusive than that just given for the intrusion of the Pauravas, yet it seems to me sufficiently strong to warrant the deduction which I am about to derive from it. This change is the settlement of the Gakars in the upper part of the Sindh Sâgar Doab, between the Indus and Jhelam Rivers, an event which I think may be referred with very great probability to the reign of Darius Hystaspes, if not to some date even earlier. The grounds on which I rest this opinion are the following:

In the hilly country above the territories of Taxiles and Porus, the historians of Alexander place the dominions of Abisares. A still more precise account is given by Arrian, who states that the *Soamus*, the present Suhân River, rises in the "mountainous parts of Sabissa," that is, in the hills between Murri and the Mârgala Pass. Now this is the exact position of the district of *Abhisâra*, according to the Raja Tarangini and other Hindu authorities; and as it is also the country which the Gakars have occupied from the earliest times of which we have any record, it seems probable that the Gakars may be the descendants of the people who were the subjects of King Abisares in the time of Alexander. This probability is strengthened when we find that the ancient inhabitants of Abhisâra as well as the Gakars themselves, were not of Indian origin. This point is, I think, proved beyond all reasonable doubt by the name of Abisares's brother, whom Arrian calls *Arsakes*. The name alone would refer the people to a Parthian or Scythian origin, but when coupled with the fact that King Abisares himself kept two monstrous serpents, we can hardly refuse our assent to the conclusion that Arsakes and his brother were connected with the dragon-worshipping Scyths of Media and Parthia.

The presumed Scythian origin of the Gakars rests partly on the evidence of their own statements, and partly on that of the early Muhammadan writers. According to their own account, the ancestors of the Gakars were transplanted by *Afrâsiyâb* from *Kayân* into the N. W. Panjâb, under a leader named *Kid* or *Kaid*. The present Gakars are a fine tall manly race, with at least one peculiar custom, which is quite repugnant to Hinduism. "A Gakar will give his daughter to none but a Gakar, whilst a Rajput is positively debarred from giving his daughter to one of his

own home. Nothing could well be more striking than this marked difference between the customs of the two races. Again in A. D. 1180, when Muhammad Ghori was preparing to invade India, we learn from the bard Chand that amongst the many Chiefs who came to the aid of Prithi Raj was "the Gakkar named *Malik Hath*."* Now we know from the Emperor Baber that *Malik Hath*, or more correctly, [illegible], as he says it should be, was only the title of the chief of the clan. But Malik is not a Hindu title. It may perhaps have been adopted by the Gakars in the time of the Sassanians, for it was almost certainly not copied from the Muhammadans, as the Gakar Chief is said not to have been converted until towards the end of Muhammad Ghori's reign. He had therefore borne the foreign title of Malik before he became a Muhammadan. At a still earlier date, in A. D. 1079, Ibrahim Ghaznavi captured a fort in the *Jûd* hills, named *Dera* or *Derapur*, of which the inhabitants are said to have been the descendants of Khorasânis, who had been banished from their country by Afrâsiyâb.† This fact alone is sufficient to prove that the defenders of Derapur were Gakars; but when Ferishta adds that they did not intermarry with any other races, the proof of their identity with the Gakars is complete. Derapur is, in all probability, the same place as Dârapur, a well known ancient site on the west bank of the Jhelam, a few miles above Jalâlpur.

Just sixty years earlier, in A. D. 1008, the Gakars are represented by Ferishta as joining the great array of Hindu chiefs against Mahmud of Ghazni. A desperate battle was fought near Peshâwar, when "no less than thirty thousand Gakars, with bare heads and feet, and variously armed, penetrated into the Muhammadan lines, where a dreadful carnage ensued, and 5,000 Muhammadans in a few minutes were slain."‡ "Such," says Price, "was the impression of this desperate effort that Mahmud was actually about to draw aside from his encampment, and to discontinue the conflict until the day following," when an accident gave

---

* I quote my own copy of the Prithi Râj Râsau.

† Briggs' Ferishta, I, 139, and Tarikh-i-Alfi in Sir Henry Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, p. 157. I am inclined to identify this tradition with the statement of Alexander's followers that the Sibæ were a colony left in India by Herakles. Arrian Indica, c. V.

‡ Briggs' Ferishta, I, 46, 47.

him the victory. Price reduces the number of Gakars to 1,000, which seems quite incredible, as he admits not only the slaughter, but also the panic which it created in the Muhammadan Army.*

At a still earlier date in A. H. 63, or A. D. 682-83, the Gakars, according to Ferishta, formed a treaty of alliance with the Afghans, and with their assistance compelled the Raja of Lahor to submit to their terms, and to cede to them a portion of territory.† Just fifty years prior to this time the Chinese pilgrim, Hwen Thsang, had twice passed through Taxila, but on both occasions he avoided the country now occupied by the Gakars. As nearly two centuries and a half earlier, or in A. D. 400, another Chinese traveller, Fa-Hian, had also avoided their country, I conclude that the Gakars of those early days had already earned the reputation, which they have since so successfully maintained, of being the greatest plunderers in Northern India. This character of the Gakars is perhaps alluded to by Priscian when he speaks of the "savage Gargars," *Gargaridæque truces*. It is true that this epithet is not used either in the original work of Dionysius Periegetes, or in the translation of Avienus, according to whom the Gargars, or Gargaridœ, were cultivators of the vine, or simple worshippers of Bacchus.‡

In identifying the Gargaridœ of Dionysius and his translators with the Gakars of the present day, it is necessary that I should state in detail the grounds on which I base so important a conclusion. These grounds are two, namely, the positive identity of locality combined with the similarity of name. In the geographical poem of Dionysius the country of the Gargaridœ is coupled with those of the Peukalei and the Taxili, whose positions on the banks of the Indus are well known. But as he has just previously mentioned the Hydaspes and Akesines, and is therefore describing the Panjab, the Gargaridœ must evidently be placed to the eastward of the Taxili, or in the exact position on the banks of the Jhelam, which was then occupied by the Gakars. That the district of the Gargaridœ was a hilly country we

* Price's Muhammadan History, II., 284.

† Briggs's Ferishta, I., 8.

‡ Dionysius Orbis Descriptio, v. 1143; Priscianus, v. 1050; Avienus, v. 1348.

learn from the indirect testimony of Strabo, who says that the people of the mountains were worshippers of Bacchus, while those of the plains were worshippers of Herakles. The *Bacchi cultores Gargaridæ* were therefore mountaineers.

With regard to the name of Gargaridæ I believe that the last syllable is only the Panjâbi possessive suffix *da*, equivalent to the Hindustani *ka*. The word *Gargar*, therefore I would compare with the Sanskrit *Gharghara*, which in the spoken dialects to the north of the Ganges, has become *Ghâgra*, and *Kagar* or *Gagar* in those to the west of Delhi. Now this is the true name of the famous mountain of Gandghar, which was called *Gharghara*, or the "roarer," and *Garj-ghara* or the "bellower," on account of the rumbling noises which are still believed to issue from it. The present inhabitants of the mountain are Mashwâni Afghans, but they are much better and more widely known as *Gand-ghariyas* than as Mashwânis. Now, as there is good reason to believe that the Gakars once held the whole of the hill country between the Indus and Jhelam, the Gandghar hill would certainly have been one of their strongholds, and that portion of the tribe which occupied it would as certainly have been called *Ghar-ghariyas*, or *Gargaridæ*. But if the original name of the Turanian colony of Afrâsiyâb was *Gagar* or *Gakar*, a point which I will presently discuss, it is easy to see how the whole tribe might occasionally have been called sometimes by one and sometimes by the other of these two similar names. In balancing the probabilities in favor of my derivation, special weight must be given to the fact that the enemies of the Yâdava Prince Râsâlu of Syâlkot, were the demon inhabitants of Mount Gandghar, and that afterwards the power of the Gakars in Abhisâra was supplanted for nearly two centuries by the successors of Râsâlu. I conclude therefore that as both Gand-ghariyas and Gakars were the early enemies of the Yadavas, it is probable that these two similar names must refer to the same people.

The most probable date of the Geographer Dionysius is between A. D. 300 and 350. From our own times, therefore, up to this period, we are able, with more or less success, to trace the Gakars as continuous occupants of their present abodes. But beyond this point we have nothing but probabilities to guide us. I have already mentioned my belief

that the Scytho-Parthian name of Arsakes, which was borne by the brother of Abisares, points to a Parthian or Scythian origin of the people of Abhisâra, and, consequently to their probable identity with the Gakars, who claim for themselves the same origin. The Gakars, indeed, are mentioned under their own name by Farishta during the reign of Gushtâsp, or Darius Hystaspes of Persia. But, although the statement is circumstantial, and even probable, it is impossible to place any confidence in it, as we know of no source from which Ferishta could have obtained any trustworthy information regarding so remote a period. According to this author, *Kedar*, of the *Kachwâha* tribe, Raja of Bhera and Jammu in the Panjâb, was expelled by his relative Durga of the *Bulbâs* tribe with the aid of the "Gakars and Chobia, the ancient Zamindars of the Panjâb." The historian adds that the tribe of *Bulbâs* "has inhabited that country ever since."* But no Indian tribe of this name is now known, and the Turki tribe of Bulbâs, even if it had been in India at so early a period, could not possibly have been connected with the Indian Kshatriya tribe of Kachwâha. It seems therefore almost certain that there must be some mistake in the name, which I would propose to read either as *Balnât*, the name of the well known mountain on the west bank of the Jhelam, or preferably as *Bugiâl*, the name of a branch of the Janjuha tribe, who occupy the bank of the Jhelam under Mount Balnâth. The district itself is called *Bugiâd*, and also *Bâisgrâm*, or the 22 villages. As there is also a branch of the Gakar tribe which bears the same name, it seems nearly certain that the appellation must be derived from the locality, and not from the inhabitants. I think it probable therefore that *Bugiâl* may have been derived from *Bukephala* by the simple elision of the ph. It must be remembered that the accent in the name of the town is on the penultimate syllable instead of on the ante-penultimate, as in the name of the famous horse. The *Chobia* of Ferishta I would identify with the *Sobii* of Quintus Curtius, the *Sibæ* of Strabo, and the *Sobæ* of Dionysius.

Shortly after the beginning of the Christian era, Abhisâra is mentioned in the Raja Tarangini as belonging to the kingdom of Kashmir, but I can find no trace of the name

* Briggs' Ferishta, I., 72.

either in Pliny or Ptolemy. Strabo indeed mentions Abisares, but his account evidently refers to the period of Alexander, and not to his own times. The country was, however, well known in the days of Asoka, as the missionary Gotiputra was sent to teach the Buddhist faith in *Dádábhisára* shortly after the assembly of the third Synod in B. C. 241.* We come next to the time of Alexander, who, early in the year B. C. 326, crossed the Indus and advanced to Taxila, where he received an embassy from Ambisarus or Abisares, "King of the Indian Mountaineers." After the battle with Porus, Alexander received a second embassy from Abisares, "with a present of money and forty elephants." Again on his return to the Akesines, a third embassy arrived, headed by Arsakes, the brother of Abisares, bringing valuable presents and thirty more elephants.

According to the various notices of ancient authors, the territory of Abisares lay *above*, that is, to the *north of* the kingdoms of Taxiles and Porus, and extended beyond the Hydaspes. The sources of the *Soamus*, or Suhân River, were in its mountains, and its capital was situated at 400 *stadia* or 50 miles from the camps of Alexander and Porus.† From all these statements we may conclude with certainty that the country of Abisares must have extended from the neighbourhood of the Indus in Hazâra to the Punach River eastward, and from Rohtas on the Kâhan River to the sources of the Suhân, in the mountains to the north of Murri and Dângali. Within these limits there are the old capitals of Dângali and Mangala and the modern town of Sultânpur, which is the chief town of the *Sârar*[illegible] Gakars. This last place is built on the site of *Abriyâ*[illegible] [illegible]ch is said to have been the first capital of the Gakar colony, and which is just 50 miles from Jalâlpur, the most probable site of Alexander's camp.

Although the district first described is a very extensive one, yet so also must have been the dominions of the hill chief, who was able to make a present of *seventy* elephants. That the territory of Abisares touched the Indus on the west seems quite certain, as Arrian records that the people

* Bhilsa Topes, pp. 292 and 316. See also p. 121, and Plate 24, Inscription on No. 1 x.

† Curtius Vita Alexandri, VIII., 12, 40.

of the country left their elephants in the pastures near the river, and fled to *Barisades* for security.* *Barisadês* was therefore on the east bank, and the name has always been considered as only a variant reading of Abisares. Again, Arsakes, the brother of Abisares, is described as the governor of the adjacent province, and as he first waited upon Alexander at Taxila, I conclude that his province was not very far distant from that city. It probably included the two Districts on the river Dor, called *Dhantâwar* and *Hazâra Proper*, of which the present Haripur, under various names, has always been the chief city. M. Troyer would seem to have arrived at the same conclusion regarding the extent of Abisares's dominions, as he calls his brother Arsakes "Governor of the District of *Urasa*," the *Varsa Regio* of Ptolemy, and the *Rash* of the present day, which lies immediately to the north of Dhantâwar.

These accounts of Alexander's historians are the earliest notices that we possess of the district of *Abhisâra*. The name indeed occurs both in the *Mahâbhârata* and in the *Purânas*, but it is only the name. Any further information that we require must therefore be deduced by our own sagacity from a comparison of the accounts already before us with the traditions of the people themselves. According to general belief, the Gakars are the descendants of a colony established in the Panjâb by *Afrâsiyâb*, and their earliest capital was *Abriyân* on the Jhelam, opposite Mangala. Now in these two names I believe that we have the original appellation of that once powerful race, the *Abâr* or *Afâr*, of whom the Gakars were the most easterly branch. The famous city of *Abâr-shahar* or Nishapur in Khorasân, was their ancient capital, and the same name is preserved in the *Aparni* of Strabo, who were a branch of the Turanian *Dahæ*. But the name is variously written by classical authors: thus we have *Apelœi, Spartani, Zapaortene, Apavartene*, and *Apaveritica*, of which the last is almost identical with *Abiverd*, the modern name of the province. Some of these readings at once remind us of the names of the Scytho-Parthian Kings—*Spalahora, Spalirisha*, and *Spalagadama*, who, as we learn from Chinese authorities, actually came from the country of the Dahæ. The root

* Anabasis, IV., 30.

of the name would therefore appear to be *Sapal*, or *Zabar*, and by suppression of the sibilant, *Apar* or *Abar*. Now, the word *Sabal*, or *Sabar*, means a "club," or iron mace, in Hindi, and by changing the sibilant to a soft guttural we have the Persian *gopál*, which has exactly the same meaning. In the Greek *rhopalon* we have the rough aspirate substituted for the sibilant, and in the Latin *clava*, and the German *kolbe*, we have the hard guttural, with a transposition of the other consonants. From *clava* we have derived the English "club," and from *Sapal* through the Greek *polos*, the English "pole." Intimately connected with these words are the Persian *zabar* and *zor*, the Greek *rhómé*, and *kratos* and the Latin *fortis*, all referring to "strength," of which the club was a symbol. It was therefore placed in the hands of Herakles, and this fact, coupled with the names of *gopál*, and *sabal* or *zabar*, leads at once to the conclusion that the god *Gebeleizes*, or *Zamolxis*, must have been the Hercules of the Scythians, who is otherwise unnamed by Herodotus.

In illustration of the first name I can produce an Indo-Scythian silver coin bearing a helmeted head, with the legend of *Sapaleizes* in Greek characters. This name I take to signify "Lord of the Club," the words *gebel* and *sapal* being the same as the Persian *gopál* and the Indian *sabal*. In Hindi the name would be *sabálesa*, which is equivalent to *Sapaleizes*. The second name, *Zamolxis*, I would explain in a similar way, *zamol* being the same word as *sabal* and *zabar* and the final syllable representing the Persian *chi* in such words as khazánchi a "treasurer," masálchi a "torch-bearer," &c.; the whole name would be equivalent to Sabalchi, or the "club-holder." It is strongly corroborative of this etymology that the coins of most of the Scytho-Parthian Kings, as Moas, Vonones, Spalahores, Spalirises, and Azas bear the figures of Herakles.

By the well known interchange of *t* for *s*, as in *tur* and *sur*, the "sun," the word *sabar* becomes *tabar*, an "axe," from which most probably came the names of *Tapuri* or *Tabaristan*, and *Tabrez*. By a still further change of *l* for *t*, which occurs constantly in Pushtu, we obtain *labar*, from which, I believe, originated the name of *Labranaa*, as the *Zeus Labrandæus* is represented with a double-headed axe on the coins of the Carian Princes. The iron head of the

Indian *tabar* consists usually of four, or eight, or even more, blades, radiating from the pole; but it is sometimes also made with two large blades, and might then be called a double-headed axe.

The conclusion which I have come to regarding the Gakars is, that they were a colony of *Abâra* from Hyrkania, who were first settled at *Abryda*, on the Jhelam, either by Darius Hystaspes for the purpose of holding his Indian Satrapy, or at some even earlier period by one of the Scytho-Parthian Kings, whose whole dynasty is represented in tradition by the long lived Afrâsiyâb of Turân. The Indianized name of *Abhisâra*, which means "strength" would appear to be either a translation of the original name of the colonists, or perhaps only a slight alteration of it to obtain a similar meaning in Sanskrit. The original name I take to have been *Abârisâra* or *Abârisâda*, which agrees with the *Barisades* of Arrian, and which is found in exactly the same form amongst the Pontic and Thracian Scyths, as *Bærisades* and *Parisades*. The latter half of the name, written either *sára* or *sada*, is most probably the same as *Shâr* in *Turkshâr*. It is found also in other names, as *Thamima-sades*, *Oktama-sades*, and *Mæsades*. Now by comparing *Thamima-sades*, which, according to Herodotus, meant "king of the sea" with *Temer-inda*, which, according to Pliny, meant "mother of the sea," we get the word *thamim*, or *temar*, for the "sea" and *sades* for "king." The former is evidently connected with the Turanian *dengiz* or *tengi*, a "lake,"* and the latter with the word *sâr*, which is known to have been the title of the Kings of Ghurjistan in the time of Mahmud of *Ghazni*. *Abârisâra* would therefore mean the "Royal Abârs," an appellation which at once recalls the *Paralatæ*, or "Royal Scythians" of Herodotus, whose name I take to have precisely the same meaning as *Abârisâra*, or *Parisâda*. I have already noticed the common change of *s* to *t*, and the peculiar change of *t* and *d* to *l*, which takes place in Pushtu and other dialects. By this rule *sâra* and *sâda* would be equivalent to *lâra* and *lâda*, both of which forms are found, in the Etruscan *lar*, the Lycian *lade*, and the English *lord* and *lady*, all words of the same meaning as that which I have given above to the Scythian *sâr*. The wide-spread ramifications of this word are found also in the Kashmiri *lari*, a

* Compare also Tanais, Danube, Don, Dnieper; and our own Thames and Tam.

house, and in the Hindi *lara*, *lari*, "husband and wife," with their diminutives *larka*, *larki*, or "boy and girl."

In corroboration of the connexion which has just been suggested between the *Aparni*, or Abârs of Hyrkania, and the *Paralatæ* of Herodotus, I may cite the statement of Strabo that the *Dahæ Aparni* of the Caspian were "an emigrant tribe from the Dahæ above the Mæotis," "who, were called *Xandii* and *Parii*."* These *Parii* I take to be the same as the *Paralatæ* of Herodotus, the *Pali* or *Palusii* of Diodorus, and the *Palæi* or *Apellæi* of Pliny. In another passage Strabo calls the same tribes *Xanthii* and *Pissuri*, of which the latter may perhaps be a corrupt reading for *Perisara* or *Parisada*.

But the name of *Abisares* itself is variously written by the classical authors. In Diodorus we have *Sábasarnes* and *Sabasarnes*, both of which agree with Arrian's *Sabissa*. In Aelian we find *Aposeisares*, which also agrees with *Sabissa* by the simple elision of the initial letter. But the true name, following my etymology, is best preserved in that of the *Saparnus* River, which, according to Arrian, was one of the western tributaries of the Indus. The same name is most probably indicated in Ptolemy's *Sabanna*, a town near the west bank of the Indus, which I would indentify with the modern town of Zhobi, at the junction of the Zhobi and Gomal Rivers. The *Saparnus* would therefore be the Zhobi River, or perhaps the Gomal itself. This is rendered almost certain by the close vicinity of another town named *Kodrana*, which must be the modern Kundor, situated on another feeder of the Gomal, about 50 or 60 miles from Zhobi. I do not, however, connect this name with the first colony of Abârs or Gakars, which settled in the Panjâb not later than the time of Darius, but with the second and much more extensive immigration of the same people, who, under the name of *Sus* and *Sakas*, occupied Southern Ariana and the valley of the Indus and its western tributaries, towards the end of the second century before Christ.

It now only remains to show that the name *Gakar* is most probably only a simple variation of the ethnic title of *Sabar* or *Abâr*. The frequent interchange of the letters *v* and *g* being too well known to require discussion, I need only refer to it to show how the word *sabar* or *savar* would

* Geograph, XI., 9, 3.

[illegible] according to Herodotus, [illegible] was [illegible] of the "iron mace," or double-edged [illegible] connects it with the Indian term of [illegible] conclude also that the people who specially made [illegible] were the *Sagar-auka* or *Sakar-auk*, [illegible] who carried the *akinake*, or "scymitar," were [illegible]. If, now, we change the initial sibilant to [illegible], a change which is well known to take place [illegible] such as *Gopal* and *Kapal* for *Sabal*, we shall [illegible] name of *Gagar* or *Gakar*, as the exact equivalent [illegible] Scythian *Sagar* or *Sakar*, as well as of the Indian [illegible] and the Persian *Zabar*. Admitting the correctness of this etymology, we learn at once that the Gakars must have belonged to that branch of the ancient Scythians who were called [illegible] *Apami* and *Sagar-aukæ*, because their usual weapon was a club.

Kathi and Balas.

Connected with the Gakars by the common ties of physical appearance and peculiar customs are the *Kâthi* of the Central Panjâb, who are, beyond all reasonable doubt, the descendants of the *Kathæi*, who, in their stronghold of Sangala, so stoutly resisted the victorious arms of Alexander. The Kâthi are found chiefly along the banks of the Râvi, from Gugera to Tulamba, where they form the bulk of the population, and along the banks of the Jhelâm below Jhang. They are found also in some number in the district of *Kâthiâwâr*, in the peninsula of Gujarât, to which they have given their own name. Like the Gakars, they are a tall handsome race, of warlike and predatory habits, who do not intermarry with any other tribe. This last peculiarity shows decisively that they are not Arian Kshatriyas, and this, indeed, is admitted by Colonel Tod, who says that the "*Kâthi* and *Bâla* cannot be regarded as Rajputs."* Abul Fazl even says that they are of the *Ahir* caste; but this statement, which is quite erroneous as to their extraction, may be taken as showing his estimate of their social position, and is therefore only another proof that the *Kathi* are certainly not *Aryas*. Abul Fazl however adds that, according to some, they were of Arab origin.† This name

---

* Rajasthan, I. 113.

† Ayin Akbari, Gladwin's Translation, [illegible]

I [illegible] slightly [illegible]. [illegible] it seems almost certain that the [illegible] were a branch of the same race as the [illegible] of Ahirs.

The Kathi themselves claim descent from the Balas, who, if we may believe their proud boast of "*Thatha Multan ka Rao*," must once have held possession of Multan and Sindh. Colonel Tod calls them "lords of Aror," which ceased to be the capital of Upper Sindh in the beginning of the eighth century. We know also, from the Native histories of the province, that the last two kings who reigned from A. D. 642 to 711 were Brahmans. The *Bâlas* must therefore have been prior to these Brahmans. Now, the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang, who visited Sindh in A. D. 641, states that the king was a Sudra. If he had been a *Bâla* this statement would agree exactly with Abul Fazl's estimate of the social position of the race as equal to Ahirs. I think, therefore, that we may conclude with some certainty that the dynasty of Rais, which ruled Sindh for 137 years, or from A. D. 505 to 642, was not Aryan Kshatriya, and that in all probability it was Bâla. At this very period also, as we learn from Hwen Thsang, the capital of *Gurjjara* was named *Balmer*, from which I infer that the Gujars, who had given their name to the district, must some time previously have been expelled by the Bâlas, who then gave their name to the town. This may have taken place simultaneously with their presumed accession to the throne of Alor, in A. D. 505, which is quite compatible with the subsequent settlement of the *Kathi* in the peninsula of Gujarât, in the eighth century, as we may conclude that on their expulsion from Alor by the Brahman Chach, in A. D. 642, both Bâlas and Kathi would have retired towards the south-east. Their own traditions indeed say that the Kathi came from the valley of the Indus, and I think therefore that the balance of evidence is decidedly in favour of their having retired from Alor. We know also that both the Bâlas and the Kathi of the present day pay special adoration to the sun, which was the chief deity of Multan, from the earliest times down to the reign of Aurangzib, by whose orders the idol is said to have been destroyed. It seems probable therefore that the *Bâlas* may be the same tribe as

the *Malli* or *Malli* of Alexander's historians, as the interchange of the letters *b* and *m*, which is of frequent occurrence in most languages, was very common in the Macedonian dialect.

The earliest mention that we possess of the *Kathæi* is contained in the historians of Alexander. According to Arrian they were a warlike race who had just before successfully resisted the joint armies of Abisares and Porus.* They would appear also to have been a foreign people, for the difference between them and other Indians was so striking that the Greeks have recorded several curious traits of their personal appearance and manners, all of which have been noticed by modern writers as belonging to the Kathi of the present day. Strabo joins *Kathæa* with the country of *Sopeithes*, and attributes to the Kathæi certain peculiarities which Curtius assigns to the subjects of *Sophites*. It would seem therefore that the two peoples were actually the same, although the citizens of Sangala, from their opposition to Alexander, have obtained a separate mention by Arrian. But it is difficult to conceive how the inhabitants of a single city could have maintained their position as a separate state. The people of Sangala alone are named *Kathæi*, those of the two neighbouring cities being called "free Indians." I conclude, therefore, that these free Indians and Kathæans paid at least a nominal allegiance to Sophites, and that they were also of the same race as his subjects. Similarly, at the present day, we have frequently seen two different tribes of Afghans, both nominal subjects of the Afghan king, carrying on war on their own account against the British Government, the friend of their sovereign, just as the free Indians and Kathæans fought against Alexander, the friend of Sophites.

The Kathæi were remarked by the Greeks as being tall and handsome in person. According to Curtius and Diodorus, Sophites far exceeded all his subjects in beauty, and was upwards of six English feet. Both of these traits are also assigned to the *Kathi* by modern writers. Thus Burnes says that "they are a tall and handsome race," and my brother calls them "tall and comely." Their good looks were

* Anabasis, V., 22.

[illegible] years ago by Abul Fazl, who [illegible] that [illegible] exceedingly beautiful."*

One of the peculiar customs of the Kathæans was that the young men and maidens had the privilege of choosing their wives and husbands.† With a custom of this kind we know that the brides could not have been mere girls of ten or twelve years of age, as is usual in India, but grown-up women of at least seventeen or eighteen years, who were able to judge for themselves. Now, the same custom is still preserved amongst the *Kâthi*, whose females do not marry until they are eighteen and even twenty years of age. I may mention also, as a common trait of character, their "sagacity," which is attributed to the subjects of Sophites by Curtius, and to the Kâthi by Abul Fazl.

The position and extent of the ancient Kathæa must now be discussed. According to Strabo, "some writers placed Kathæa and the country of the Nomarch Sopeithes in the tract between the rivers (Hydaspes and Akesines), others beyond the Akesines and Hyarotis." These statements leave us in doubt as to the actual position of the district, but fortunately these doubts are set at rest when he adds, only a few lines afterwards, "it is said that in the territory of Sopeithes there is a mountain of fossil salt sufficient for the whole of India." This one fact shows decisively that the territory of Sopeithes must have included the whole of the salt range of hills in the Sindh Sâgar Doab. Again, Arrian states that Alexander ordered Kraterus and Hephæstion to make long marches from Nikæa on the Hydaspes to the kingdom of Sopeithes, and that he himself, sailing down the river with the fleet, arrived at the appointed place on the *third* day.‡ From this statement we learn, 1st, that the capital of Sopeithes was on the Hydaspes; and 2nd, that its distance from *Nikæa* could be accomplished by a fleet of boats in three days. If therefore we fix Nikæa at Mong, opposite Jalâlpur, the fleet would have reached *Bhera* on the third day. Now Bhera, until it was recently supplanted by Pind Dâdan Khan, has always been the principal city in

---

* Burnes' Travels to Bokhara, II, 112; J. D. Cunningham, History of the Sikhs, 6; and Ain Akbari, II, 70.

† Strabon, Geograph., XV, i, 30.

‡ [illegible] VI, 4.

this part of the country. At Bhera, the Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hian crossed the Jhelam in A. D. 400, and against Bhera eleven centuries later the enterprising Baber conducted his first Indian expedition. Opposite to Bhera stands the modern town of Ahmadâbâd, close to which there is an old ruined mound called *Barâri*, which is said to have been the capital of Raja *Jobnâth* or *Chobnâth*. Here then, at the point where the two great salt roads to Multân and Lahor diverge, must have been the most frequented passage of the Jhelam from the earliest times, and here, therefore, I would fixed the capital of Sopeithes, the lord of the salt hills.

With Bhera, as a capital, the territory of Sopeithes would certainly have extended eastward as far as the Akesines or Chenâb, where it would have joined the districts of the "free Indians and Kathæans," of whose three cities Sangala was the chief. As the position of this famous city will be discussed in another place, it will be sufficient here to state that the itinerary of the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang shows most decisively that the *Sâkala* of the Hindus was situated between the Chenâb and the Râvi. Here, then, was the ancient country of the Kathæi, which, following Strabo, extended eastward "beyond the *Hyarotis*," or Râvi, and which therefore corresponds very nearly with the district occupied by the Kâthi of the present day. To the east it was bounded by the Hyphasis or Biâs River, and to the south by the territories of the Malli.

Sobii.

According to these views, it would appear that nearly the whole of the central and southern Panjâb, in the time of Alexander, was held by three cognat tribes of the Turanian descent, namely, the *Sobii*, or subjects of Sophites, in the west; the *Kathæi*, or free Indians of Sangala, in the east; and the *Malli*, or people of Multân, in the south. As the last two have already been discussed, I will now speak of the *Sobii*. According to Curtius and Diodorus, this people occupied the banks of the Akesines below the junctions of the Hydaspes; and Strabo assigns a similar position to the *Sibæ*, whom he places below Kathæa and the country of Sopeithes. But as Dionysius couples the *Sabæ* with the *Toxili* or *Taxili*, who were above the country of

Sopeithes, it would seem that the position of their territory was [illegible]. Our doubts, however, would be removed at once, if we might consider the *Sobii* as the subjects of Sopeithes, or Sophites, as the name is written by Curtius.* The only real objection to this identification is the fact that the two people are separately named by Strabo, as being one below the other. But this objection will, I think, vanish altogether when we remember that Strabo was in doubt whether the territory of Sopeithes stretched so far westward as the Hydaspes, and was therefore obliged to consider the *Sobii*, whom Alexander encountered on that river, as a different people. The same explanation will suffice for the refutation of Curtius and Diodorus, both of whom place the country of Sophites to the east of the Râvi. As the origin of this mistake is intimately connected with the misplacement of Sangala, it will be fully discussed hereafter in my account of the Kathæan city. I need only mention here that the rocky hill of Sangala still exists, and that it is to the westward of the Râvi, in the very position assigned to it by Hwen Thsang. This point being fully established, we know that the territory of Sopeithos, which was to the westward of the Kathæi, must certainly have extended to the Hydaspes, and, as the salt mines also belonged to him, even to the Indus.

A minor objection to the identification of the *Sobii* with the subjects of *Sophites* is the position assigned to them by Curtius and Diodorus at the confluence of the Hydaspes and Akesines. This junction now takes place near *Uch*, about 16 miles below Jhang, on the Chenâb, and not less than 100 miles below Bhera, on the Jhelam, which, as I have already suggested, was most probably the capital of Sopeithes. But the recent surveys of the country show clearly that these two rivers must once have joined their waters about 50 miles above *Uch*, at the foot of the Karâna Hills. The exact point of confluence cannot now be traced, but it was without doubt in the immediate vicinity of the Barâna Pass, which is 25 miles to the west of Chanyot on the Chenâb, and the same distance to the south-east of Sâhiwâl on the Jhelam. At this point the high land of the Doâb terminates, and the

* A few beautiful silver coins bearing the name of *Sophytes*, which have been found in the Western Panjâb, I have assigned to this Prince, the contemporary of Alexander.—See Numismatic Chronicle of London.

old bed of the Chenâb, now called the *Budhi Nadi*, or "old river," is lost in the low land about midway between the two rivers, and within a few miles of the old bed of the Jhelam. The former bed of the Chenâb is traceable not only by its high west bank, but also by its decisive names of *Budhi Nala* and *Budhi Nadi*, from the neighbourhood of Gujarât to the end of the high land of the Doâb, a distance of not less than 90 miles. The old bed of the Jhelam leaves the present channel near *Nun-Miâni*, and passes close by Bhera to Khan Muhammad-wala, where it is lost in the sands. But it re-appears near Dhrewa, 16 miles to the south-east of Sâhiwâl, below which it is traceable to the neighbourhood of Barâna. The existence of these old channels shews very clearly that the confluence of the two rivers must once have taken place at the southern end of the Barâna hills; and that this was the point of junction in the time of Alexander is rendered almost certain by Arrian's description of the *rock* jutting into the river, and of the rushing noise of the eddying waters, as the Karâna Hills offer the only rocks in the lower part of the Rechna Doâb.*

Now, Alexander is said to have reached the confluence of the Hydaspes and Akesines in five days from the capital of Sopeithes. Curtius states that he made only XL., or 40, stadia or five miles daily, but as this is evidently too little, I would read XC., or 90, stadia, that is about 11 miles. His first trip from *Nikæa* or Mong, to the capital of Sopeithes or Bhera, was done in three days, the distance being 36 miles, or just 12 miles a day. If he had exceeded this average distance, it is certain that his troops marching on shore could not have kept up with him. We may therefore conclude that the confluence of the two rivers was not more than 50 or 60 miles below the capital of Sopeithes, and as the direct distance from Bhera to Barâna is just 50 miles, I feel satisfied that this must have been the point of junction in the time of Alexander. By this rectification of the ancient hydrography of the Hydaspes and Akesines, the *Sobii* of Curtius are brought within 50 miles of the capital of Sopeithes, and the only remaining objection to their identification with his subjects is at once removed.

The name of this people is variously written by ancient authors as *Sobii*, *Sabæ*, and *Ibæ*. I have preferred the

* Anabasis, VI., 4—5.

[illegible] for two reasons, first, because all the authors agree in stating that their weapon was a club, from which they would most probably have been called "club-men," or *Chobia*; and, second, because Ferishta couples the *Chobia* with the *Gakars* as "ancient zamindars of the Panjâb." As this statement agrees with that of Dionysius, who couples the *Sobii* with the *Taxili*, it seems to me clearly proved that the territory of the *Sobii* or *Chobia* must have extended to the salt range, otherwise it certainly could not be said to have bordered on those of the Taxili and Gakars. But as the salt mines, according to Strabo were in the dominions of Sopeithes, it follows that the Sobii must have been his subjects. His very name, indeed, points to the same conclusion, for *Sopeithes* or *Sophites* is most probably only the Greek form of *Chob-pati*, the "lord of the club," or king of the club-men. This was the actual title of the Chief of Bhera, as handed down by tradition; for the old ruined city of *Bhadrari* or [illegible] is said to have been the capital of Raja *Chob-nâth*, a name of exactly the same meaning as *Chob-pati*.

According to the concurrent testimony of Alexander's followers, the *Sobii* were the descendants of a colony planted by Hercules. "They wore skins like Hercules, and carried clubs," and "branded their oxen and mules with the mark of a club." Justin calls them *Sibei*, and couples them with the *Hiacensanæ*, a name which is probably intended for Heraclianæ. But Strabo and Arrian discredit the story of Hercules, and attribute the tale to the invention of Alexander's flatterers. But the curious fact still remains undisputed, that the Macedonians found a people on the banks of the Hydaspes named *Sobii* or *Chobia*, whose weapon was a "club," or *chob*. Even King Sopeithes himself is said to have carried a golden truncheon, set with beryls, which he gave up to Alexander as a symbol of authority.*

The general result of this investigation serves to show that the *Sobii* and *Kathæi*, or *Chobia* and *Kâthia*, were intimately connected with each other, and also with the Gakars, or subjects of Abisares. It shows also that nearly the whole of the Panjâb proper was in their possession in the time of Alexander. But shortly after his death they must have lost their

* Diodorus, XVII., 92; Curtius, IX., [illegible]; Strabo, XV., [illegible]; Arrian, Indica, V.; Justin, XII., 9.

independence, as we find that Seleukus made peace with Chandra Gupta, the founder of the Maurya dynasty of *Pâtaliputra*, whose kingdom is said to have extended to the Indus. We know also that his grandson Asoka was in possession of Taxila, and that either he or another Maurya King, whom the Greeks call Sophagasenas, made a treaty with Antiochus the Great on the banks of the Indus. Again, after the fall of the Maurya dynasty, in B. C. 178, we find Pushpamitra, King of Pâtaliputra, offering 100 dinars for the head of every Buddhist Srâmana in Sâkala, while his son Agnimitra encountered the *Yavanas*, or Greeks, on the Indus. But the Greeks soon prevailed, and under Menander, about 150 B. C. their conquests were extended to the Ganges. Just a quarter of a century later the Greeks gave way to the Indo-Scythian *Su* or *Sakas*, who in their turn, about 57 B. C., succumbed to the Scythian *Yuchi* or *Tochari*, whose power as a dominant race is said to have lasted till about the middle of the third century of the Christian era.

At the time of Hwen Thsang's visit, in A. D. 631, the old city of Sâkala had been deserted for many centuries, and the new city, which he calls *Tse-Kia*, was then the capital of a large kingdom which extended from the Indus to the Byâs, and from the foot of the hills to the junction of the five rivers. Hwen Thsang writes the name of the new town *Tse-kia*, with a peculiar character *tse*, which is found only in two other names, in both of which it is followed by the same character *kia*. These names are *To-na-kie-tse-kia* and *Pu-tse-kia*, which M. Julien consistently makes *Dhanakacheka* and *Pu-cheka*, while that of the new Sangala he renders by *Cheka*. It is with much diffidence that I venture to suggest a change in the reading of the Chinese syllable which, in the above names, has been rendered by *tse*; but for the following reason I am induced to think that it would be better represented by the cerebral *ta*.* In no less than four of the cave inscriptions of *Kârle* and *Kanheri* there occurs the name of *Dhanukakata*, which Dr. Stevenson took to be the rendering of the Greek name Xenokrates, but which is, beyond all doubt, only the name of the country of the donor of the recorded gifts. Thus in *Karle*, 10th inscription, the donor is *Sinha Datta* of *Dhanukakata*; in Karle, 11th inscription, the donor is *Ushabha-data's* son; and

* The cerebral letters of Sanskrit are frequently represented by the various Chinese character *tse* and *thse*, as in *Pi-lu-tse-kia* for *Virudhaka*, and other names

in Karle 14th the donor is *Yavana*, both of the same place. Again, in the 10th Kanheri inscription the [illegible] is an [illegible] of *Dhenukakata*. In all four of these ancient inscriptions we have the true reading of the name, which has been but slightly altered in its Chinese form by the simple transposition of the last two syllables.* Instead of *Te-kia*, therefore, we should read *Ka-tse*, or more correctly *Kata*. The same country is described by Abu Rihân as *Danaka*, which he places in the plains of the Konkan. In *Pu-tse-kia*, which is the name of a mountain in E. India, we may perhaps have the Sanskrit *Putaka*, a "concavity or funnel," which might be supposed to refer to a crater-shaped summit. It is possible, however, that the last two syllables may have been transposed in this name also, and that we ought therefore to read *Pukata*, but I am not aware that this word has any meaning in Sanskrit. From these examples I conclude that the name of the new town of Sangala may be read either as *Taka*, or as *Kata*. The former name we might refer to the *Takas*, and the latter to the *Kâthi*, as both of these tribes, at different times, had been masters of Sangala. But as the *Takas* had been displaced long before the time of Alexander, I rather incline to read Hwen Thsang's name as *Kata*, and to refer the founding of the new town to the Kathæi, or Kâthi.

From the time of Hwen Thsang's visit down to the beginning of the tenth century, it is probable that this Panjâb kingdom of new Sangala retained its independent power; but the coins of Syâlapati and Samanta, the early Brahman Princes of Kabul, are found so numerously all over the Panjâb that we are forced to concede to them at least the paramount sovereignty of the whole country. Towards the end of the tenth century their successors were gradually driven to the eastward by the Muhammadans; and after making a stand at Peshawar and Ohind, they were at last driven across the Indus by Sabuktugin, when Jaya Pâla established his new capital at Bhera on the Jhelam, and afterwards at Lahor. The Brahman dynasty became extinct in A. D. 1026, and the Panjâb was finally annexed to the Muhammadan empire of Ghazni.†

---

* See Stevenson's Translations in Journal, Bombay Asiatic Society, Vol. V.; Karle, 10, 11 and 14, and Kanheri 10.

† Briggs, Ferishta, I., 17 and 37.

INDO-SCYTHIANS.

The general name of Indo-Scythians was first given by Ptolemy to the Nomad races which, shortly before the Christian era, overwhelmed the Indian empire of Alexander's successors. According to the Chinese, these Nomads were of two distinct hordes, which they name *Su* and *Yuchi*, who must therefore be the *Saranca* and *Asiani* of Trogus Pompeius. But, according to Strabo, the tribes who overthrew the Greek power in Bactria were named *Asii, Pasiani, Tokhari* and *Sakarauli*. Of these, the first two are most probably only different readings of the name of Asiani, from which tribe, according to Trogus, the Tokhari received their kings.* The Asiani, therefore, must have been a tribe of the Tokharian horde. This is confirmed by the Chinese, who state that the Great Yuchi, after their occupation of Bactria, were divided into five tribes, of which one, named *Kuei-shwang*, conquered the other four, and invaded India. On the coins of this tribe their name is written *Kushan* and *Khushan*, and in their inscriptions *Gushan*, all mere variations of one name, in which we cannot fail to recognize the *Asiani* of Trogus and the *Asii* or *Pasiani* of Strabo. The only remaining names are the *Saranca* of Trogus and the *Sakarauli* of Strabo, who must therefore be the *Su* of the Chinese.

In my notice of the Gakars I have already pointed that the *Sakarauli* or *Sagaraukæ* of Ptolemy derived their name from the *Sagaris* or *Sagar*, an iron-headed mace, which was their peculiar weapon. Their other name of *Sarancæ* may, I think, be traced to the origin by shortening the first syllable from *Sagar* to *Sar*, with the addition of a nasal. The elision of a medial guttural is in strict accordance which the rules of the Mongolian and E. Turki languages; and we have a notable example of the same practice in the name of Attila's uncle, who was called indifferently either *Roas, Ruilas*, or *Rugilas*. We have another example in the Median *tigr*, an "arrow," which has become the Persian *tir*. Similarly the Hindi *sabal* is frequently pronounced *saul*, of which form we have excellent examples in the Scythian *Saulius*, the Parthian *Sauloë*, and the Bactrian *Sauadii*, or *Saualii*. Following the rule observed in all these names

* Trogus Prolog. XLI; Strabo Geograph. [illegible], 8-2.

I conclude that the *Sarancæ* of Trogus is only an abbreviated form of the *Sagaraukæ* of Ptolemy, and the *Sakarauli* of Strabo. Thus all the different names of the classical authors are limited to two distinct hordes, the *Sagaraukæ* and the *Tokhari*, who must therefore be the *Su* and *Yuchi* of the Chinese annals. To these annals we are indebted for the only detailed accounts that we possess of the Indo-Scythians, but the scattered notices of the classical writers are of much value in checking as well as in confirming these Chinese statements. The subject is one of very great importance to early oriental history, for the successful advance of these Scythian hordes not only extinguished the Greek power in Bactria, but also materially weakened the Parthian empire, and caused a permanent change in the mass of the population of N. W. India. As this last effect is the only one that is connected with ethnography of the Panjâb, I will confine my remarks on the early career of the Indo-Scythias to a brief statement of their previous history, as a necessary preparation for the more formal discussion of their settlement in India.

Su, or Sagaraukæ.

According to the Chinese annals, the provinces on the Jaxartes, in the early part of the second century before Christ, were in possession of a Scythian horde named *Su*. In 163 B. C. the growing power of another horde, named the Great *Yuchi*, forced them to retire towards the south into *Sogdiana* where they succeeded in establishing themselves. In B. C. 126, being again ejected by the Yuchi, they retired still farther to the south, and occupied *Kipin* or *Kophene*, while the Yuchi took possession of Sogdiana and the country of the *Tahia*, or Dahæ. Comparing these accounts with the notices of the classical writers, and with the inferences furnished by the coins, we conclude with tolerable certainty that the Greeks lost possession of Sogdiana in B. C. 163; that shortly afterwards they were deprived of Bactriana by th *Su* or *Sagaraukæ*, and of Margiana by the Parthians; and that from that time their dominion was limited to the south of the Caucasus.

The extent of the kingdom of *Kipin* is not clearly stated in the Chinese annals, but it may be gathered, from a

comparison of all available sources of information, that it comprised Aria, Arachosia, and Drangiana, and perhaps also Gedrosia. It therefore corresponded as nearly as possible with the Ariana of classical writers. Shortly after 126 B. C., *Kaofu*, or the territory of Kabul, is said to have been divided between the Parthians, the Indians, and *Su* Kings of Kipin; and a glance at the map will shew that this was the natural division of the country. The hill district on the upper Margus, or Murgâb, would have belonged to the western Parthians; those on the Kophes, or Kabul River, to the Idno-Greek King Hermæus; and those on the Arius, or Hari-rud, to the southern kingdom of Kipin. That Arachosia and Drangiana formed part of *Kipin*, and belonged to the *Su*, we have the testimony of several ancient authors. Thus Stephanus of Byzantium states that the capital of Arachosia was formerly called *Kophes*, the district *Kophene*, and the people *Kophenii*.† Pliny writes the name of the city *Cutis*, for which we should most probably read *Cuphis*. Isidorus of Charax, who lived about the beginning of the Christian era, gives the name of *Sakastene* to the greater part of Drangiana, and calls the people Saka-Scythians, their capital *Sigal*, and one of their chief cities *Min*. I notice these last two names more particularly, because they are found also amongst the Scythian cities of India, the former in *Sangala*, or *Ságala*, of the Kathœi, as well as in *Sagala* (or Euthymedia) on the Hydaspes; and the latter in *Min-nagara*, the capital of Indo-Scythia. Lastly, the "faithless Sakas" (*Sagam infidum*) are included by Avienus amongst the people of Ariana, along with the Oritæ, the Aribæ and the Arachotæ. In the original poem of Dionysius, as well as in Priscian's translation, we find *Satraidæ* instead of *Sakas*; but by the change of a single letter, of T for T, this would become *Sagraidæ*, which would be only another various reading of *Sagaraukæ* and *Sakarauli*—the name of that great Scythian tribe whose weapon was the *Sagaris*, or iron mace.*

From *Kipin*, the *Su* or *Sakas* rapidly extended their conquests to the eastward, until they occupied the whole valley of the Indus. Ptolemy apparently limits his district of Indo-Scythia to the province of Sindh, below the junction

* Dionysius, Orbis descriptio, v. 1097; Priscianus, 1004; Avienus, 1296.

† Herodatus, VII, 61, also states that the Persians were once called *Kephenes* by the Greeks.

of the five rivers; but as he places the north-west angle about midway between Arachotus and Kabura, or Kandahar and Kabul, it is certain that his Indo-Scythia must have included the valley of the Gomal River to the west of the Indus. This is confirmed by the names of some of the northern towns, such as *Sabanna* and *Kodrana*, which, as I have before pointed out, are most probably the *Zhobe* and *Kandar* of the Gomal valley. To the north-east it is bounded by the territory of the Kaspirei, and to the north by the small districts of Bukephala, Taxila and Proklais, which correspond with the modern divisions of Jhelam, Râwal-pindi, and Peshawur. The author of the Erythræan Periplus calls the countries at the mouth of the Indus the "seaboard of *Scythia*," but the capital, which he names *Minnagar*, was at some distance inland. It is therefore the same as Ptolemy's *Binagara*, and may, I think, with much probability be identified with *Thatha*.* Indeed the southern position of Binagara shows that the name of Scythia in the Periplus must be restricted to the valley of the Lower Indus below the junction of the five rivers.

According to these accounts the conquests of the *Su* or *Sakas* would be limited to Sindh and the lower part of the Panjâb; but as the coins of Moas and Azas, who certainly belonged to this race, are found more numerously in the north-west parts of the Panjâb than elsewhere, we must extend the original Indian dominion of the Sakas to these provinces also. The explanation of this apparent discrepancy is simply that the coins and the authorities refer to two different periods. The coins of Moas and his successors belong to the latter end of the second and earlier half of the first century before Christ, or B. C. 126 to 57, while the Periplus and the geography of Ptolemy are from one hundred and fifty to two hundred years later. During that time the *Su* or *Sakas* were defeated by the *Yuchi* or *Tokhari*, who shortly before the Christian era succeeded in establishing their supremacy both in Ariana and in the Panjâb. From that time the power of the *Sakas* was limited to Sindh and the lower Panjâb, or in other words to the very countries that are included in the *Scythia* of the Periplus and the *Indo-Scythia* of Ptolemy.

* See my Ancient Geography of India, pp. 289—291, where this question is fully discussed.

Another subject that requires explanation is the statement of the author of the Periplus, that in his time, or about A. D. 160, the rulers of Indo-Scythia were *Parthians.** Now we know from a later authority, Dionysius Periegetes, that the *Scythians* still held the lower valley of the Indus in his time or towards the end of the third century. But why then does the author of the Periplus call them Parthians? Simply because, as I believe, the *Su* or *Sakas* being the descendants of Scytho-Parthian Dahæ, were not distinguishable from true Parthians either in speech, in manners, or in dress. Their names also were the same as those of the Parthians; and accordingly we find Strabo asserting without any reservation that Arsakes, the founder of the Parthian monarchy, was a Scythian of the Parnian tribe of Dahæ.† We have also other true Parthian names in Vonones, one of the founders of Indo-Scythian power in the N. W. Panjâb; in Abdagases, the nephew of Gondophares; and in Pakores, one of the latest of the Indo-Scythian kings of S. Ariana and Sindh, of whom we possess coins inscribed with Greek characters.‡

As the close ethnic relation between the Parthians and the Indo-Scythian Sakas is a point of much interest and importance in determining the question of who are the modern representatives of the old Scythian conquerors of India, I propose to discuss it at some length. According to the Chinese annals, the first Scythian tribes who occupied *Kipin,* or Ariana, were the *Su* and *Tahia*, or the Sacæ and Dahæ, after their expulsion by the Yuchi from the provinces on the Oxus. We here at once meet with one of the inherent difficulties of all ethnological inquiries, in discriminating between the Native names of the various tribes and those which their neighbours may have succeeded in fixing upon them. Thus the name of *Saka*, which is found in the inscriptions of Darius Hystaspes, is most probably one of the Native terms, because the name is still preserved by the great tribe of *Sok* or *Sok-po*, who now live to the east of Ladak. The name of *Dahæ*, on the contrary, is almost certainly a foreign one, being derived from the Zend *dahyu*,

---

* Hudson, Geographiæ Veteris Scriptores Græci minores, I., 22.

† Geograph, XI., 9—2.

‡ To these names I may now add that of Ardagases, from a new coin in my own possession.

"a robber," an appropriate title, which the frontier Scythians must have fully earned from their Persian neighbours, and which is still preserved in the modern name of *Dahistan*. In its Sanscrit form of *dasyu*, the term was freely applied by the early Hindus to their enemies, and as *Daise* we find it given by Stephanus Byzantinus as another name for the *Dahæ*. In modern Hindi the word is *Dâku*, a form which is accurately represented by the well known *Daci* and *Dacia* of Roman history. From these examples it is evident that *Dahæ* was not the real name of any of the tribes to whom it was applied, but only a descriptive nickname fastened upon them by their neighbours. In the case of the *Daci*, we know from Strabo that they originally formed part of the great Getic horde of the frontier of Thracia, and that afterwards, as they were the first of the Getæ who encountered the Roman arms, their name was gradually applied to the whole Getic nation. Guided by this example, we may, I think, conclude with some certainty that the *Dahæ* of the Caspian belonged actually to the great Scythian horde of *Massagetæ*, who were their nearest neighbours on the north and east. Now Strabo describes the Scythians to the east of the Caspian as consisting of three tribes,—the *Dahæ*, *Massagetæ*, and *Dacæ*. But as the first two names belonged to the same people, the real number of tribes was only two, the *Massagetæ* and *Dacæ*, who must therefore be the same as the *Su* and *Tahia* of the Chinese annals.

There are, however, good and sufficient reasons for believing that the name of *Su* or *Sus* must have been a common appellation for both *Dahæ* and *Sacæ*. In his remarks on the tri-lingual inscriptions of Darius Hystaspes, Sir Henry Rawlinson has drawn special attention to the fact that in the Scythic version the name of *Abarti* or *Afarti* is everywhere substituted for the Persian Susiana, and therefore that *Abars* and *Sus* are but different names of the same people.* Mr. Norris also has compared this Scythian name with that of the widely-spread tribe of *Amardi* or *Mardi*, who are found in so many parts of Central Asia, in Bactria and Margiana, in Hyrkania and Media, as well as in Susiana.† I have myself identified the *Aparni* and *Parni*

* Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, XV., 236.

† Ibid, XV., pp. 97 & 164.

of Strabo and Ptolemy with these *Abárs*, and I may now, on the authority of the inscriptions of Darius, identify them with the *Sus*. Under the name of *Mardi* we find them coupled by Pliny with the *Jatii* to the south of the Oxus, and under that of *Mardieni* they are placed by Ptolemy in Sogdiana, to the north of the Oxus. As *Aparni* they lived in the deserts to the north of Hyrkania, and as *Parni* they are found in Margiana. Everywhere throughout the N. E. Provinces of the ancient Persian empire, from Media to Sogdiana, we find sure traces of these *Abárs* or *Sus*. We thus see that the name of *Su* or *Sus*, which the brief notice of the Chinese annals would seem to limit originally to the people on the north of the Jaxartes, belonged equally to the mass of the population on the south of the river. The *Dahæ* may therefore be described as the *Sus* of the Oxus, and the *Massagetæ* and *Sakæ* as the *Sus Jaxartes*.

To reconcile the Chinese accounts with this conclusion, we have but to suppose that at some early period the *Sus* had extended themselves from the Caspian in the west to Ili in the east, and that the Eastern *Sus* only were known to the Chinese. Under this supposition it is easy to see how, when the *Sus* were driven back by the Yuchi from their pastures near the Ili River amongst their brethren on the Jaxartes and Oxus, the Chinese would naturally attribute the exploits of the *Massagetæ* and *Dahæ*, and of all other *Sus*, to that one branch of the horde with which they were acquainted. I think it highly probable, therefore, that the actual *Sus* of the Ili may not have penetrated beyond the Oxus, and that the subsequent occupation of Ariana and the valley of the Indus was really effected by the *Dahæ*, *Massagetæ*, and *Sakæ*, or by the *Sus* of the Oxus and Jaxartes.

The *Dahæ* or *Sus* of the Oxus are divided by Strabo into three tribes, the *Aparni* or *Parni*, the *Xanthii* or *Xandii*, and the *Parii* or *Pissuri*.* The first of these names I have already identified with the *Sakarauli*, or *Sagaraukæ*, which was only another general name for the *Abárs* or *Sus*. The second I believe to be the same as the *Jatii* of Pliny and Ptolemy; and the third may, I think, be identified with

* Geograph, XI., 8—2, and XI., 9—3.

Paralatæ, or Royal Scythians of Herodotus. To the last it may perhaps be objected that the *Paralatæ* were European Scythians, but the objection is fully met by the statement of Strabo that "the Dahæ Parni of the Caspian were an emigrant tribe from the Dahæ above the Mæotis." As the names of the Aparni and Parii have been amply discussed in my account of the Gakars, I will now confine myself to an examination of the claims of the *Xanthii* or *Iatii* to be reckoned amongst the first Scythian conquerors of Ariana and India.

In its original Native form, the Greek name of *Xanthii* or *Xandi* would have been *Janth*, or by dropping the nasal, *Jath*. The latter is perhaps the preferable form, as Ptolemy makes the *Iatii* the immediate neighbours of the *Sagaraukæ* to the south of the Jaxartes, while Pliny places them to the south of the Oxus, along with the Comani, Marucæi, Mandrueni, and Bactri. Both of these statements are in strict accordance with the more explicit account of Strabo, that "the Aparni approached the nearest to Hyrkania and the Caspian, and the others (Xanthii and Parii) extended as far as the country opposite to Aria." According to these accounts, the three tribes of the Dahæ would appear to have occupied both banks of the Oxus between Bactria and Khorasmia, and to have extended as far as the Caspian on the west, and the Jaxartes on the east. On this side their immediate neighbours were the Massagetæ and Sacæ. These, then, were the tribes whom the continuous successes of the Yuchi forced to retire towards the south, until in 126 B. C. they managed to establish themselves in *Kipin* or Ariana. In the accounts of this great migration the *Su* alone are mentioned by the Chinese, and the *Sakarauli* or *Sagaraukæ*, or *Saranceæ*, by the classical writers. But as the Yuchi occupied *Tahia*, at the same time that they ejected the *Su* from Sogdiana, we may conclude with certainty that the mass of *Dahæ* must either have accompanied the *Massagetæ* and *Sacæ* on their march to Ariana, or, what is perhaps equally probable, that they were forced to retire before the others, first into Ariana, and afterwards into India, where they finally settled in the valley of the Indus. Under this view, the colonization of Ariana would have been chiefly effected by the Scythian Massagetæ and Sacæ, that of India by the Scythian *Dahæ*.

This view of the great Scythian migration is supported by several minor facts, which separately, perhaps, would not be of much value, but, when taken together, acquire an amount of importance that forces itself upon our consideration. From Isidorus of Charax, who lived about the beginning of the Christian era, we learn that the greater part of Drangiana, together with a portion of Arachosia, was called *Sakastene*, or "land of the Sakas." From this I would infer that the main body of that tribe, the *Sus* of the Jaxartes, had most probably settled in the country which was thus called after them. The name of *Sigál*, the capital of Sakastene, seems also to refer to this race, as it is evidently the same name as the *Sángala* of the Greeks, and the *Súkala* of the Hindus.

Following the same clue, I would infer that the *Dahæ*, or *Sus* of the Oxus, under their general name of *Abárs*, most probably settled only in detached places in Ariana, while the bulk of the horde colonized the valley of the Indus. In Ariana their name has been preserved only in Ptolemy's *Obares* and *Orbetane* of Aria, and in Isidor's *Barda* of Sakastene, while in India we find the large district of *Abiria*, with the cities of *Pardabathra*, *Parabali*, and *Bardaxema*. Their other general name of *Sus* is perhaps preserved in *Susikana* of Indo-Scythia, although it is more probable that the true reading is *Musikana*, after the Musikanus of Alexander's historians. Of the tribal names of *Mandrueni* and *Iatii*, which are coupled together by Pliny, I can find traces only of the former in the classical writers. I conclude therefore that the *Jatii* or *Xanthii*, whom I take to be the widely-spread *Jats*, and *Jats* of modern days, may perhaps in early times have been best known by the generic name of *Abárs*, just in the same way as the *Pándavas* of the Central Panjáb have been handed down to us by Alexander's historians under the name of *Porus*. Some supposition of this sort is absolutely necessary to account for the complete silence of all classical authors regarding the *Jats*, who, with their rivals the *Meds*, were found by the Musalmáns in full possession of the valley of the Indus towards the end of the seventh century.

MEDI, OR MEDS.

The *Meds*, or *Mands*, as they are also called by Muhammadan writers, are almost certainly the representatives of the

Mandrueni who lived in the *Mandrus* River to the south of the Oxus; and as their name is found in the Panjâb in the notices of several classical writers from the beginning of the Christian era downwards, and in none before that time, I conclude that they must have accompanied their neighbours, the *Jatii* or *Jats*, on their forced migration from the Oxus to Ariana and India. In the classical writers the name is found as *Medi* and *Mandueni*, and in the Muhammadan writers as *Med* and *Mand*.* To show that those two spellings are but natural modes of pronunciation of the same name, I can refer to the two large maps of the Shahpur and Jhelam districts, which have been published by the Surveyor General within the last years. In the latter the name of a village on the Jhelam, six miles above Jalalpur, is spelt *Mariala*, and in the former the name of the same village is spelt *Mandiali*. The name is written with the cerebral *d*, and may therefore be pronounced either as *d* or *r*. In General Court's map it is written *Mâmriâla*, in Mogal Beg's by Wilford it is *Mandyálo*, and in my note book it is the same, the spelling of the name having been obtained from two different persons. In Ferishta the place is called the Sarái of *Mariâla* on the Jhelam, and as the notice refers to the reign of Musâud of Ghazni, the name is certainly not less than eight centuries old. Abul Fazl calls it *Merali*.†

The earliest notice of the *Meds* is by Virgil, who calls the Jhelam *Medus Hydaspes*.‡ This epithet is explained by the statement of Vibius Sequester, which makes the Hydaspes flow "past the city of *Media*."§ Now this is perhaps the same place as Ptolemy's *Euthy-media*, or *Sagala*, which was either on or near the same river, and above Bukephala. Lastly, in the Peutingerian Tables, the country on the Hydaspes, for some distance below Alexandria Bucefalos, is called *Media*. Here, then, we have evidence that the *Medi* or *Meds* were in the Panjâb as early at least as the time of Virgil, in B. C. 40 to 30, and as we know that they were not

---

* Ibn Haukal in Gildemeister De Rebus Indicis, writes *Mund*, which Sir Henry Elliot, Sindh, 151, gives as *Mand*; while in Masudi (Muhammadan Historians, p. 57), he makes *Mind*. Reinaud (Fragments Arabes, p. 20) gives the name from the Mojmal-ut-Tdwarikh as *Meyd* or *Med*.

† Briggs' Ferishta, I., 111, and Gladwin's Ain Akbari, II., 263.

‡ Georgica, IV., 210.

§ In Fluminibus "Hydaspes Indiæ urbis Mediæ defluit Indo ex Caucaso."

one of the five tribes of *Yuchi* or *Tochari*, whose names are given by the Chinese writers, it may be inferred with tolerable certainty that they must have belonged to the great horde of *Sus* or *Abârs*, who entered India about B. C. 126, and gave their name to the province of Indo-Scythia.

As the date of the Peutingerian Table is not later than A. D. 250, we have a break of upwards of four centuries before we reach the earliest notices of the Muhammadan writers. In these we find the *Meds* or *Mands* firmly established in Sindh, along with their ancient rivals the *Jats*, both of whom are said to be the descendants of Ham, the son of Noah. Rashid-ud-din further states that they were in Sindh at the time of the Mahâbhârata, but this is amply refuted by the Native histories of the province, which omit both names from the list of aborigines of Sindh.* Ibn Haukal describes the *Mands* of his time, about A. D. 977, as occupying the banks of the Indus from Multân to the sea, and to the desert between Mekran and Famhal. Masudi, who visited India in A. D. 915-16, calls them *Mind*, and states that they were a race of Sindh who were at constant war with the people of Mansura. These notices are sufficient to show that, at some time previous to the first appearance of the Muhammadans, the *Meds* must have been forced to migrate from the Upper Panjab to Sindh. There they have since remained, as there can be no reasonable doubt that they are now represented by the *Mers* of the Aravali Range to the east of the Indus, of *Kâthiâwâr* to the south, and of *Biluchistan* to the west.

The name of *Mer* or *Mand* is still found in many parts of the Panjâb, as in *Meror* of the Bâri and Rechna Doâbs; in Mera, Mandra, and Mandanpur of the Sindh Sâgar Doâb, and in Mandali of Multân. Mera, which is ten miles to the west of Kalar Kahâr, is certainly as old as the beginning of the Christian era, as it possesses an Arian Pali inscription fixed in the side of a square well. This frequent occurrence of the name in so many parts of the Panjab, and always attached to old places as in *Mera*, *Mandra*, and *Meriali* of the Sindh Sâgar Doâb, offers the strongest confirmation of the conclusion which I have already derived from the notices of the classical authors, that the *Meds* or *Mers* were once

* Sir Henry Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, p. 67.

the dominant race in the Panjâb. The special location of the *Medi* on the Hydaspes by classical writers of the first centuries of the Christian era, the evident antiquity of *Mera*, *Meriali*, and other places which still bear the name, and the admitted foreign origin of their modern representatives, the *Mers*, all point to the same conclusion that the *Medi* or *Meds* were the first Indo-Scythian conquerors of the Panjâb.

According to this view the *Medi* would have been the followers of the great King *Moas*, or Raja *Moga*, the legendary founder of *Moga-nagara*, or *Mong*, on the east bank of the Jhelam.* Unfortunately neither his own coins, nor those of his immediate successors,—Vonones, Azas, and others,—give us any clue to the name of Moga's tribe. Tradition, however, says that he was a *Saka*, a term which is equally applicable to both *Dahæ* Scythians and *Sacæ* Scythians, but which is never used to designate the *Tochari* or *Yuchi*. Now, the date of the Scythian conquest of Ariana is referred to B. C. 126 by the concurrent testimony of the Chinese and Parthian histories; but that of the *Yuchi* conquests in India and Ariana, and the consequent loss of supremacy by the first Indo-Scythians, is still unsettled, as our only authorities, the Chinese, refer it loosely to a period one hundred years later, which we may set down as from 39 to 26 B. C. About this time, therefore, the *Meds* may be supposed to have retired towards the south until they finally established themselves in Upper Sindh, and gave their name to their new capital of *Minnagara*. As this could scarcely have been effected with the consent of the former occupants of Upper Sindh, whom I suppose to have been the *Iatii* or *Jats*, I would refer to this period as the beginning of that continued rivalry which the historian Rashid-ud-din attributes to the *Jats* and *Meds*. To this same cause I would also refer the statement of Erythræan Periplus, that about A. D. 100 the rulers of Minnagara were rival Parthians who were mutually expelling each other.*

ZANTHII, IATII, OR JATS.

The traditions of the Hindu Jats of Riâna and Bharatpur point to Kandahâr as their parent country,† while those

* Hudson, Geog. Vet. I., 22, and Vincent's Periplus, II., 386, note.

† Tod's Rajasthan, II., 227.

of the Muhammadan Jats generally refer to Gajni or Garh-Gajni, which may be either the celebrated fort of Ghazni in Afghanistan, or the old city of Gajnipur on the site of Rawalpindi. But if I am right in my identification of the *Jats* with the *Zanthii* of Strabo, and the *Iatii* of Pliny and Ptolemy, their parent country must have been on the banks of the Oxus, between Bactria, Hyrkania, and Khorasmia. Now in this very position there was a fertile district, irrigated from the Margus River, which Pliny calls *Zotale* or *Zothale*, and which I think may have been the original seat of the *Iatii* or Jats.* Their course from the Oxus to the Indus may perhaps be dimly traced in the *Xuthi* of Dionysius of Samos,† who are coupled with the Arieni, and in the *Zuthi* of Ptolemy, who occupied the Karmanian desert on the frontier of Drangiana. As I can find no other traces of their name in the classical writers, I am inclined to believe, as before suggested, that they may have been best known in early times by the general name of their horde as *Abârs*, instead of by their tribal name as Jats. According to this view the main body of the *Iatii* would have occupied the district of *Abiria* and the towns of *Pardabathra* and *Bardaxema* in Sindh, or Southern Indo-Scythia, while the Panjâb or Northern Indo-Scythia was chiefly colonized by their brethren the *Meds*.

When the Muhammadans first appeared in Sindh, towards the end of the seventh century, the *Zaths* and *Meds* were the chief population of the country. But as I have already shown that the original seat of the *Medi* or *Med* colony was in the Panjâb Proper, I conclude that the original seat of the *Iatii* or Jat colony must have been in Sindh. With the Meds they at first gallantly opposed the advance of the Arabs, but afterwards they were induced to join the foreign invaders against their rival brethren. In the beginning of the eleventh century the Jats were bold enough to plunder the army of Mahmud on its return from Somnâth. According to Ferishta, they then occupied the Jûd mountains and the plain beneath them, which was intersected by rivers.‡ Comparing these two accounts with the statement that the Jats sent their families

* Hist. Nat. VI., 18.

† Bassarica, quoted by Stephanus of Byzantium.

‡ Briggs' Ferishta, I., 81.

and property to Sindh Sâgar for safety, it would appear that they had already entered the Panjâb before the reign of Mahmud.

At the present day the Jats are found in every part of the Panjâb, where they form about two-fifths of the population. They are chiefly Musalmâns, and are divided into not less than a hundred different tribes, of which the following are best known: Arain, Bâgri, Chathe, Chima, Gundal, Kalyal, Mâlyar, Ranja, Thârar, and Wirak. Where any particular tribe predominates, the district is usually called after its name. Thus in the Chaj or Janhat Doab we find *Miyâni-Gundal*, so called to distinguish it from Nun-Miyâni on the Jhelâm, besides *Ranja-Des*, and *Thârar-Thappa*; and in the Rechna Doab we have *Chima-Des*, to the south and west of Syâlkot. In the Sindh Sâgar Doâb, the southern plains are chiefly occupied by Jats and the northern hills by Gujars, while the middle districts have a mixed population of Gakars, Gujars, Awâns, Ghebis, and Jats. This distribution had already taken place before the time of Baber, who found the central districts divided between the Janjuhas and the Gakars, with Jâts and Gujars tributary to the latter.

It may perhaps be objected to my proposed identification of the Jats with the Indo-Scythians, that they are included, as Colonel Tod says, "in all the ancient catalogues of the thirty-six royal races of India."* But I can meet this objection at once by referring to Colonel Tod's five printed lists, of which only *one* contains the name of *Jit*. But the utter worthlessness of this list, which is taken from a Gujarâti MS. of the *Kumâra Pâla Charitra*, is proved by the insertion of the *Kâthi*, who are universally admitted not to be Rajputs, as well as by the omission of such well known names as the Rathor, Kachwâha, and Bais. That the Jats are not Rajputs is also acknowledged by Colonel Tod himself, when he confesses his ignorance "of any instance of a Rajput's intermarriage with a Jit." But when making this confession he must have forgotten his translation of a "Memorial of a Jit Prince of the fifth century," who is said to have married "two wives of Yadu race."† Now, if any dependence could be placed on the

* Tod's Rajasthan, I., 106.

† Ibid., I., 796.

perfect accuracy of Colonel Tod's translation, I would at once admit that this inscription proves the Rajput origin of the Jâts beyond all possibility of doubt. But the low position which the Jats hold in the social scale is so well known that, without any hesitation whatever, I conclude that the published version must be inaccurate. Perhaps the word which Colonel Tod has read as *Jilh* and *Jit*, should be *Jin* or *Jina*.

To the east of the Panjâb the Hindu Jats are found in considerable numbers in the frontier States of Bikaner, Jesalmer, and Jodhpur, where, in Colonel Tod's opinion, they are as numerous as all the Rajput races put together.* They are found also in great numbers along the upper courses of the Ganges and Jumna as far eastward as Bareli, Farakhabad, and Gwalior. They are divided into two distinct clans, called *De* and *Hele* in the Doab, and *Pachkade* and *Deswale* in Delhi and Rohilkhand. These latter names, which may be translated as "late" and "aboriginal," would seem to show that the *Pachkade* or *De Jats* were a comparatively recent colony. This is confirmed by the known facts in the history of Bharatpur, which owes its rise to *Churâman Jât*, who, after the death of Aurangzib, migrated with his followers from the banks of the Indus.

To the south of the Panjâb, the Musalmân Jats are said by Pottinger† to form the entire population of the fruitful district of Harand-Dâjel, on the right bank of the Indus, and the bulk of the population in the neighbouring district of Kach-Gandâva. In Sindh, where they have intermarried largely with Bilûchis and Musalmâns of Hindu descent, it is no longer possible to estimate their numbers, although it is certain that a very large proportion of the population must be of Jât descent.

I will close this discussion on the Indo-Scythians with a few remarks on some of their coins, which appear to me to offer further confirmation of the special views that I have advocated. I allude more particularly to the following opinions:

1st.—That the *Dahæ Scythians* were essentially the same people as the *Massagetæ* and *Sacæ Scythians*.

2nd.—That all three belonged to the widely-spread race of *Sus* or *Abârs*.

---

* See also Elphinstone's Kabul, I., 8; and Boileau's Rajwara.

† Bilûchistan, pp. 310, 311, & 375.

3rd.—That the *Sacæ* and *Massagetæ Scythians* were the *Sus* of the Chinese, who occupied Sogdiana in B. C. 163.

4th.—That the *Dahæ*, and specially the two tribes of *Medi* or *Mandrueni*, and *Iatii* or *Zanthii*, must have accompanied the *Sacæ* and *Massagetæ* on their forced migration to Ariana.

5th.—That the bulk of the *Sacæ* or *Sakas* most probably remained in Ariana, and gave their name to the province of *Sakastene*, while the great body of the *Dahæ*, or *Medi* and *Iatii* continued their march to the valley of the Indus, where they settled, and gave their name to the colony of Indo-Scythia.

6th.—That these *Medii* and *Iatii* are the *Meds* and *Jats* of the present day.

The coins which I would assign to the *Sus* or *Abârs* are three distinct classes:

1st.—Barbarous imitations of the coins of the Bactrian Greek Kings,—Euthydemus, Eukratides, and Heliokles.

2nd.—Coins of a Scythian dynasty which preceded the Kushan tribe of Yuchi in the occupation of the N. W. Panjâb.

3rd.—Coins of a Scythian dynasty which ruled over South Ariana and Sindh about the beginning of the Christian era.

The first class of coins I assign to the first period of Scythian dominion, between 163 and 126 B. C., because the coins, which are nearly all found to the north of the Caucasus, are imitations of the money of the last three Græco-Bactrian Princes whose dominion they overthrew. The large silver pieces copied from the tetradrachms of Euthydemus bear a legend in some Native character, nearly akin to that which Sir Henry Rawlinson calls Parthian, but which Mr. Thomas names Chaldæo Pehlvi. The legend is always the same, there being four letters to the right of the head and three to the left, which I read somewhat doubtfully as *Mashâta Kan*, " King Mashât," or *Masadata Kan*, " King

Mogadates." The copper coins, both large and small, bear Greek legends, which, as they are only barbarous renderings of the name and titles of Heliokles, are of no value. The small silver coins, which are all copied from the Oboli of Eukratides, also bear Greek legends; but as they are found in Kandahar and Sistan, as well as in Balkh and Samarkand, they must certainly have belonged to the first Scythians who occupied Ariana in B. C. 126.

The coins of the second class are those of the great *Moga* or *Moas*, and his immediate successors Azas and Azilises in the N. W. Panjâb; and Vonones, Spalahores, Spalirises and Spalagadames, in Peshawar and the districts on the west bank of the Indus. The Parthian name of Vonones induces me to believe that the princes of this dynasty were most probably *Dahæ Scythians* from the frontiers of Parthia, and not *Massagetæ Scythians* from the more distant provinces beyond the Jaxartes. The name of *Moas* also would seem to point to the same conclusion, as it is found amongst the cognate races of Cappadocia and Pontus; in *Mougeles* the tyrant of Cibyra, and in *Moaphernes* the father-in-law of Strabo. It must be remembered that Strabo himself connects the Dahæ of the Euxine with the Dahæ of the Caspian, and that his testimony on this point is entitled to special consideration on account of his birth and connexions. We learn also from Strabo that the *Mædi* were a Thracian tribe, and that the Thracians and Getæ were the same people, because they spoke the same language; and as I have myself shown that the Getæ and Massagetæ worshipped the same god called *Gebeleizes* or *Zamolxis*, I infer that they were of the same race, and therefore that the Getic name of *Med* must have been in use amongst the Massagetæ and Dahæ of the Caspian. On these grounds I think that I am justified in my conclusions, that the *Medi* or *Meds* of the Hydaspes belonged to the horde of Dahæ Scythians, and that the great King *Moga* or *Moas* was the leader who established the Indo-Scythian dominion in the Panjâb.

The coins of the third class, which belong to Gondophares and his successors, are found chiefly in Sistan, Kandahar, and Sindh, and in the South Panjâb. The coins of Gondophares are found also at Kabul, but I am not aware that even a single specimen of any of his successors has been found in the Kabul Valley. Guided by these indications, I conclude that Gondophares was the founder of

a Scythian dynasty, whose proper territories were confined to Sistân, Kandahar, and Sindh. This is partly confirmed by the fact that Gondophares is almost certainly the same as Gondoforus of the early Christian legends, who is said to have put St. Thomas to death. Now, in the *Legenda Aurea*, Gundoforus is called King of India—a title which agrees with the recorded accounts of the scene of St. Thomas' mission in Parthia, Persia, and India. But the place of his death is even more distinctly stated by Bishop Sophronius, who says "*dormivit in civitate Calamina, quæ est Indiæ*," which is further supported by the testimony of St. Gaudentius and the Roman Martyrology. An old inscription of A. D. 1070, on the door of the Basilica of St. Paul on the Ostian road, also testifies that he was put to death in India. The Syriac writer, Amru, says that his tomb was in the "Island of Meilan in India," but it is doubtful whether this is intended for the "City Calamina," which was the scene of his death. I feel inclined to identify this city with the *Min-nagar* of the Periplus, which may have been called *Kara-Mina*, or "Black Mina," to distinguish it from the older city of *Min* in Sakastene.* Taken together, these statements are sufficient to show that King Gundoforus of the Christian legends was almost certainly the ruler of Western India in the time of St. Thomas; and as King Gondophares of the coins was the ruler of the same country about the same time, we are, I think, fully justified in concluding that the two kings were very probably the same person.

I would assign the establishment of the dynasty of Gondophares to about 30 A. D., and the death of the founder to about 60 A. D. During this period the rule of Gondophares must have been extended over the Eastern Panjâb, as I have found his coins in Multân and in all the old ruined mounds to the south of Lahor. Shortly after his death, or in A. D. 78, one of his successors must have lost the Southern Panjâb, as the great victory of Sâlivâhana over the Sakas, which took place at *Kuhror* near Multân, can only apply to the Indo-Scythians. We may also infer that Abdagases, the nephew, and Sasan the relative of Gondophares, must have reigned in the Panjâb, as their coins are found there only;

* *Calamina* may also be interpreted as *Kilah-Mina*, or the "Fort of Min;"—as Sir Henry Rawlinson has shown that the original Semitic word for a fort was *kar*, which was corrupted very early to *kal* and *khal*, as in *Khalasar*, the Fort of Asshur, *Kalwádeh*, the Fort of Wad, &c.—Rawlinson's Herodotus, I., 590, note 3.

and for a similar reason that Orthagnes, another relative, must have reigned in Kandahar, Sistan, and Sindh. The coins of Arsakes and Sanabares precede those of Gondophares; but the coins of Pakores, and of at least two other princes, the successors of Orthagnes, show that this dynasty must have lasted down to about 100 A. D.; but after that time we have no distinct information that can be applied with certainty either to the people or to the princes of Indo-Scythia. We know only that the people of Sejistan defended their independence for many years against the first Sassanian Kings,* and that Dionysius Periegetes calls the people on the Indus "Southern Scythians."† But these notices belong to the third century; and, although we may accept the translations of Avienus and Priscian as extending the Scythian occupation of the provinces on the Indus to the beginning of the fifth century, yet there will still remain a blank period of about three hundred years, of which we have no information whatever. At the first appearance of the Muhammadans in Sindh, towards the end of the seventh century, the sovereignty had already passed into the hands of a Brahman family, while the mass of the population consisted of the rival tribes of *Zaths* and *Meds*. That a royal family may become extinct, or may be supplanted by another, while the bulk of the people still remains unchanged, was most strikingly exemplified at this very time by the Arab conquest, when the *Jats* and *Meds*, the main body of the population, still remained in Sindh, while the sovereignty passed to the Arabs. Partly therefore for this reason, and partly for the want of any evidence to the contrary, I think that there is a very strong presumption that the Scythian *Iatii* and *Medi* of the classical writers with the *Zaths* and *Meds* of the early Muhammadan writers, whose descendants are the *Jats* and *Meds* of the present day.

YUCHI, OR TOCHARI.

According to the Chinese, the *Yuchi* were a branch of the *Tungnu*, or Eastern Tartars, who, several centuries before the Christian era, had passed into Western Tartary, where they founded an extensive empire, 400 leagues in length from

* Agathias, in Gibbon, c. VIII, Note 34.

† I have a strong suspicion that the *Notioi* or Southern Scythians of Dionysius are the people of Budha of the early Muhammadan writers, which appears to have included the whole of Upper Sindh.

east to west, and about 100 leagues from north to south. As the west portion of the Chinese province of Shensi is said to have belonged to them, their empire may be defined with tolerable certainty as stretching from the Muz-tagh Mountains on the north 100 leagues to the Kwenlun Mountains on the south; and from the Upper Hoangho in Shensi 400 leagues to Koché and Kotan in the west. Within these limits are now comprised the two Chinese provinces of Tangut and West Kansu, with a part of South Thiangshan, to which belong the important towns of Suchu, Khamil, and Kochi.

About 300 B. C., the Yuchi were the most formidable of all the Tartar hordes; and towards the end of the century they forced *Teuman*, the Chief of the *Hiungnu*, to give up his son *Mothe* as a hostage. But just before B. C. 200 they were defeated by *Mothe*, who drove them from their country and pushed his conquests as far as the Volga on the west, and the frontier provinces of China on the east. The increasing power of Mothe alarmed the Chinese Emperor *Kao-tsu* (B. C. 202-194), who marched against him with a large army, which was surrounded, and only escaped defeat and destruction by a ruse. During the first half of the second century before Christ, the victorious career of the *Hiungnu* continued unchecked. The *Yuchi* were again defeated, and their king having been taken prisoner was beheaded, and his skull was formed into a drinking cup, which was used on all grand occasions for one hundred and fifty years afterwards. The Yuchi then separated; the smaller division, called the Little Yuchi, proceeding southward into Tibet, and the larger division of five tribes, called the Great Yuchi, proceeding westward to the banks of the Ili. In B. C. 163 the Great Yuchi, being pressed by the *Usun*, moved still farther to the west and south, and occupied the provinces now called Yarkand, Kashgar, and Kotan, by driving out the original inhabitants, whom the Chinese name *Su* or *Sus*.

In B. C. 139 the Chinese Emperor Wuti, wishing to humble the power of the *Hiungnu*, sent an embassy to obtain assistance from the Great Yuchi. The ambassadors were captured by the Hiungnu, but after more than ten years' imprisonment they managed to make their escape to the territories of the Great Yuchi. Shortly after their arrival, the

Yuchi, being again pressed by the Usun, crossed the Jaxartes, and pushing the *Sus* farther to the south, occupied *Sogdiana*, and *Tahia*, or the country of the Dahæ. The Chinese General *Chang-kao* accompanied this expedition of the Yuchi, which is recorded to have taken place shortly before 126 B. C. The vanquished *Sus* and *Tahias* retired to *Kipin*, or *Kophene*, which corresponded very nearly with the ancient Ariana, while the victorious Yuchi divided the conquered country into five districts, according to the number of their tribes.*

Before the death of the Emperor Wuti, in 86 B. C., the power of the Hiungnu must have considerably declined, as the Chinese were able to carry on commercial intercourse with Kipin during the reign of a king named *U-to-lao* or *On-teu-lao*. In 71 B. C. the Hiungnu were signally defeated by the Emperor *Chaoti*, and this defeat being followed by a dreadful civil war, accompanied by plague and famine, proved fatal to the power of this formidable horde, whose king, in B. C. 60, became a tributary of the Chinese Empire.

The Great Yuchi, being thus relieved from all dread of their ancient enemies, were now able to consolidate their power, and accordingly, the king of the *Kuei-shwang* tribe, named *Khieu-tsiu-ki*, uniting the five tribes of Yuchi, had already conquered *Kipin*, *Kaofu*, and *Hantha*, or Ariana, Kabul, and Gandhara. As this king is said to have reached 84 years of age, his reign must have been a long one, and his son, *Yen-kao-ching*, could not have succeeded him until about 70 B. C. To the son the Chinese ascribe great conquests in India, both to the south and east. The power of the Yuchi was still undiminished at the end of the first century (75 to 98 A. D.), when they waged war with the Chinese in Kotan. But early in the third century (A. D. 222) it was much weakened by the attacks of other tribes, and in the beginning of the fifth century it was finally overthrown by the *Nepthalites*, or White Huns. The last king of the Yuchi mentioned in history is Kitolo, who took possession of Gândhâra, but was obliged to return to the West to oppose the White Huns,

* See D'Herbelot, Bibliotheque Orientale, VI. 7; De Guignes, Histoire des Huns; and Remusat, Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques, I., 220.

leaving his son in charge of the new province. The son established his capital in *Fo-la-she*, or Parshâwar; and the name of the founder of the Little Yuchi, as they were afterwards called, still survives in the title of *Shah Kator*, the Chief of Chitrâl.

It remains now to compare this account with the scattered notices of the Tochari by classical and Muhammadan writers, and to trace their connexion with one of the existing races of foreign origin who still form the mass of the population of the Panjâb. In discussing the first Scythian invasion of the provinces on the Oxus, I have already identified the Tochari and Asiani of Strabo and Trogus with the *Yuchi* and *Kuei-shwang* of the Chinese. I have also pointed out that the *Kuei-shwang* are the same as the *Kushân* and *Khushân* of the coins, and the *Gushân* of the Arian inscriptions; but in the Greek legends of the coins, this name of the ruling tribe of the Yuchi is given in a different form, as *Korsou, Korsea, Khoransu,* and *Korano.* As the first three readings are found exclusively on the coins of *Kadaphes* or *Kadphizes*, the successor of *Hermæus*, they are the earliest attempts that we possess of the Greek rendering of this name, while the last reading is the only one that is used by *Kanerki* and his successors. I think it very probable that the name which is intended to be given in the earlier readings may still be preserved in that of the province of *Khorasân*. If this view is correct, then the original name of the tribe must have been *Kors* or *Khorans*, which was afterwards softened to *Kor* and *Kush*, or *Korano* and *Kushan*. The original term at once recals the *Chorsari* of Pliny, which, according to him, was the Scythian name for the Persians, but which in his time was most probably applied to the *Kors* or *Khorans* tribe, who then occupied *Khorasân*, the old frontier province of Persia. In all these names I think that we may recognize without much straining the original form of the Sanskrit Gurjjara, and the Hindi *Gujar* or *Guzar*, the well known name of a foreign race which still forms about one-fifth of the population of the Panjâb.

The statement of the Chinese writers, that the country of the Dahæ was occupied by the Yuchi, or Tochari, about 126 B. C., is confirmed by Justin, who records that Phrahates of Parthia, being defeated and killed by the Scythians, was succeeded by his uncle Artabanus, who died three years

afterwards of a wound received in battle with the *Thogarii*. At this time, therefore, or in B. C. 123, the Thogarii, or Tochari, were the immediate neighbours of the Parthians, to the north, in the country of the *Tahia* or *Dahæ*. The date of their southern conquests under *Khieu-tsiu-ki*, which is loosely fixed by the Chinese at about 100 years after Chamkao's embassy, or in B. C. 30-26, may be assigned approximately to the same period by other notices of the classical writers. Thus we learn from them that Sanatrukes, who had sought refuge with the *Sagaraukæ* Scythians in B. C. 87, was ten years later placed on the throne of Parthia by their aid. Again, a little after B. C. 37, Phrahates 4th, who had been driven from the throne by his own subjects, was restored by the "very powerful aid of the Scythians."* But these Scythians must have been the Tochari, as in the same chapter Trogus had described the fact of the single tribe of Asiani giving kings to the Tochari, and the downfall of the Sarduchæ (or Sagaraukæ).† This account of Trogus agrees exactly with that of the Chinese. But as the aggrandizement of the Yuchi is attributed to the first king *Khieu-tsiu-ki*, who can only be *Kujula* or *Kujulaka* (Kadphices), the date of this event cannot be placed later than 70 B. C., allowing upwards of 50 years for the length of his reign, which is very probable, as he lived to 84 years of age.

The earliest Muhammadan account of the Tochari we owe to the learned Abu Rihân, who accompanied Mahmud Ghaznavi on his Indian expeditions. According to him, the throne of Kabul was held by Turki princes for nearly sixty generations, down to the accession of a Brahman dynasty in the beginning of the tenth century. If we fix the two dates at B. C. 60 and A. D. 900, the period of Turki rule will be 960 years, or just 16 years per reign. Abu Rihân tells a wondrous story of the first Turki King, named *Barhatukin*, or *Barhtigin*. According to the tradition, *Barhatukin* on his arrival at Kabul shut himself up in a cave without food, and after the lapse of some days appeared suddenly outside the cave before a party of peasants, armed from head to foot, and dressed as a Turk in tunic, cap, and boots. The people thence-

* Justin, XLII., 5. Scytharum maximo auxilio.

† Trogus, Prolog. XLII. Reges Thocharorum Asiani, interitusque Saraucharum.

forth looked upon him as a wonderful person who was destined for empire, and so he made himself master of Kabul, which continued in his family for nearly sixty generations. The cave was named *Bakar*, and was still visited by many persons in the time of Abu Rihân. Amongst the successors of Barhatakin was *Kanak*, who founded the *Vihâr* at Parshâwar, which bore his name, and who is therefore identical with Kanishka.*

I have already noticed the fact that the early coins of *Kozoulo Kadphizes*, of the *Kors*, or *Khorans* tribe, bear the name of the Greek King Hermæus on the obverse. It is certain therefore that he must have been the leader of the Kushan Tochari, who took Kabul from the Greeks, and consequently we must identify him with *Khiu-tsiu-ki*, the leader of the Yuchi, to whom the Chinese ascribe the conquest of *Kipin*, *Kaofu*, and *Hantha*, or Ariana, Kabul, and Gandhara. But this identification affords no clue to the name of *Barhatakin* or *Barhtigin*, who according to Abu Rihân was the first king of the *Turks* in Kabul.

The only way that I can see of reconciling the difference of name is by supposing that the kings of the Great Yuchi, like those of the white Huns of later days, may have assumed titles on their accession to the throne which were used either alone or in conjunction with their names. Thus the Ephthalite prince *Yuchin*, who ruled from A. D. 465 to 485 assumed the title of *Puchin Khan*, or the "Beneficient Khan," by which he must have been generally known, as we find it translated by the Persians into *Khush Nawáz*. Similarly his successor *Teulun*, who took the title of *Fukushun* or the "constant," is most probably the *Faganish* of Firdausi. But the practice was also common amongst the Turks, as may be shewn by the examples of prince *Shethu*, who took the title of *Shapolo Khan*, the Dizabulus of the Greeks, and of his son *Chuloheu*, whose title of *Shehu Khan* is preserved in the *Saye Shah* of Persian history. Judging from these examples, I think that we are justified in supposing that *Barhatugin* may have been the original name of the prince who afterwards assumed that of *Khieu-tsiu-ki*.

Admitting the probability of this identification, I take *Khieu-tsin-ki* to have been king of the *Kushan* tribe

* Reinaud, Fragments Arabes, pp. 132 to 148 ; Sir Henry Elliot's Muhammadan Historians by Dowson, II., 9 & 10.

as early as 130 B. C.; that about 126 B. C., he united the five tribes of the Yuchi and entered on the career of conquest attributed to him by the Chinese, and that he died about 70 B. C. at 84 years of age, leaving the throne to his son, *Yen-Kao-ching*. To this son the Chinese ascribe the conquest of India, that is, of the Panjâb Proper, and of all the country to the west of the Jumna. I would therefore identify him with *Hoemo* or *Hima Kadphises*, whose coins are found in great numbers in these very provinces, and who is generally admitted to have been the immediate predecessor of Kanishka. Regarding the difference of name, I am not prepared to offer any explanation, but I believe that Kadphises is only a title, as I find that *Kieu-tsu-fu*, which might easily be taken for the original form of *Kaduphes*, is translated "good charioteer and archer." *Kozola Kadaphes* and *Hima Kadphises* might thus mean only *Kujula* and *Hima*, "the good charioteers;" and as we know from a single gold coin that Hima Kadphises was proud of his skill or invincibility as a charioteer, this suggestion may perhaps be right. To this prince I would assign a reign of twelve years, which would fix the accession of Kanishka to about 58 B. C.

We have now come to one of the great names in ancient Indian history, that of the Indo-Scythian prince Kanishka, whose conversion to the faith of *Sâkya Muni* gave a sudden impulse to the propagation of Buddhism, which rapidly spread its doctrines to the utmost bounds of the Tocharian dominion. From the Raja Tarangini we learn that *Kanishka* and his two brothers *Hushka* and *Jushka*, ruled over Kashmir for sixty years. During this reign a great Buddhist Synod was held in Kashmir by the holy *Arya Pârswika*, and under the personal superintendence of the prince. A large *Vihâr*, or monastery, and stupendous tope, were erected at Parshâwar by the monarch himself; and the excavations of late years have shown us that many of the finest *Stupas* in the Kabul Valley and Panjâb must have been built during his reign. An inscription of *Kanishka*, found in a large tope at Mânikyâla by General Court, is dated in the year 18; and a second inscription of *Huvishka*, found by Masson in a tope at Wardak, is dated in 51. A stone slab, discovered at Zeda in Yusufzai by Mr. Loewenthal, also bears the name of Kanishka, and appears to be dated in the year 11. Taking these three dates together, it seems clear that they can

only be referred to the sixty years' reign of the three brothers, and therefore that the reckoning must commence from the accession of Kanishka himself in about 58 B. C. A much later date occurs in my Yusufzai inscription from Panjtâr, which shows that the *Gushân* Kings were still reigning in the year 122 after the accession of Kanishka, or about A. D. 65.* Of these later kings we have no records whatever; but as most of the numerous gold coins which are found in Afghanistan and the N. W. Panjâb must certainly belong to them, we may confidently expect that some lucky chance hereafter will reveal to us the order of their names.

The supremacy of the Great *Yuchi* is said by the Chinese to have continued undiminished until the third century, when it began to decline, and it would appear to have been finally overthrown by the white Huns in the beginning of the fifth century. We look in vain for any notices of the later *Kushân* dominion in the classical authors, although the name was well known to Moses of Khorene, and to Firdausi.† I think, however, that we may recognize the name of this powerful tribe in the *Kaspeiræi* of Ptolemy, and in the *Kaspeiri* and *Kaspeiræ* of Dionysius and Nonnus, both of whom couple them with the Arieni.‡ Dionysius also speaks of the *Kossaioi* as a people of *Kaspeirian* race, who were specially famous for swiftness of foot. In these *Kaspeiræ* the Kashmiris have long ago been recognized; but as the Kashmirian kingdom, even in its most palmy days, never extended its influence beyond Kângra on the east and the Salt Range on the south, we must look to some other people as the true *Kaspeiræi*, whose dominion in the time of Ptolemy, about A. D. 140, embraced the whole of the Upper Panjâb, and extended on the south-east to the city of Mathura and the Vindhya mountains. The only people that fulfil this one condition of extended empire are the *Kushân*, whose dominion certainly embraced the Panjâb, and, if we may

---

* My impression is, that Kanishka was the real founder of the era which is now known by the name of Vikramâditya. The Vikramâditya to whom tradition assigns the establishment of the era is now known to have lived in the first half of the sixth century A. D. I think it probable, therefore, that he only adopted the old era of the Indo-Scythians by giving it his own name. The earliest inscription that I am aware of dated in the Vikrama era is 811 or A. D. 754.

† Atkinson's Shah Nama, p. 275.

‡ Bassarica of Dionysius quoted by Stephanus of Byzantium; and Nonnus, lib. 26.

judge from the find-spots of their coins, must also have included the country to the eastward as far as the banks of the Jumna.

The true name of *Kushân* is, perhaps, preserved in the *Kossaioi* of Dionysius; and as he calls them a *Kaspeirian* race, I think it very probable that there has been some confusion between the two somewhat similar names of *Kashmira*, the country, and *Kushân*, the ruling race, to whom Kashmir belonged. That Ptolemy's name of *Kaspeiræi* does not refer to the people of Kashmir Proper, we may be quite certain, from the position of his city of *Kaspeira*, which is to the east of the Râvi and to the south of *Amakatis*, the present *Amba-Kâpi*, near Lahor. Judging from the name, as well as from the position, I would identify *Kaspeira* with the modern Multân, of which the earliest name was *Kasyapapura*, or as it is usually pronounced *Kasappur*, which I take to be the *Kaspapuros* of Hekatæus and the *Kaspaturos* of Herodotus, as well as the *Kaspeira* of Ptolemy.

The wide-spread influence of the Kushân race may, perhaps, be inferred from the general acceptance of their kingly title of *Rao*, which exists to the present day amongst the Rajputs of *Kachh* and *Jesalmer*, and was once borne by the Rahtors for many generations. The original title, as handed down by the very imperfect medium of Chinese symbols, would appear to have been *chanyu, tsanyu*, or *zaugu*. On the coins of *Kozola Kadaphes* this Native title takes the form of *zaoou*, or *zavu*, in Greek, and of *Yaüa*, or *Yavua*, in Arian letters, which is changed to *yaüga* on the coins of Kozoulo Kadphizes. Now, it is a known practice of the Turki dialects to soften *r* to *z*, and consequently their *zavu* or *zau* would have been pronounced *Rao* by their neighbours. Similarly their *kushân* became *korano;* their *Kanishka, Kanerke;* and their *Huvishka, Hoërke.* Hence, instead of *Zavu* or *Zaüg* Kanishka, we find *Rao* Kanerke. The curious title of *Zoganes*, which the Babylonians gave to the slave whom they dressed in royal robes at the festival of the *Sakæa*, may perhaps be best explained by considering it as only a slight variation of the same Scythian title of king. The elision of the *g* in *Zoga* is similar to that which I have already noticed in *Moa* for *Moga*, *Roas* for *Rugilas*, and *Tir* for *Tigra*.

In suggesting the probability that the *Gujars* of the present day may be the descendants of the ancient *Yuchi* or *Tochari*, I have been chiefly influenced by the fact that, besides the Jats, they are the only numerous race of foreign origin in the Panjâb and North-Western Provinces of India who are known to have been powerful during the early centuries of the Christian ere. Thus we have a record in the Kaira copper-plate of three princes of the *Gurjjara* race, of whom the last was reigning in the *Sake* year 380, or A. D. 458. These princes I would refer to the Gurjjara kingdom of Hwen Thsang, of which the capital in his time was *Pilomalo*, or Bâlmer, half way between Amarkot and Jodhpur. The first of the three princes who may be supposed to have founded this dynasty cannot be dated later than A. D. 400, at which time we know that the power of the Kushân in the Panjâb had very much declined. In my account of the Kâthi I have already suggested the probability that Bâlmer derived its name from their brethren the *Bâlas*, whom I would identify with the Sudra dynasty, which held Alor for 137 years, or from A. D. 505 to 642. According to this view the Gujars must have been driven from their country of Gurjjara by the Bâlas in A. D. 505; and as they are found not long afterwards in the countries now called Gujarât (to the north and north-east of the Peninsula of Kâthiâwâr), to which they gave their name, I think it not improbable that they may be the barbarians, or *Mlechhas*, who are said to have captured Balabhi in A. D. 523.* But if so, they did not long retain their supremacy, for at the time of Hwen Thsang's visit to Balabhi, in A. D. 641, the king was a Kshatriya. In a second copper-plate inscription found at Baroda, Indra, Raja of Saurashtra, is said to have conquered the King of Gurjjara, just one generation before A. D. 812, or between 775 and 800. These instances are sufficient to show that an ancient kingdom, named *Gujjara*, had existed to the eastward of the Lower Indus for at least four centuries, or from A. D. 400 to 800.

The only evidence that I can bring forward to prove the existence of a Gujar kingdom in the north is of rather later date than the Baroda inscription, but it is equally conclusive, as it is supported by the weighty fact that a very

* Tod, Annals of Rajasthan, I., 217—In the year of the Balabhi era 205 + 318 = 523 A. D.

large proportion of the population about the old city of *Gujarát* is still Gujar, and the district itself is known as Gujar-des. Towards the end of the 9th century, or between A. D. 883 and 901, the kingdom of Gurjjara was attacked by Sankara Varmma, of Kashmir. The Raja, named *Alakhana*, was defeated, and surrendered the district of *Takkadesa* as the price of peace.* Gurjjara is described as lying between *Trigartta*, or Kângra, and the country of *Sahi*, which I have elsewhere shown to have been in the mountains to the west of the Jhelam. *Gurjjara* therefore corresponds with the modern district of *Gujar-des*, which comprises the upper half of the *Chaj Doab*, from Bhimbar to Miyâni and Kâdirabad. The city of Gujarât is said to have been first called *Hairât*, and the district *Hairât-des*. Its original foundation is ascribed to a Surajbansi Rajput, named Bachan Pal, of whom nothing more is known, and its restoration to Ali Khan, Gujar, whose name is strangely like that of *Alakhana*, the old Raja of the 9th century. Following up these traditions, Gujarât is said to have been destroyed in A. D. 1303, and to have been re-built by the Gujars in A. H. 996, or A. D. 1588, during the reign of Akbar.

At the present day the Gujars are found in great numbers in every part of the N. W. of India, from the Indus to the Ganges, and from the Hazâra mountains to the Peninsula of Gujarât. They are specially numerous along the banks of the Upper Jumna, near Jagâdri and Buriya, and in the Sahâranpur District, which during the last century was actually called *Gujarât*. To the east they occupy the petty State of Samptar in Bundelkhand, and one of the northern districts of Gwalior, which is still called *Gujar-gâr*. They are found only in small bodies and much scattered throughout E. Rajputana and Gwalior; but they are more numerous in the Western States, and specially towards Gujarât, where they form a large part of the population. The Rajas of Rewâri to the South of Delhi are Gujars. In the Southern Panjâb they are thinly scattered, but their numbers increase rapidly towards the north, where they have given their name to several important places, such as *Gujarân-wala* in the Rechna Doab, *Gujarât* in the Chaj

* Raja Tarangini, V., sl. 149 to 161.

Doab, and *Gujar-Khan* in the Sindh Sâgar Doab. They are numerous about Jhelam and Hasan Abdâl, and throughout the Hazâra District; and they are also found in considerable numbers in the Dardu Districts of Chilâs, Kohli, and Pâlas, to the East of the Indus, and in the contiguous districts to the West of the river.

The latest original notice of the *Kaspiræi,* by any classical author, is that which has already been quoted from the Bassarica of Dionysius. Unfortunately the age of this work is doubtful, but it seems to be generally admitted that it is not older than A. D. 250 to 300, the time of Dionysius Periegetes, to whom the poem has been generally attributed. In this notice of Dionysius we find the *Kaspeiri* coupled with the *Arieni,* which would seem to show that the *Kaspeiri* were then in possession of the Lower Panjâb, although in the time of Ptolemy they were separated from the *Arieni* by Northern Indo-Scythia. From this notice I infer that the *Kaspeiri,* or Kushân tribe, had already begun to move towards the South before the end of the 3rd century, at which time, as we learn from Dionysius Periegetes, the Lower Indus was still held by the Scythians.

In parting with the Kushân and taking up the Gujars, without being able to show that the two people actually occupied the same country at the same time, I feel that the proof of their identity is still incomplete. But in showing that the *Kushân* had occupied the Southern Panjâb about the end of the 3rd century, and that the *Gujars* were in possession of Marusthala, to the South of the Panjâb, before the end of the 4th century, I think that the two events may be best explained by connecting the sudden disappearance of the *Kushân* with the sudden appearance of the *Gujars* in the same track towards the South, as successive actions of the same people. In putting forward the suggestion that the *Gujars* of the present day may be the descendants of the ancient *Tochari* or *Kushân,* I am chiefly influenced by the fact that they are the only numerous race of foreign origin in the Panjâb and North-Western Provinces who, besides the *Jats,* are known to have been powerful during the early centuries of the Christian era. I may also add that the *Gujars* are the only race whose tribal names seem to offer a probable clue to their descent from the *Tochari* or *Kushân.*

I have already pointed out that the earliest forms of the name of this powerful clan, as found on the coins of Kozoulo Kadphises and Korsola Kadaphes, are *Korsou*, *Korsea*, and *Khoranou*, in Greek; and *Kushán*, *Khushan*, and *Gushan* in Arian; and that the later forms, as found on the coin legends and inscriptions of Kanerke or Kanishka, are uniformly confined to *Korano* and *Gushan*. Now, both of these leading forms of the name would appear to be preserved amongst the tribal names of the Gujars. Thus *Korso* may, I think, be identified with the *Gorsi*, or *Gorasi*, and *Kushán* with the *Kusane* or *Kusaoni*, or *Kuthane*, which are two of the most widely-spread tribes of the present day. both of them are still found in the Sindh Sâgar Doab, and on the banks of the Jumna, although the great clan of Gujars must have been divided for many centuries.

LITTLE YUCHI, OR KATOR.

According to the Chinese writers Kitolo, the King of the Great Yuchi or Tochari in the begininng of the fifth century, conquered Balkh, Gândhâra, and five other provinces.* He was obliged to return to the west to oppose the white Huns and left his son in charge of Gândhâra, who established the kingdom of the Little Yuchi in *Fo-lu-sha*, or Parshâwâr. But the name of *Kitolo*, or *Kator*, would appear to have been adopted by the horde, as Abu Rihân calls the *Turki* prince who was supplanted about A. D. 900 by his Brahman minister, "the last of the *Katormân* Kings." The supremacy of the race was then lost, but not their name, which still exists in the petty State of Chitrâl, whose Chief proudly styles himself *Shah Kator*.

The Chinese carefully distinguish between the two divisions of the Yuchi by fixing the capital of the Great Yuchi at Kabul, and the capital of the Little Yuchi at Parshâwar, the kings of both being of the same family. Abu Rihân also makes no allusion to any change of dynasty, but simply calls the kings a race of Turks, which had ruled for nearly sixty generations. As Abu Rihân visited Kabul and Peshawur only 100 years after the accession of the Brahman dynasty, his testimony as to the race of the previous dynasty is quite unimpeachable. It is also con-

* Remusat, Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques, I., p. 223.

[illegible] Raja Tarangini, which places a *Turushka* King on the throne of Kashmir between A. D. 883 and 901. But we have the equally trustworthy evidence of Hwen Thsang to show that the boasted supremacy of the Turki race for nearly sixty generations was interrupted for some time during the seventh century, as the pilgrim both in coming and returning found the whole of the Kabul Valley under the sway of a *Kshatriya* King. During the period of his pilgrimage, from A. D. 630 to 644, the dominion of the *Tuholo*, or *Tochari*, was limited to part of the province of Balkh, which had already been over-run by the *Tu-kiue* or eastern Turks. But these Nomads of the east were soon forced to give way before the stronger Nomads of the west, when the Arabs, in A. D. 651, crossed the Oxus and made a permanent conquest of the country.

The sway of the Hindu Kshatriyas in Kabul could not have exceeded two generations, or about 50 years, as in A. D. 697 we find that the Prince of Kabul was a cousin of the Prince of Kesh.* Again, in A. D. 700, both the King of the Turks and the King of Kabul are said to have borne the same title or family name, which was also common to the Kings of Kashmir.† Unfortunately this name is doubtful, owing to the wonderful uncertainty that attends the reading of most proper names written in Persian characters. According to Gildemeister, the name is found in Masudi, Ibn-Kathir, Almakin, Abulfeda, and Khondemir, and has been variously read as *Zanbil, Zantil, Zuntil, Zantibal, Zuntol, Ratbol, Ratbil, Ruthil, Retil*, and *Retpil*. Another reading is given by Sir Henry Elliot, in his translated extract from the Tarikh-i-Alfi, as *Raibal*, but in the original text I find *Rai Sál*.‡ According to Masudi, this name had continued in use amongst the kings of Northern India down to his time, to which Abulfeda adds that it was also used in Kashmir.§ But Masudi says that the name of the King of Kashmir was *er-Rama*, which is a general title for "all kings."|| It appears to me, however, that this

* Price's Muhammadan History, I, p. [illegible].

† Gildemeister, de Rebus Indicis, p. [illegible]—quoting Masudi and Abulfeda.

‡ Muhammadan Historians, p. 152.

§ Reinaud, Memoire sur l'Inde—pp. [illegible] 72.—Gildemeister, p. 6.

|| Sprenger's Masudi, I, p. [illegible].

the name should probably be read as *Warma*, for *Parmian*, which was the family name of the kings of Kashmir in the time of Masudi. As to the reading of the doubtful title my present impression is that the first half of it represents the title of *Shahi*, written *Zoi*, which occurs so frequently on the coins of the Little Yuchi.

Ephthalites, or White Huns.

I suggested formerly that the *Ephthalites*, or White Huns, must be the same people as the Little Yuchi. I was led to this conclusion by the name of *Cidaritæ*, which is applied to the White Huns by Priscus, and which is found under the form of *Kedara*, not only on the Indian gold coins of the Hidda Tope, but also on the Kashmirian coins of Toramâna and Pravarasena. Now *Meghavâhan*, the grand-father of Toramâna, and the founder of his dynasty, is said to have been previously under the protection of Gopâditya, King of Gândhâra, and as he reigned only seven generations before A. D. 625, the date of both kings may be fixed with some certainty about A. D. 450. Here, then, we have the name of *Kedâra* appearing on the coins of Kabul and Kashmir at the very same time that *Kitolo*, the leader of the *Katormân* tribe, is said to have occupied Kabul and Gândhâra. I therefore concluded that the *Kedara* of the coins, the *Katormân* of Abu Rihân, the *Kitolo* of the Chinese, and the *Cidaritæ* or White Huns of Priscus, are the same people. I am now satisfied that Priscus is wrong in applying the name of *Cidaritæ* to the White Huns. The mistake was a natural one, for the White Huns and the Little Yuchi rose to notice at the same time, at the beginning of the 5th century, and as they were near neighbours, a distant Latin author may be excused for confounding two barbarous races.

Most of our knowledge of the White Huns is derived from the Chinese, who have preserved a list of the kings with short accounts of their reigns. But the brief notices of the Persian and classical writers also are very valuable, as they refer to the most brilliant period of their career, when they waged war on equal terms with some of the most powerful of the Sassanian Kings.* According to the Chinese, the

* D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, [illegible]; De Guignes, Histoire des Huns, &c., [illegible]

founder of [illegible] of White Huns [illegible], who in A. D. [illegible] by the [illegible] with his [illegible] son in [illegible] the [illegible] the *Hiongnu* obtained the old title of [illegible] and assumed the [illegible] of [illegible], or the "good [illegible] and archer." He died in 410, and after three short and uneventful reigns, was succeeded in 425 by his cousin's son *Ulé*, who assumed the title of *Solien Khan*, or the "Divine King." During a reign of fifteen years Solien conquered the Wei Tartars, and received a Chinese princess in marriage. To him also we must attribute the Scythian invasion of Persia, which took place during the reign of Bahram-Gor. His successor *Chu Khan*, after a fruitless war with the Chinese, died in A. D. 464, and left the throne to his son *Puchin*, who took the title of *Shulo-Puchin Khan*, or the "Bountiful Prince." This is without doubt the same prince whom the Persian historians call *Khush Nawāz*, or the "Bountiful," which is a literal translations of the title which he assumed on his accession. To his aid the Persians ascribe the elevation of Firuz to the Sassanian throne; but as this event took place in A. D. 458, the assistance must have been given by his father.* Firuz, however, made war on *Khush Nawāz* about A. D. 480, and only escaped destruction through the clemency of the prince whom he had wantonly attacked. Smarting under the disgrace, the Sassanian King, in 484, again invaded the territories of Khush Nawāz, and lost both his army and life. Eusebius, an ambassador from the Emperor Zeno, accompanied Firuz on this rash expedition, and from him the Western World learned that the conquests of the Epthalite Kings "had been stretched from the Caspian to heart of India, that their throne was enriched with emeralds, and their cavalry supported by a line of two thousand elephants."† From the Chinese we learn that in A. D. 470 their Emperor *Hientsu* attacked *Shulo-Puchin* with an immense army, when no less than fifty thousand of the White Huns are said to have been slain on the first battle. But the close of the war must certainly have been to the advantage of the Nepthalite Prince, as we find that in A. D. 475 he demanded and obtained a Chinese princess in marriage. *Shulo-Puchin* died in 475, and was succeeded by his son *Lau-tan*,

* Malcolm, History of Persia, I. [illegible]

† Gibbon, [illegible]

[illegible] title of *Fu-hu-shun Khan*, or the "Constant [illegible]." This name appears to me to be the same as the [illegible] which differs only by the transposition [illegible] the Persian name.

The first dynasty of the White Huns was broken up in A. D. [illegible] by the rebellion of a General,* who, after the defeat and death of his sovereign, retired to the westward with an army of [illegible],000 men, and proclaimed himself Khan of the White Huns; but the throne was successfully disputed by *Ho-kin*, who became Emperor, under the title of *Heu-khi-fa-tai-ku-che Khan*, or the "Pleasant and amiable Prince." He was followed by his son *Futu*, or *Tahan Khan*, who in 508 was killed in battle with the revolted King of the Kaoche Tartars. His son *Cheunu* then succeeded, under the title of *Teu-lo-fu-po-teu-fa Khan*, or the "Wise Ruler," and in A. D. 516 completely re-established the power of the White Huns by the defeat and death of the King of the Kaoche. But he was repulsed by *Apotilo*, the General who had rebelled in A. D. 484; and in A. D. 520 he was defeated and put to death by a party of rebellious nobles, aided by his mother, who placed his younger brother *Onowei* on the throne. The new king took the title of *So-lien-teu-pim teu-fa Khan*, or the "Prince who seizes and holds firmly." He refused homage to the Wei Tartars, and after a glorious reign of 26 years he refused his daughter to *Teumen*, the powerful Khan of the *Tu-kiue* or Eastern Turks. *Tuemen* instantly marched to attack his sovereign, and gave him such a disastrous defeat that he killed himself in despair. Onowei was succeeded by his son *Ghanlochin*, who was shortly followed by *Lo-hoan*, the last independent Emperor of the White Huns. After fighting many unsuccessful battles against the *Tu-kiue*, or Eastern Turks, Lo-hoan sought refuge in China amongst the Wei Tartars, but being betrayed and given up to the Turks, he was beheaded outside the walls of Sighanfu in A. D. 555, and from that time the great Khan of the White Huns became a tributary of the Turks.

A few years later, or in A. D. 569, *Maniach*, the vassal prince of the Sogdoites, appeared at Constantinople as the

* The name of this General was *Apo-thi-lo*, or, as it ought to be written, *Apo-ti-lo*, and [illegible] would appear to have received their name. Theophanes of [illegible] or Firuz, King of the Persians, was conquered by Ephthalanus, King of the [illegible], from whom they derived their name. The date of this victory is referred to A. D. [illegible] ([illegible]), or to 488 (Gibbon). As this date precedes by only [illegible] years the successful rebellion of *Apotilo*, I presume that he was the General who defeated Firuz, and gave his name to the Western Branch of the White Huns.—See D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, VI. 65.

[illegible] Khan [illegible] people who had [illegible]. Several embassies followed [illegible] Mount Altai. The duration of the journey is not stated, but from the subsequent [illegible] of Carpini, Rubruquis, and the Polos, it is certain that the travelling alone would have occupied about two years, and the whole journey, with the necessary delays at intermediate courts, may have extended to three or four years. The last embassy of the Emperor Tiberius, who died in A. D. 582, did not reach Mount Altai until after the death of Dizabul, which, supposing him to be the *Shapolio* of the Chinese, did not take place until 587. The interval is more than four years, but I see no reason to doubt the identity of Dizabul and Shapolio. The names are absolutely the same, as the syllable *Diz* is only an elongated form of *Dz*, or *Dsh*, just as *Tes* in *Tessaras* is of *Ts*, or *Ch* in *Chatur*. But a further proof of their identity is found in the name of the successor of Dizabul, who is called *Shehu Khan* by the Chinese, and Saye Shah by the Persians. I have thought it necessary to dwell at some length on these identifications, because the want of them has been so strongly felt as to cause grave doubts of the truth of the Chinese histories. These doubts will now be removed, and hereafter the student of early Indian history may rely with confidence on the general accuracy of the Chinese accounts of the great Scythian hordes.

At the time of their subjection by the Turks, the Sogdoites or White Huns were a "polite and warlike people who had vanquished the Persian Monarch, and carried their victorious arms along the banks, and perhaps to the mouth of the Indus." I have quoted this passage from Gibbon to show that the extension of the Ephthalite dominion to the valley of the Indus was admitted by the learned historian of the Roman Empire.

In the early part of the next century Hwen Thsang describes the Tukhara or Tochari of the Oxus as weak and timid. Their language differed [illegible] from that of the [illegible], but their writing, which consisted of only 25 letters, [illegible].[1] This account [illegible]

[1] [illegible]

[illegible] with that of the Byzantine writers, that the letters [illegible] Prince Manach were in the "Scythian [illegible]." Hwen Thsang also mentions that the [illegible] gold and silver coins which differed in [illegible] the money of other countries. He gives a similar description of the gold, silver and small copper coins in use at Kapisa near Kabul, which differed in size as well as in form from those of other kingdoms. At Bamiyan the letters and money were the same as those of the Tochari, but at Kapisa the language was different, although the letters were still the same. From this description we may infer with certainty that the *Kshatriya* Prince of Kabul was a recent intruder, because the Scythian letters were still in use in both Kapisa and Bamiyan, the two principal cities of his dominions.

It would be premature at present to enter into any examination of the coins to which Hwen Thsang alludes, as the few well-preserved specimens that we possess have not yet been satisfactorily deciphered. One set of these coins is tri-lingual, the two longer legends being in Sanskrit and Pehlvi, and the shortest in what, perhaps, may be best named as Epthalite-Scythian. These coins, on account of the Sanskrit legends, I would refer to the Little Yuchi of the Kabul Valley. On two other coins we find the pure Indian words *Purvvâditya* and *Udayâditya*, which may, perhaps, be only titles and not names, as both of them mean simply "Lord of the East." It seems more probable, however, that they are the actual names of the Little Yuchi princes of Kabul, who had adopted Sanskrit names after they had become partially Indianized. Lady Sale possessed a *gold* coin of the same series, with the pure Indian name of *Samarasha*; and I have myself several copper coins of smaller size, with the various legends of *Sri-Jayatu-Narendra* and *Jayatu-Sri-Narendra*. Here, then, we have already discovered all three of the different kinds of coins described by Hwen Thsang, namely, large gold and silver money of a size different from that of other people, and copper money of a smaller size.

I have already identified the *Cidaritæ* of Priscus, the *Kitola* of the Chinese, and the *Katormân* of Abu Rihân, with the people of Chitral, whose Chief still bears the title of Shah *Katore*. But the name is not confined to Chitral,

[illegible] only [illegible] people [illegible] are only [illegible] tributary of [illegible] because they [illegible] beyond the present limits of [illegible] the whole valley of the upper Panj[illegible] considerably larger than Kashmir. [illegible] India I think that we, perhaps, may [illegible] *Kakar*, under the slightly altered name of *Katar*. This tribe is principally found in the district of [illegible], which is more generally known by the name of [illegible], or "Country of the *Katars*."* It extends from the *Haro* River on the north to the *Suhân* River on the south, and includes the large towns of Burhân, Hasan-Abdâl, and Fateh-jang. The large village of Usmân, between Shâh-dheri and [illegible], was founded by a Katar, and is therefore generally called Usmân Katar. But the head quarters of the tribe is said to have been at Chhâsa, a large ruined mound close to Fateh-jang. The *Katars* themselves claim to be Rajputs; but as this is not admitted by any one of their neighbours, I conclude that they must be the descendants of some one of the foreign races which have at different times settled in N. W. India, and, as their names agree almost exactly, I would suggest their identification with the *Kidarites*, or Little Yuchi.

Throughout this discussion on the [illegible] of the leading Panjâb tribes, I have rigorously [illegible] the dictum which I at first laid down, that the descendants of the Indo-Scythians could not possibly be [illegible] any of the Rajput races of true Arian blood. We know from the historians of Alexander that the system of caste had been firmly established in the Panjâb [illegible] before the first Scythian invasion of [illegible]. We know also that the social rules laid down in the Code of Manu must have been in full force at least as early as the [illegible] century before Christ, when Buddha began to teach the natural equality of all classes. By the social rules of Manu's code, which are rigidly observed even at the present day, a

* [illegible]

[illegible] Brahmani, and Kshatriya with [illegible]; and the offspring of mixed parents is placed beyond the pale of the twice-born classes. In the face of these stringent rules for the preservation of the purity of caste, it is quite inconceivable that any strangers, since the time of Alexander, could have been admitted amongst the twice-born classes of Aryan blood. If therefore any descendants of the Indo-Scythian conquerors still exist, we can only look for them amongst those races whose foreign origin is most clearly proved by their exclusion from the privilege of marriage with the Arian Kshatriyas.

Of these classes the most prominent and numerous are the *Ahirs*, the *Jats*, and the *Gujars*.* But as the first are mentioned by Manu, they must certainly have been in India before the time of Alexander, and as they are very numerous in the eastern districts of Mirzapur, Benares, and Shahabad, they cannot possibly be identified with the Indo-Scythians, whose dominion did not extend beyond the Upper Ganges. They are found also in great numbers in Sindh and Gujarât; but there is not, as far as I am aware, a single *Ahir* in the Panjâb. The *Jats* and Gujars, on the contrary, form more than one-half of the population of the five rivers. I think, therefore, that the evidence is very strong, indeed, in favour of their being the descendants of the two great races of Indo-Scythians. It is true that Colonel Tod has given the Jâts a place in his list of the "thirty-six royal races," but this position is not admitted by his own authorities, and is distinctly contradicted by his own statement that no Rajput would intermarry with them. Sir R. Jenkins, too, has argued for the Rajput descent of the Gujars of Nagpur, but this honour is never asserted by the Gujars of any other district, and is most certainly not allowed by any one else. My own experience, which has embraced as long a period as that of either Tod or Jenkins, and which has extended over a much wider field, is supported by the high testimony of Mountstuart Elphinstone† and Sir Henry

* [illegible] would appear to have held much the same opinion, for he says—"I [illegible] the study of that singular race the *Gypsies*, stamped still with the type of [illegible] into Upper India, and from thence to the *Jats*, [illegible] tribes."—Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, [illegible] XV., p. [illegible]

† [illegible]

[illegible], and is [illegible] by the well-known proverb, which couples [illegible] and Gujars with the *Gaderyas* and [illegible] as [illegible].

Jât, Gadarya, Gujar, Gola,
Is charon ke bola mola.

This is a common saying amongst the people of the North-West, and may be translated almost literally as follows:

Jâts, Gadaryias, Gujars, Golas,
Are all four the same sort of fellows.

ANTIQUITIES.

In comparing the existing ruins of ancient Panjâb cities with the different accounts that we possess in the Chinese and classical authors, I propose to follow the footsteps of Alexander himself. I have already noticed the fact that, as the Chinese pilgrims as well as the Macedonian conquerors entered the Panjâb from the west, their routes will mutually illustrate each other. For this reason I prefer to begin my description of the antiquities of the Panjâb near the banks of the Indus, and gradually to work my way to the eastward, in company with the Macedonian soldiers of Alexander, and the Buddhist pilgrims of China. With their journals in our hands we may venture to visit the ruined cities of the Panjâb with the certainty that our time will not be wasted in fruitless research. But before entering on the description of these antiquities, I think it right to say a few words on the date and value of the different authorities on whom we have to depend for most of our early information.

The army of Alexander spent the winter of B. C. 327 in reducing the district of Peukelaotis to the west of the Indus. After the capture of Aornos, early in the spring of 326, Alexander crossed the Indus to Taxila, where he halted for a whole month, which delayed his arrival at the Hydaspes until May. There he was again delayed by the opposition of Porus, so that he did not cross that river until about the middle of June, when the seasonal rains had already set in. During July and August he was engaged in his march to the Hyphasis and back again to Nikæa on the Hydaspes.

September was spent in making the final arrangements for his voyage, and on the 1st October B. C. 326 he began his descent of the river. The voyage lasted nine months, of which three may be assigned to the descent of the Hydaspes and Akesines, and the remaining six months to the descent of the Indus. The whole time, therefore, that Alexander spent in the Panjâb, from his first crossing of the Indus to his arrival at the confluence of the five rivers, was rather less than twelve months, and was altogether comprised within the year B. C. 326. The materials collected by the companions of Alexander during this campaign have been preserved by Strabo, Curtius, and Arrian. Much valuable information also may be gleaned from the geographical work of Pliny; but as he does not always mention his authorities, it is sometimes difficult to say whether his statements were derived from the journals of actual observers in Alexander's expedition, or from the hearsay tales of sailors of his own time.

The Travels of Apollonius of Tyana would have been invaluable for the history of the Panjâb, if we could place entire dependence on the truth of the narrative. The journey is said to have been made during the reign of the Parthian King, Bardanes, between A. D. 42 and 45, and the original account was drawn up by the Assyrian Damis, the companion of Apollonius. But the life of Apollonius by Philostratus, which is the only work that we now possess, was not compiled until a century and a half later, and is altogether so full of the marvellous as to excite our suspicion instead of winning our confidence. I think it probable that Apollonius and his companion actually visited Taxila, and perhaps also Jwâla-Mukhi in the E. Panjâb; but I doubt many of the details, and I altogether reject the long conversations with King Phraates of Taxila and the Brahman Iarchas.

The geographical work of Ptolemy is too well known to need any description, and I only mention it here for the purpose of noting its date, which may be fixed with certainty between the years 140 and 160 A. D The number of new names which first appear in Ptolemy shows that he had access to original information, which was not in the possession of either Strabo or Pliny. His information, too, is all the more valuable on account of its later date, as it helps to fill

[illegible] the [illegible] three [illegible] the [illegible] Chinese pilgrims, Fa Hian, in India [illegible] Sung-Yun A. D. 502, and Hwen Thsang A. D. 630. [illegible]

Fa Hian, the first Buddhist pilgrim from China whose travels have been preserved, began his journey in A. D. 399, and as he entered India from the west, his account of the Panjâb may be dated as early as A. D. 400. His details are few and are, besides, chiefly confined to the notices of Buddhist marvels and relics; but his geographical notices are valuable for their precision, as he generally fixes the position of every place that he visits by its bearing and distance from that which he had just left.*

The next Chinese pilgrims, named *Sung-Yun* and *Hwui-Seng*, also entered India from the west in the year 502. Their travels are confined to the Kabul Valley and Western Panjâb; but the details are sometimes minute and interesting.

But all the previous travels of Chinese Buddhists are eclipsed by the longer and more systematic journeys of Hwen Thsang. This enthusiastic pilgrim left his native land in A. D. 629, and did not return until the spring of 645. He crossed the Indus from the west early in A. D. 631, and after visiting Taxila, Mânikyâla, Kashmir, Sâkala, and many other places, he crossed the Satlaj about the middle of A. D. 635, having thus spent upwards of four years in the Panjâb. Six years later he visited Multân and *Polofato* in the S. Panjâb, from whence he returned to the great monastery of *Nâlanda* in Magadha, and halted there for four months to clear up sundry doubts. He next attended the great quinquennial assembly held at Prayâg, in April and May 643, and about September of the same year he reached Jâlandhar in the Panjâb, and after again visiting Mânikyâla and Taxila, he finally re-crossed the Indus early in A. D. 644. His various journeyings in the Panjâb, therefore, extended to a period of nearly four years, of which one-half was spent in Kashmir. It is almost impossible to exaggerate the importance of these travels for the light which they throw upon early Indian history; and for the

* A new and accurate translation of Fa Hian's Travels has recently been published by the Rev. S. Beal, to which is added the travels of Hwui-Seng and Sung-Yun now first given to the world in full.

[illegible] illustration of the Buddhist antiquities of India, it is not too much to say that they are quite invaluable. For the translation of these travels we are wholly indebted to M. Julien, who with great ability and unwearied resolution devoted no less than 20 years to the acquirement of two of the most difficult of all languages—Sanskrit and Chinese. How well he has succeeded may be seen in the masterly translation of Hwen Thsang's life and travels, in three volumes, which he has given to the public at different times from 1853 to 1858. Before this translation appeared, all our attempts to fathom the mysteries of Buddhist antiquities were but mere conjectures. To us one *Stupa* then only differed from another *Stupa* by its size, while the special purpose of each particular monument was utterly unknown. But now, thanks to M. Julien for his admirable translation, we are able to distinguish one monument from another, and to say with certainty for what purpose each one of the greater *Stupas* was originally designed.

The geography of Hwen Thsang's travel has been most ably and critically examined by M. Vivien St. Martin in his learned Memoir on Central Asia and India, which is appended to the third volume of M. Julien's translation. His identifications have been made with so much care and success that few places have escaped his research, and most of these have escaped only because the imperfection or want of fulness in our maps rendered actual identification quite impossible. As a specimen of his keen critical sagacity, I may cite the position of Taxila which he places near *Usmân-Katâr*, at 7 or 8 miles to the E. or S. E. of Hasan-Abdâl; the actual emplacement, which I have discovered during the present year, being to the east of Shah-dheri, at 10 miles to the South-East of Hasan-Abdâl, and 4 miles to the South of Usmân-Katar.

But our acknowledgments are also due to Professor Lassen for his very learned and exhaustive work on the antiquities of India generally, and more especially for his lucid memoir on the ancient geography of the Panjâb contained in the Pentapotamia Indica. To him also our thanks are due for many curious and valuable illustrations of the early history and antiquities of the Panjâb, which his great and varied learning has enabled him to draw from both Sanskrit and classical sources.

In describing the ancient cities and famous monuments of the Panjâb, I propose to begin on the west bank of the Indus, and to work towards the east, keeping closely to the principal route that was followed both by the Macedonian king and by the Chinese pilgrims. In carrying out this scheme, I will begin at Peshâwar as a well known starting point, from which Hwen Thsang's bearings and measurements will be a guide to the identification of other places to the west of the Indus. The various ancient sites therefore will be noticed in the following order:

I. *Peshâwar*, or *Parashâwara.*
II. *Pushkalavati*, or *Peukelaotis.*
III. *Palodheri*, or *Varusha.*
IV. *Ohind*, or *Utakhanda.*
V. *Lahor*, or *Sâlâtura.*
VI. *Aornos.*
VII. *Taxila*, or *Takshasila.*
VIII. *Hasan Abdâl.*
IX. *Baoti Pind.*
X. *Balar.*
XI. *Bâdarpur.*
XII. *Jaoli.*
XIII. *Tarnâwa.*
XIV. *Kurmâl.*
XV. *Râwal Pindi*, or *Gajipur.*
XVI. *Mânikyâla.*
XVII. *Sakrabasti.*
XVIII. *Dilâwar*, or *Bukephala.*
XIX. *Mong*, or *Nikæa.*
XX. *Katâs*, or *Katâksha.*
XXI. *Sangala-wâla-Tiba*, or *Sangala.*
XXII. *Asarur.*
XXIII. *Ran-Si*, or *Nara-Sinha.*
XXIV. *Amba-kâpi.*
XXV. *Sarhind.*
XXVI. *Thânesar*, or *Sthâneswara.*
XXVII. *Amin.*
XXVIII. *Pehoa*, or *Prithudaka.*
XXIX. *Sugh*, or *Srughna.*
XXX. *Haridwâr*, or *Ganga-dwâra.*
XXXI. *Moradhwaj.*
XXXII. *Chaturbhuj.*


MAP
showing the position of
TAXILA

1. PESHAWAR, or PARASHAWARA.

The great city now called Peshâwar is first mentioned by Fa-Hian in A. D. 400, under the name of *Fo-leu-sha.** It is next noticed by Sung-Yun in A. D. 520, at which time the King of Gândhâra was at war with the King of Kipin, or Kophene, that is, Kabul and Ghazni, and the surrounding districts. Sung-Yung does not name the city; but his description of its great *Stupa* of King *Kia-ni-sse-kia*, or Kanishka, is quite sufficient to establish its identity.† At the period of Hwen Thsang's visit in A. D. 630, the royal family had become extinct, and the kingdom of Gandhâra was a dependency of Kapisa or Kabul. But the capital which Hwen Thsang calls *Pu-lu-sha-pu-lo*, or *Parashâwara*, was still a great city of 40 *li*, or 6⅔ miles in extent.‡ It is next mentioned by Masudi and Abu Rihân, in the 10th and 11th centuries, under the name of *Parshâwar*, and again by Babar, in the 16th century, it is always called by the same name throughout his commentaries. Its present name we owe to Akbar, whose fondness for innovation led him to change the ancient *Parashâwara*, of which he did not know the meaning, to *Peshâwar*, or the "frontier town." Abul Fazl gives both names.§

The antiquities of *Parashâwar* are described by Hwen Thsang in great detail. Of these the most sacred was a ruined *Stupa* near the north-west corner of the city, which had formerly contained the *Alms-bowl* of Buddha. In A. D. 402 at the time of Fa Hian's visit, the holy vessel was still there, although the King of the *Yuchi* had endeavoured to carry it away. "He brought a large elephant richly caparisoned, and placed the bowl upon the elephant, but the elephant fell to the earth unable to advance. He then constructed a four-wheeled car, and placed the bowl thereon, and yoked eight elephants to draw it, but they were unable to move a step. The king then knew that the destiny of the bowl was not yet fulfilled." Afterwards, when Fa-Hian visited Ceylon, he heard that "the *Pâtra*, or Alms-bowl, of Buddha originally was preserved in the city of Vaisâli; but

* Beal's translation, p. 34.

† Ibid., p. 197.

‡ Julien's Translation, II., 104.

§ Ain Akbari, Gladwin's Translation, II., 341.

now it is in the borders of Gândhâra. In somewhat like a hundred years it will again be transported to the country of the Western Yuchi.* In the diary of Sung-Yun there is no mention of the Alms-bowl; and as the reigning King of Gândhâra was not a Buddhist, it is most probable that the bowl had already been removed. In A. D. 630, when Hwen Thsang visited Gândhâra, the bowl was in Persia. Strange to say, this once famous vessel still exists near the modern Kandahar, where, according to Sir H. Rawlinson, it is held in much estimation by the Muhammadans.

The next object visited by Hwen Thsang was a great Pipal tree, at 8 or 9 *li*, or 1½ mile, to the south-east of the city. The tree was about 100 feet in height, with wide spreading branches, which, according to the tradition, had formerly given shade to Sakya Buddha, when he predicted the future appearance of the great King Kanishka. The tree is not noticed by Fa-Hian, but it is mentioned by Sung-Yun as the *Pho-thi*, or *Bodhi* tree, whose "branches spread out on all sides, and whose foliage shut out the sight of the sky." Beneath it there were four seated statues of the four previous Buddhas. Sung-Yun further states that the tree was planted by Kanishka over the spot where he had buried a copper vase containing the pearl tissue lattice of the great *Stupa*, which he was afraid might be abstracted from the tope after his death. This same tree would appear to have been seen by the Emperor Baber in A. D. 1505, who describes it as the "stupendous tree" of Begram, which he "immediately rode out to see."† It must then have been not less than 1,500 years old, and as it is not mentioned in A. D. 1594 by Abul Fazl in his account of the *Gor-Katari* at Peshâwar, I conclude that it had previously disappeared through simple old age and decay.

The enormous *Stupa* of Kanishka, which stood close to the holy tree on its south side, is described by all the pilgrims. In A. D. 400 Fa-Hian says that it was about 400 feet high, and "adorned with all manner of precious things," and that fame reported it as superior to all other topes in India. One hundred years later, Sung-Yun declares that "amongst the topes of Western countries this is the

* Beal's Fa-Hian, p. 161.
† Memoirs by Erskine, p. 157.

[illegible] in A. D. 630, Hwen Thsang describes it as upwards of 400 feet in height, and 1½ li, or just one quarter of a mile in circumference. It contained a large quantity of the relics of Buddha. It is said that no remains of this great Stupa now exist.

To the west of the *Stupa* there was an old monastery, also built by Kanishka, which had become celebrated amongst the Buddhists through the fame of *Arya-Pârswika*, *Manorhita* and *Vasu-bandhu*, three of the great leaders and teachers of Buddhism about the beginning of the Christian era. The towers and pavilions of the monastery were two storeys in height, but the building was already much ruined at the time of Hwen Thsang's visit. It was, however, still inhabited by a small number of monks, who professed the "Lesser Vehicle," or exoteric doctrines of Buddhism. It was still flourishing as a place of Buddhist education in the 9th or 10th century when Vira Deva of Magadha was sent to the "great Vihâra of Kanishka where the best of teachers were to be found, and which was famous for the quietism of its frequenters."* I believe that this great monastery was still existing in the times of *Baber* and *Akbar* under the name of *Gor-Katari*, or the "Baniya's house."

The former says—"I had heard of the fame of *Garh-Katri*, which is one of the holy places of the Jogis of the Hindus, who come from great distances to cut off their hair and shave their beards at this *Garh-Katri*." Abul Fazl's account is still more brief. Speaking of Peshâwar, he says "here is a temple, called *Gor-Katari*, a place of religious resort, particularly for Jogis."† According to Erskine, the grand caravansari of Peshâwar was built on the site of the *Gor-Katari*.

II. PUSHKALAVATI, OR PEUKELAOTIS.

On leaving the monastery of Kanishka at Parashâwar, Hwen Thsang proceeded towards the north-east for 100 *li*, or 16⅔ miles, to *Pu-se-kia-lo-fa-ti*, or *Pushkalavati*. In the travels of Hwen Thsang this distance is set down as only 50 *li*, but as he specially mentions the crossing of a great river, which can only be the Kabul River, distant 12

* Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1848, p. 494,—Ghosrawa Inscription.
† [illegible]

[illegible] 10 miles, this brings us to the two large towns of Parang and Charsada, which form part of the well-known Hashtnagar, or "eight contiguous cities," on the east bank of the lower Swat River.* The bearing and distance given by Hwen Thsang render it almost certain that this was the position of the famous city of *Pushkalavati*, which, in its Pali form of *Pukkalaoti*, was the origin of the Greek name of *Peukelaotis*. Its shorter name of *Pushkala*, or Pali *Pukkala*, became the Greek *Peukelas*. At 4 or 5 *li*, or three-quarters of a mile, to the north of this place, there was a great *Stupa* built by *Asoka*, which was celebrated all over N. W. India. This *Stupa* was erected on the spot where Buddha was said to have made an alms gift of his eyes. In the time of Hwen Thsang it was asserted that the "eyes gift" had been made one thousand times in as many previous existences. The single gift only is mentioned by the other two pilgrims.

III. PALODHERI, OR VARUSHA.

From the *Pushkalavati Stupa* Hwen Thsang first proceeded 50 *li*, or 8⅓ miles to the north-west to a small *Stupa*, where Buddha had converted the mother of the demons, and then 50 *li*, or 8⅓ miles to the north to another *Stupa*, where Sammaka Bodhisatwa had displayed unusual affection for his father and mother. These two places are probably represented by *Tarangzai* and *Tangi*, two small towns on the Swat River, which form part of the eight towns of Hashtnagar. From the latter place he proceeded 200 *li*, or 33 miles to the S. E. to *Po-lu-sha*, which M. Julien renders doubtfully by *Varusha*.† To the north-east of the town at 20 *li*, or 3⅓ miles, was the hill of *Tan-to-lo-kia*, or *Dantaloka*. Both the town and the hill were connected with the legend of the Prince *Sudana*, who had been banished by the king, his father, for making a present of his favorite elephant to the Brahmans. The prince and his wife retired to Mount *Dantaloka*, where they took up their abode in a cave hewn out of the rock. Here the prince presented his son and

* See Plate IV., for a Map of Gandhara.

† Julien's Hwen Thsang, ii. [illegible] See Plate [illegible] for the position of [illegible]

daughter to a Brahman who demanded them. Sung-Yun calls the hill Shen-shi, or "of good things," which is only a translation of *Sudána*. He mentions the prince's house, and the square stone on which he used to sit, and the tree round which the prince and princess walked, while the "Brahman flogged them so that their blood ran to the ground." Hwen Thsang also mentions the flogging, and adds that the earth was stained "with their blood, and even the trees and plants had a reddish tint." Close by there was a spring of water.

From these accounts we may gather that the town of *Palusha* was in an open plain, at the foot of the *Dantaloka* mountain, which possessed a cave and a spring of water. These conditions are best fulfilled by the village of *Palodheri*, which is 10 miles to the north of the great inscription at Shahbaz garhi, five miles to the west of Bazar, and five miles to the south of Babuzai. *Dheri* means a mound of ruins and is specially applied to ancient sites of towns, and never to natural mounds of earth. The name of *Palo-Dheri*, therefore, indicates that the village of Palo is built on an ancient site. It is possible also that Palo may preserve some portion of the name of *Palusha*. The position of Palodheri also agrees with Hwen Thsang's distance of 33 miles from Tangi, but its direction is east instead of south-east. The identification, however, is supported by the existence of the great cave of *Kashmiri-ghár* in the hill to the E. N. E., and within three or four miles of *Palodheri*, almost in the very position indicated by Hwen Thsang.

This cave has been noticed both by General Court and by Mr. Loewenthal, but the latter has failed to recognize the *Peli* and *Pelley* of General Court in the large village of *Palodheri*, and supposes that he must have confounded it with another place of the same name on the British boundary, about 10 miles to the north of *Tangi*.* But Mr. Loewenthal approached the cave from the west side, and was not aware of the immediate neighbourhood of Palodheri. The distance given by the General of 16 *kos* from *Soukhor* is most probably a simple misprint for 6 *kos* from *Landkhor*, as the actual distance is just 12 miles. According to Mr. Loewenthal, "the cave is not hewn out of the

* Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1863, p. 4.

[illegible] altogether entered." It "consists of several chambers of unequal size," with "flights of almost interminable steps and buildings, whose nature cannot be fully ascertained without some excavation." He notices also that "two inscriptions were spoken of by the Natives as existing somewhere in the cave, but he did not see them." On 1st January 1848, when I was at Chargolai, within 7 miles of the cave, I had two copies made of the only inscription that was then known to exist in the Kashmiri Ghâr. One of these was a mere copy by eye, but the other was an actual impression on paper. There are nine different symbols, of which one is repeated four times; one of these symbols certainly belongs to the Scythian alphabet of the Indo-Sassanian coins, and the others are of the same general character. I think, therefore, that the record may belong to the time of the Little Yuchi in the 5th or 6th century of the Christian era.

IV. OHIND, OR UDAKHANDA.

To the north-east of *Polusha*, distant 50 *li*, or 8⅓ miles, Hwen Thsang visited a high mountain, which was crowned with a statue in blue stone of the goddess *Bhimâ*. I incline to believe that the bearing of this hill should be south-east instead of north-east, because there is a very lofty mountain called *Kâramâr*, 3,480 feet in height, which is exactly 8 miles to the south-east of *Palo-dheri*. From the hill of *Bhimâ*, Hwen Thsang travelled 150 *li*, or 25 miles, towards the south-east to *U-to-kia-han-cha*, which M. Julien transcribes as *Udakhhanda*, and which M. Vivien St. Martin identifies with *Ohind*, or *Hund*, on the Indus. The pilgrim describes *Uda-khanda* as being 20 *li*, or 3⅓ miles in circuit, and with its south side resting on the Indus. This description tallies exactly with the position of *Ohind*, which is situated on the north bank of the Indus, 15 miles above Attak, and about 28 miles to the south-east of Palodheri. General Court and Burnes call this place *Hund*, and so does Mr. Loewenthal, who styles *Ohind* a mistaken pronunciation. But the name was written *Waihand* or *Oaihand* by Abu Rihân in A. D. 1030, and *Ohind* by Mirza Mogal Beg in 1790. To my ear the name sounded something like *Wyhand*, and this would appear to have been the pronunciation which Rashid-ud-din obtained in A. D.

[illegible] or Waihand.* [illegible] [illegible] Waihand.† According to all these authors [illegible] of Gandhâra, and Rashid-ud-din [illegible]. The only Native [illegible] form of the name is Nizam-[illegible], in his Tabakât-i-Akbari, says that Mahmud [illegible] in the Fort of Hind in A. D. 1002. But [illegible] named by Ferishta, who calls it the Fort of [illegible]. In this last name we have a very near approach to the old form of *Utakhanda*, which is given by Hwen Thsang. From all these examples, I infer that the original name of *Utakhanda*, or *Ut-khand*, was first softened to *Uhand* or *Bihanda*, and then shortened to *Uhand* or *Ohind*. The other form of *Wehand* I look upon as a simple misreading of *Uhand*, as the two words only differ in the position of the diacritical points of the second letter. General Abbott, in his "Gradus ad Aornon," calls the place *Oond*, and says that it was formerly called *Oora*, from which he thinks it probable that it may be identified with the Ora of Alexander's historians.‡

I have entered into this long detail out of respect for the acknowledged learning of the late lamented Isidor Loewenthal. His opinion as to the name of Ohind was most probably, although quite unconsciously, biased by his belief that Utakhanda was to be found in the modern Attak. But this place is unfortunately on the wrong side of the Indus, besides which its name, as far as I am aware, is not to be found in any author prior to the reign of Akbar. Abul Fazl calls the fort *Atak-Banâras*, and states that it was built in the reign of His Majesty. Babar never mentions the place, although he frequently speaks of Nilâb. Rashid-ud-din, however, states that the Parashâwar River joins the Indus near *Tankur*, which most probably refers to the strong position of Khairabad. I have a suspicion that the name of *Attak*, the "forbidden," may have been derived by Akbar from a mistaken reading of *Tankur*, with the Arabic article prefixed as *Et-tankur*. The name of *Banâras* was undoubtedly derived from *Bandr*, the old name

* Sir H. M. Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, p. [illegible]

† Gildemeister, De Rebus Indicis, p. 186.

‡ Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1854, p. 337.—See Plate LI[illegible], for the position of Ohind.

[illegible] Hindus should [illegible] of Rajah *Benares* in Oudh, on the [illegible] limits of his kingdom, may have suggested an alteration of the existing names to Attak Benares for the extreme west.*

Wehand, or *Ohand*, as I believe it should be written, was the capital of the Brahman Kings of Kabul, whose dynasty was extinguished by Mahmud of Ghazni in A. D. 1026. Masudi, who visited India in A. D. 915, states that "the King of El-kandahar (or Gandhara), who is one of the Kings of Es-Sind ruling over this country, is called *Jahaj*; this name is common to all sovereigns of that country."† Now, *Chach* is the name of the great plain to the east of the Indus, immediately opposite to Ohind, and as the plain of *Banár* is said to have been named after Raja *Banár*, it seems probable that the plain of *Chach* may have been named after the Brahman dynasty of Ohind. It is curious that the Brahman dynasty of Sindh was also established by a *Chach* in A. D. 641; but it is still more remarkable that this date corresponds with the period of the expulsion of the Brahman dynasty from *Chichito*, or *Jajhoti*, by the Chandels of Khajuráha. I think, therefore, that there may have been some connexion between these events, and that the expelled Jajhotiya Brahmans of Khajuráha may have found their way to the Indus, where they succeeded in establishing themselves at first in Sindh and afterwards in Ohind and Kabul.

In the time of Hwen Thsang the city was 20 *li*, or upwards of 3 miles in circuit, and we may reasonably suppose that it must have increased in size during the sway of the Brahman dynasty. It would seem also to have been still a place of importance under the successors of Chingiz Khan, as the Mogals had changed its name to Karajang. But the building of Attak, and the permanent diversion of the high road, must seriously have affected its prosperity, and its

---

* [illegible] "Kabul [illegible]"

† Sprenger's Masudi, I, p. [illegible]

gradual decay since time has been hastened by the constant encroachments of the Indus which has now carried away at least one-half of the old town. In the sands at the foot of the cliff, which are mixed with the debris of the ruined houses, the gold-washers find numerous coins and trinkets, which offer the best evidence of the former prosperity of the city. In a few hours' washing I obtained two bronze buckles, apparently belonging to a bridle, a broken spoon, a female neck ornament, several flat needles for applying antimony to the eyes, and a considerable number of coins of the Indo-Scythian and Brahman princes of Kabul. The continual discovery of Indo-Scythian coins is a sufficient proof that the city was already in existence at the beginning of the Christian era, which may perhaps induce us to put some faith in the tradition mentioned by Abulfeda that *Wehand*, or *Ohind*, was one of the cities founded by Alexander the Great.

V. LAHOR, OR SALATURA.

Hwen Thsang next visited *So-lo-tu-lo* or *Sâlâtura*, the birth-place of the celebrated Grammarian *Pânini*, which he says was 20 *li*, or 3⅓ miles to the north-west of Ohind. From the bearing and distance there can be no hesitation in identifying *Sâlâtura* with the small modern town of *Lahor*, which is exactly 4 miles to the north-east of *Ohind*. In January 1848, during a day's halt at Lahor, I procured several Greek and Indo-Scythian coins, from which we may infer with some certainty that the place is at least as old as the time of Pânini himself, or about B. C. 350. The loss of the first syllable of the name is satisfactorily accounted for by the change of the palatal sibilant to the aspirate, according to the well known usage of the people of Western India by whom the *Sindhu* River was called *Hendhu* and *Indus*, and the people on its banks Hindus or Indians. *Sâlâtura* would, therefore, have become *Halatur* and *Alatur*, which might easily have been corrupted to *Lahor*. General Court writes the name *Lavor*.

VI. AORNOS.

Before proceeding to describe the countries to the east of the Indus, I propose to say a few words on the much vexed question of the position of Aornos. In 1836 General

[illegible] village of Nogram, about 12 miles [illegible] of Ohind, corresponded in all essential particulars with the description of Aornos as given by Arrian, Strabo, and Diodorus, excepting in its elevation, the height of [illegible] not being more than 1000 feet, which is, however, a very great elevation for so large a fortress.† In [illegible] General James Abbott took up the subject in a very full and elaborate article, in which the various authorities are ably and critically discussed. His conclusion is, that the *Mahâban* hill is the most probable site of Aornos.‡ This opinion was combated early in 1863 by Mr. Loewenthal, who again brought forward the claims of Raja Hodi's fort, opposite Attak, which had first been suggested by General Court.§ Towards the end of the year General Abbott replied to Mr. Loewenthal's objections, and reiterated his conviction that "the *Mahâban* is the Aornos of history," although he thinks that the question is still "open to discussion."||

In re-opening this discussion, I believe that I am able to clear away some of the difficulties with which the subject has confessedly been obstructed by the vague and contradictory accounts of Alexander's historians; but I can scarcely venture to hope that my identification of Aornos will be received as satisfactory when I am constrained to own that I am not perfectly satisfied with it myself. But if I do not succeed in convincing others, I feel that my failure will be shared in common with two such able writers as General James Abbott and the lamented Missionary Loewenthal.

I will begin with the name *Aornos*, which, though a Greek word, can hardly, as Mr. Loewenthal observes, be an invention of the Greeks. It must, therefore, be the transcription, either more or less altered, of some Native name.

* Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, Vol. V. p. [illegible]
† Ibid. [illegible]
‡ Ibid. [illegible]
§ Ibid. [illegible]
|| Ibid. [illegible]

Mr. Loewenthal thinks that it was derived from Banâras in its Sanskrit form of *Varanasi*, which a Greek of Alexander's time could only have pronounced by prefixing a vowel. He would thus have got *Avaranas* or *Aornos*. But this is, perhaps, proving too much, as the final letter in *Aornos* is almost certainly the Greek termination, which need not, therefore, have formed part of the original Native name. It is also suspicious that the literal transcription of the Native name should form a pure Greek word. If *Banâras* or *Varanasi* was the original form of the name, then we ought to find another Banâras to the north of the Caucasus, as Arrian relates that, after passing *Drapsaka*, or Andarâb, Alexander "moved against *Aornos* and *Bactra*, the two chief cities of the Bactrians, which being immediately surrendered to him, he placed a garrison in the castle of Aornos."* On comparing Arrian's names with Ptolemy's map, it seems evident that his *Bactra* and *Aornos* are the same as Ptolemy's *Zariaspa* and *Bactra regia*, and as the latter is placed in the country of the *Varni*, I conclude that the name *Aornos*, is only a natural and slight alteration of *Varnos*, made by the followers of Alexander for the sake of obtaining a significant name in Greek. Similarly I would refer the second *Aornos* to *Raja Vara*, whose name is still attached to all the ruined strongholds between Hashtnagar and Ohind. Thus the old hill fort and city of *Takht-i-Bahi*, 15 miles to the north-east of Hashtnagar, is said to have been the residence of Raja *Vara*. But his name is more particularly attached to the grand hill fort of *Râni-gat* above Nogram. *Râni-gat*, or the *Queen's rock*, is a huge upright block on the north edge of the fort, on which Raja Vara's *Râni* is said to have seated herself daily. The fort itself is attributed to Raja *Vara*, and some ruins at the foot of the hill are called Raja *Vara's* stables. Some people call him Raja *Virât*, but as they connect him with the story of the five Pândus, I conclude that the name has been altered to suit the story. The position of the true *Virât* was in *Matsya* or *Mâcheri*, to the south of Delhi: all others are spurious. I think, therefore, that the hill Fort of *Aornos* most probably derived its name from Raja *Vara*, and that the ruined fortress of *Râni-gat* has a better claim to be identified with the Aornos of Alexander than either the *Mahâban*

* Anabasis, III., 29.

hill or [illegible] or castle of *Raja Hodi* proposed by General Court and Mr. Loewenthal.

My chief objections to the Mahâban Hill as the representation of Aornos are the following: 1*st*, it is a vast mountain of comparatively easy access, and of which no spur presents a very steep face towards the Indus; 2*nd*, the Mahâban Hill is not less than 50 miles in circuit, whereas Aornos was not more than 200 *stadia*, or about 22 miles according to Arrian, or 100 *stadia* or 11 miles according to Diodorus; 3*rd*, the Mahâvana Hill was visited by Hwen Thsang in A. D. 630, and he describes it simply as a great mountain, which derives its name from the *Mahâvana* Monastery, in which Buddha had dwelt in a former existence under the name of *Sarvvada* Raja.* That the monastery was on the top of the mountain we know from the subsequent statement, that he descended the mountain towards the north-west for about 30 or 40 *li* to the *Masura* monastery. This place may, I believe, to identified with the large village of *Sura*, in the Chumla valley, which is just 10 miles to the north-west of the highest peak of *Mahâban*. If any fort had then existed on the top of the mountain, it is almost certain that the pilgrim would have mentioned its size, with its usual statement of its size and of any special point of noteworthiness, such as its inaccessibility, &c. His total silence I look upon as decisive against the existence of any fort on the top of Mahâban, whether occupied or in ruins.

Mr. Loewenthal's objection, based on the opinion of a high military authority, that the Mahâban hill "commands nothing," only shows how readily even a very learned man will accept an utterly false argument when it tells in his own favour. General Abbott has noticed this subject in his reply to Mr. Loewenthal; but some months previous to the publication of his reply, I had already given a similar refutation to this objection both in conversation with Colonel Maclagan, and in writing to Mr. Loewenthal himself. It is objected that Mahâban "commands nothing;" I replied that it commands the very thing that the people of an invaded country wanted—it commands safety for those who seek its shelter. It is said to be "so much out of the way"

* Julien's Hwen Thsang, II., 136.

that none would have sought it as a place of refuge, and that Alexander would not have wasted time in its reduction, as it did not impede his passage of the Indus.* This objection supposes that Alexander's chief object was the passage of the Indus, whereas it is clear both from his previous and subsequent career, that his invariable plan was never to leave an enemy behind him. For this he had given up the pursuit of Bessus, to conquer Aria, Drangiana, and Arachosia; for this he had spent years in Sogdiana and Bactriana, until the death of Spitamenes left no enemy remaining; for this he now turned aside from the passage of the Indus to subdue the people who had refused their submission by taking refuge in Aornos; and for this he afterwards re-crossed the Hydraotes to attack Sangala, an isolated rock which commanded nothing but the jangal around it.

Mr. Loewenthal rests his arguments in favor of the castle of Raja Hodi, being the Aornos of Alexander, chiefly on the great similarity of the name of *Bandras*, and partly on Sir Neville Chamberlain's opinion "that the hill above Khairabad is not only a most conspicuous point for friend and foe, but also one that must be taken before a passage of the Indus at Attak would be attempted by an invading force." The first argument has already been disposed of in my discussion on the name of Aornos. The second argument takes two things for granted,—*first*, that Alexander crossed the Indus at Attak, and, therefore, that he must have reduced the castle of Raja Hodi before he attempted the passage of the river; and *second*, that the people of the country had thrown themselves into Aornos to *oppose* his passage. The latter was certainly not the case, as we are told by Arrian that the people of Bazaria, "distrusting their strength, fled out of the city in the dead of night, and betook themselves to a rock, called *Aornos*, for safety."† Here we see clearly that the people of Bazaria were desirous of *avoiding* instead of *opposing* Alexander; from which we may infer that Aornos did not command that passage of the Indus which Alexander had chosen for his bridge of boats. But as all the accounts agree in placing the scene of Alexander's campaign before crossing the

* Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1863, p. 17.

† Anabasis, IV, 28.

[illegible] to the north of the Kophes or Kabul river, [illegible] quite certain that neither Aornos itself [illegible] could have been in the neighbourhood of Attak. For these reasons I am satisfied that the ruined castle of Raja Hodi cannot possibly be identified with the Aornos of Alexander. Indeed, its name alone seems sufficient to forbid the identification, as the people are unanimous in calling it Raja *Hodi-da-garhi*, or *Hodi-garhi*, an appellation which has not even one syllable in common with Aornos.

After a careful consideration of all the points that have been just discussed, I am satisfied that we must look for Aornos in the direction of the hills somewhere in the north-east corner of the Yusufzai plain. It is there that the people still seek for refuge on the approach of an invader; it is there only that we can expect to find a hill fort that will tally even approximately with the exaggerated descriptions of Alexander's historians, and it is there also that we ought to look for Aornos according to the almost unanimous opinion of all those who have studied the subject.

The accounts of Alexander's historians are often vague and sometimes conflicting, but we are generally able to correct or explain the statements of one by those of the others. Where they agree, we can follow them with confidence, as it may be presumed that the original authors from whom they copied were not at variance. The last is fortunately the case with their accounts of Alexander's movements shortly before his approach to Aornos. According to Arrian, immediately after crossing the Guraeus River, Alexander marched straight to *Massaga*, the capital of the Assakeni, and after its capture he dispatched *Koinos* against Bazaria. Curtius calls the river Choes, and makes Koinos proceed straight to Bazaria, whilst Alexander advanced against *Mazaga*. Arrian then states that as Bazaria still held out, the King determined to march thither, but hearing that many Indian soldiers had thrown themselves into *Ora*, he changed his plan and moved against that city, which was captured at the first assault. According to Curtius, the siege of Ora was entrusted to Polysperchon, while the King himself took many small towns, whose inhabitants had sought refuge in Aornos. Arrian makes the people of Bazaria fly to Aornos for safety, but he agrees with Curtius in stating that the inhabitants of

many of the neighbouring villages followed their example. From these accounts it is evident that *Aornos* was beyond Bazaria, and from the subsequent narratives of Arrian and Curtius, it is equally clear that *Embolima* was beyond Aornos, and on the Indus, where Ptolemy has placed it. Taking all these into consideration, I believe that *Bazaria*, *Aornos*, and *Embolima* may be best identified with *Bázár*. *Ráni-gat*, and *Ohind*.*

Bázár is a large village situated on the bank of the *Kalpan*, or *Káli-pani* River, and quite close to the town of *Rustam*, which is built on a very extensive old mound attributed to the time of the *Kafirs* or Hindus. According to tradition, this was the site of the original town of *Bazar*. The position is an important one, as it stands just midway between the Swât and Indus Rivers, and has therefore been from time immemorial the éntrepot of trade between the rich valley of Swât and the large towns on the Indus and Kabul Rivers. Indeed, its name of *Bázár*, or "Mart," is sufficient to show that it has always been a place of consequence. Judging, therefore, by the importance of the place alone, I should be induced to select *Bázár* as the most probable representative of *Bazaria;* but this probability is turned almost to certainty by its exact correspondence, both in name and in position, with the ancient town that was besieged by Alexander. This identification is much strengthened by the proximity of mount *Dantalok*, which is most probably the same range of hills as the *Montes Dædali* of the Greeks. In the spoken dialects of the present day, as well as in the ancient Pali, the nasal of the word *danta* is assimilated with the following letter which thus becomes doubled, as in *datton*, a "tooth-brush," or twig used for cleaning the teeth. Hence the Greek *Daidalos* is a very fair rendering of the Pali *Datalok*. The *Dædalian* Mountains are mentioned by Justin† as adjoining the kingdom of Queen Cleofis, or Cleophes, who, according to Curtius, was the mother (a mistake for wife) of Assacanus, King of Massaga. I have already identified the cave of Prince *Sudána* in Mount *Dantalok*, as

---

* It would appear also from Arrian, IV., 28, that Aornos was only one day's march from Embolima, which agrees with the distance of Ránigat from Ohind, just 16 miles.—See Plate LIV. for the positions of these places.

† Hist. XII., 7—"Inde Montes Dædalos, regnaque Cleofidis reginæ petit."

[illegible] with the greatness of [illegible] [illegible] just 8 miles to the north-west of [illegible]. The [illegible] would, therefore, have been on the right hand of the Greeks on their march over the hills from Massaga in the Swat Valley to Bazaria. From all these concurring circumstances, I conclude that Bazar is almost certainly the same place as Alexander's Bazaria, and that Ohind was Embolima, as I have already endeavoured to show.

From Bazaria Alexander marched against *Peukelaotis*, seated not far from the Indus, which being surrendered to him, he placed a garrison in it, and "proceeded," according to Arrian, "to take many other small towns situated on that river. He arrived at last at *Embolima*, a city seated not far from the rock *Aornos*," where he left Krateros to collect provisions in case the siege should be protracted. He then marched straight to *Aornos*, and pitched his camp immediately below the fort. In this account we should have been much embarrassed by Arrian's description of Peukelaotis, as "seated not far from the Indus," were it not that the position of Peukelaotis has been fixed beyond all doubt at Hashtnagar by the concurrent testimony of the Chinese pilgrims. But as Hashtnagr is three days' journey from the Indus, we must read Arrian's narrative of the capture of other small towns on that river until he reached *Embolima*, as referring at first to the Kabul River, down which Alexander must have marched on his way to the Indus. If, therefore, we place *Embolima* at *Ohind*, Alexander's march from Peukelaotis would have led him past the towns of Nisatha, Heshki, Noshahra, Old Akora, and Jângira, of which the last is near the junction of the two rivers, and within 12 miles of Ohind.

Before he left Bazaria, Alexander, with his usual foresight, had despatched Hephæstion and Perdikkas straight to the Indus, with others to "prepare everything for throwing a bridge over the river." Unfortunately, not one of the historians has mentioned the name of the place where the bridge was made; but as the great depôt of provisions and other necessaries was formed at Embolima, I conclude that the bridge must been at that place. Colonel Abbott has fixed Embolima at *Amb-Balima* on the Indus, 8 miles to the east of Mahâban; and certainly if Mahâban was Aornos, the identity of the other places would be quite unde-



niable. But as the identification of the Mahâban seems to me to be altogether untenable, I would suggest that *Ohind*, or *Ambar-Ohind*, is the most probable site of *Embolima*. Ambar is a village 2 miles to the north of *Ohind*, and, although I have only once heard the two names joined together, yet the junction is quite in accordance with the Indian practice, as there is another *Ohind* on the Jhelum. I think, therefore, that Ohind on the Indus possesses a very fair claim to be identified with the Embolima of Alexander. It must not, however, be forgotten that *Embolima*, or *Ekbolima*, may be only a pure Greek name, descriptive of the position of the place at the junction of the Kabul River with the Indus, and in this case the claim of *Ohind* would be even stronger than before.*

In proposing the ruined fortress of *Râni-gat* as the most probable representative of the famous *Aornos*, I must confess that the identification is incomplete. In 1848 I estimated the perpendicular height of Rânigat as about one thousand feet above the plain, and Mr. Loewenthal has since confirmed my estimate. But this height is so insignificant when compared with the 11 *stadia*, or 6,674 feet of Arrian, that I should hesitate to attempt the identification, did I not believe that the height has been very much exaggerated. Philostratus calls it 15 *stadia*; and Diodorus makes it even greater, or 16 *stadia* equivalent to 9,708 feet, but as he gives the circuit of the base at only 100 *stadia* or just one-half of that of Arrian, I think it probable that his height may have been originally in the same proportion which we may obtain by simply reading 6 *stadia* instead of 16, or 3,640 feet instead of 9,708 feet. It is certain at least that one of the numbers of Diodorus must be erroneous, for as a circuit of 100 *stadia*, or 60,675 feet would give a base diameter of 19,200 feet, or just twice the recorded height of 9,708 feet, the slope would have been exactly 45°, and the hill would have terminated in a mere point, instead of a large platform with arable land, as described by Arrian. Where the difference between the two authorities is so great, and the exaggeration so apparent, it is difficult to suggest any possible alteration that would reconcile the discrepant measurements, and at the same time bring them

* Curtius has Ecbolima.

within the range of probability. I believe, however, that we are quite safe not only in preferring the lesser numbers, but also in applying the altitude to the slant height instead of to the perpendicular height. But even with these lesser measurements, the Indian Aornos would still be twice the size and more than twice the height of the famous rock of Gibraltar which is 7 miles in circuit at base, and only 1,600 feet in height.

In the similar case of the great Fortress of Gwalior, we find the usually accurate English traveller, William Finch, describing it as a castle situated on a steep craggy cliff, "6 *kos* in circuit or as some say 11 *kos*." As Finch generally adopts the short imperial *kos* of $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles, his estimate of the circuit of Gwalior will be 9 miles, or nearly twice the actual measurement of 5 miles, while the popular estimate will be nearly four times greater than the truth. It is possible, however, to reconcile these different numbers by supposing that the larger refers to the imperial *kos*, and the smaller to the greater *kos* of Akbar, which is just double the former. But in this case the estimate of the circuit of the Fort of Gwalior would be from 14 to 15 miles, or just three times too great. Finch does not mention the height of Gwalior, but he notes that the "steep ascent" to the castle of *Narwar* was "rather more than a mile" in length, which is just double the truth. Here the traveller was led to exaggerate the height by the mere steepness of the ascent. But in the case of Aornos the Greeks had an additional motive for exaggeration in the natural wish to enhance their own glory. For this reason I would suggest, as a possible explanation of the discrepancy between the 16 *stadia* of Diodorus and the 11 *stadia* of Arrian, that the original authority of the former may have quadrupled or trebled the true measurement, while that of the latter only trebled or doubled it. Under this explanation the two numbers would become either 4 and $3\frac{1}{3}$ *stadia*, or $5\frac{1}{3}$ and $5\frac{1}{2}$ *stadia*, or from 2,300 to 3,400 feet, which might be accepted as a very probable measure of the slant height; similarly the circuit might be reduced to 50 *stadia*, which are equivalent to $5\frac{3}{4}$ miles or 30,300 feet, or rather more than the circuit of the road around the base of the Gwalior hill. A slant height of 2,300 feet, with a base of 1,900 feet, would give a perpendicular height of 1,250 feet, or of an ascent of 2 feet

in every 5 feet. I do not propose this mode of reduction as a probable explanation of the discrepancies in the recorded measurements, but I venture to suggest it only as a possible means of accounting for the evident exaggeration of the numbers in both of the authorities.

All the accounts of Aornos agree in describing it as a rocky hill of great height and steepness. Justin calls it *saxum miræ asperitatis et altitudinis*, "an exceedingly rugged and lofty rock." Diodorus, Strabo, Arrian, Curtius, and Philostratus, all call it *petra*, or a "rock fort." Its rocky ruggedness was, therefore, a special feature of *Aornos*. According to Arrian it was "only accessible by one difficult path, cut out by hand, and it possessed a fine spring of pure water on the very summit, besides wood and sufficient arable soil for the cultivation of one thousand men." The last expression is still in common use in India, under the form of ploughs of land, and means simply as much land as one man can plough in a day. The same thing was expressed by the Greeks, and Romans by *Yokes*, each being as much as one yoke of oxen could plough in a single day. Now the smallest plough of land would not be less than 100 feet square, or 10,000 square feet, which would give 10,000,000 square feet for 1,000 men. This would show an area of 4,000 feet in length by 2,500 feet in breadth, or making allowance for buildings of one mile in length by half a mile in breadth, or 2 miles in length by one-quarter mile in breadth, which is just the size of Gwalior. But if such a vast fortress as Gwalior had ever existed on the western frontier of India, it would certainly not have escaped the notice of the early Muhammadan conquerors, and it could scarcely have eluded the searching enquiries of Generals Court and Abbott. I therefore look upon the thousand ploughs of land as another gross exaggeration of Alexander's followers for the sake of ministering to their master's vanity. I accept the one difficult path of access and the spring of pure water, as two of the necessary possessions of a strong military post, but I unhesitatingly reject the 100 ploughs of arable land, for if such an extensive tract as half a square mile of irrigable land had ever existed in this arid district, I cannot believe that such an important and valuable site ever would have been abandoned.

In searching for a position that will answer the general description of Aornos, it is unfortunate that our range is

[illegible] visited by Euro-[illegible] hill have already been [illegible], and the only other possible positions that I know of are the following:

1st.—The ruined city of ***Takht-i-Bahi.***

2nd.—The lofty isolated hill of ***Kâramâr.***

3rd.—The hill of ***Panjpir.***

4th.—The ruined fortress of ***Rânigat.***

The first of these places stands on an isolated hill, about half way between Bazar and Hashtnagar. Mr. Loewenthal describes it as a barren hill of no great height, which forms three sides of a square, with the open side towards the north-west.* By the trigonometrical survey maps *Takht-i-Bahi* is only 1,869 feet above the sea, or 650 feet above the Yusufzai plain. Mr. Loewenthal also describes the ascent as easy, and as the place is situated not less than 35 miles from the nearest point of the Indus, I think it may be rejected at once as not answering the description of lofty and difficult access, and as being too far from the probable position of Embolima. The position of the lofty isolated hill of *Kâramâr*, which is situated six miles to the south of Bazar, and only 18 miles to the N. N. W. of Ohind, added to its height, which is 3,480 feet above the sea, or 2,280 feet above the Yusufzai plain, would give it a most prominent claim to notice if it possessed any remains of former occupation. But the *Kâramâr* hill is a mere bluff ridge, without ruins and without a name in the traditions of the people. The *Panjpir* hill is a similar but smaller ridge, which rises to the height of 2,140 feet above the sea, or 940 feet above the Yusufzai plain. It is a mere sharp ridge crowned with a single building, which is now dedicated to the Panjpir or five Great Saints of the Muhammadans, of whom the earliest is *Bahâ-ud-din Zakariya* of Multân, commonly called *Bahâwal Hakk.* But the Hindus affirm that the place was originally dedicated to the *Panch Pandu*, or five Pandu brothers of the Mahâbhârata.

The last probable position that I know of is the ruined fortress of *Rânigat.* I visited this place in January 1848,

* Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1863, p. 2.

and I had intended re-visiting it during the past season, but the war on the Bunar frontier most unfortunately prevented me from carrying out my intentions. I can, therefore, add but little to the information which I collected in 1848, but as that has not been made public, and as no one but Mr. Loewenthal would appear to have visited it since then, my account will still possess all the advantage of novelty.

Rânigat is situated on a lofty hill above the village of Nogrâm, which is just 12 miles to the south-east of Bazar, and 16 miles to the north of Ohind. Its position, therefore, is strongly in favor of its identification with Aornos. The hill itself is the last point of one of the long spurs of the Mahâban range. Its base is rather more than two miles in length from north to south by about half a mile in width, but the top of the hill is not more than 1,200 feet in length by 800 feet in breadth. In 1848 I estimated its height at 1,000 feet, but from the unanimous assertions of the people that it is higher than Panjpir, I think that it is probably not less than 1,200 feet. The sides of the hill are covered with massive blocks of stone, which make it exceedingly rugged and inaccessible. There is only one road, cut in the rock, leading to the top, although there are two, if not more, rather difficult pathways. This we know was also the case with Aornos, as Ptolemy succeeded in reaching the top by a "rugged and dangerous path," whilst Alexander himself attacked the place by one regular path which was cut out by the hand. *Rânigat* may be described as consisting of a castle, 500 feet long by 400 feet broad, surrounded on all sides, except the east where it springs up from the low spur of Mahâban, by a rocky ridge, which on the north side rises to an equal height. On all sides the castle rock is scarped, and on two sides it is separated from the surrounding ridge by deep ravines, that to the north being 100 feet deep, and that to the west from 50 to 150 feet. At the north-west angle of the castle two dykes have been thrown across the ravine, which would appear to have been intended to arrest the flow of water, and thus to form a great reservoir in the west hollow. In the north ravine, between the castle and the great isolated block called *Rânigat*, there are three square wells, and to the north-east lower down I thought that I could trace another dyke, which was most probably only the remains of part of the outer line of defences. The

entire circuit of this outer line is about 4,500 feet, or somewhat less than a mile.*

The castle itself is thus described by Mr. Loewenthal: "The summit of the hill offers a flat plateau of some size, which had been very strongly fortified by buildings all round the brow. These buildings are constructed of large blocks of stone (conglomerate found on the spot) neatly hewn, and carefully fitted, disposed with very great regularity, and laid in a cement of extraordinary excellence. Unavoidable interstices between the large blocks are filled up by layers of thin small stone tablets, this latter practice being an invariable feature in all the so-called Kafir buildings which I have seen in the Trans-Indus country." To this description I may add that all the stone blocks are laid most carefully as headers and stretchers, that is alternately lengthwise and breadthwise, which gives a very pleasing and varied appearance to the massive walls. All the buildings are now much ruined, but the external walls are traceable nearly all round, and on the south and west sides are still standing to a considerable height, and in very good order. The main entrance, which is at the south-west corner, is formed in the usual ancient manner by overlapping stones. The passage is not perpendicular to the face of the wall, but considerably inclined to the right for a short distance. It then turns to the left to a small chamber, and then again to the right till it reaches what must have been an open courtyard. The whole of this passage was originally roofed in by courses of stone with chamfered ends overlapping each other so as to form the two sides of a pointed arch, but the ends of the upper course of stones being left straight, the apex of the arch has the appearance of a rectangular cusp. This peculiarity was also noticed by Mr. Loewenthal, who says that "the arch would be pointed, but the centre line is taken up by a narrow "rectangular groove." On the west face I observed a smaller passage of a similar kind, but it was so blocked up with rubbish that I was quite unable to trace its course.

This central castle or citadel, with its open courtyard surrounded by costly buildings, I take to have been the

* See Plates LV. and LVI. for a plan and view of Ranigat. One of the finest sculptures yet discovered was found at this place.—See Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1863, No. 12, of the sculptures accompanying Loewenthal's account of the "Antiquities in the Peshawar District."

palace of the king, with the usual temples for private worship. At the north end I traced a wide flight of steps leading down to a second plateau, which I presume to have been the outer court of the palace or citadel. The upper courtyard is 270 feet long and 100 feet broad, and the lower courtyard, including the steps, is just half the size, or 130 feet by 100 feet. These open areas were covered with broken statues of all sizes, and in all positions. Many of them were figures of Buddha the Teacher, either seated or standing; some were of Buddha the Ascetic sitting under the holy Pipal tree; and a few represented Mâyâ, the mother of Buddha, standing under the Sâl tree. But there were fragments of other figures, which apparently were not connected with religion, such as a life-size male figure in chain armour, a naked body of a man with the Macedonian *chlamys*, or short cloak thrown over the shoulders and fastened in front in the usual manner, and a human breast partly covered with the *chlamys* and adorned with a necklace of which the clasps are formed by two human-headed, winged, and four-footed animals, something like centaurs. All these figures are carved in a soft, dark blue clay slate which is easily worked with a knife. It is exceedingly brittle, and was therefore easily broken by the idol-hating Musalmans. But as the surface was capable of receiving a good polish, many of the fragments are still in very fine preservation. The best piece that I have seen was a head of Buddha, with the hair massed on the top of the head, and worked in a peculiar manner in wavy lines, instead of the usual formal curls. It was found at Jamâl Garhi, and is by far the best piece of Indian sculpture that I have seen. The calm repose of the finely chiselled features is not unworthy of Grecian art, but the striking beauty of the face is somewhat marred by the round projecting Indian chin.

I have already noticed that the Rânigat hill is covered on all sides with massive blocks of stone, which make the approach very rugged and difficult. Numbers of these stones are of very large size, and some of those on the top of the hill have been hollowed out to form cells. Mr. Loewenthal notices this as "one of the most marked features," amongst these remains many of the cells are quite plain inside, whilst others have the simple ornament of a niche or two. The most notable of these excavated blocks is on the ridge to the

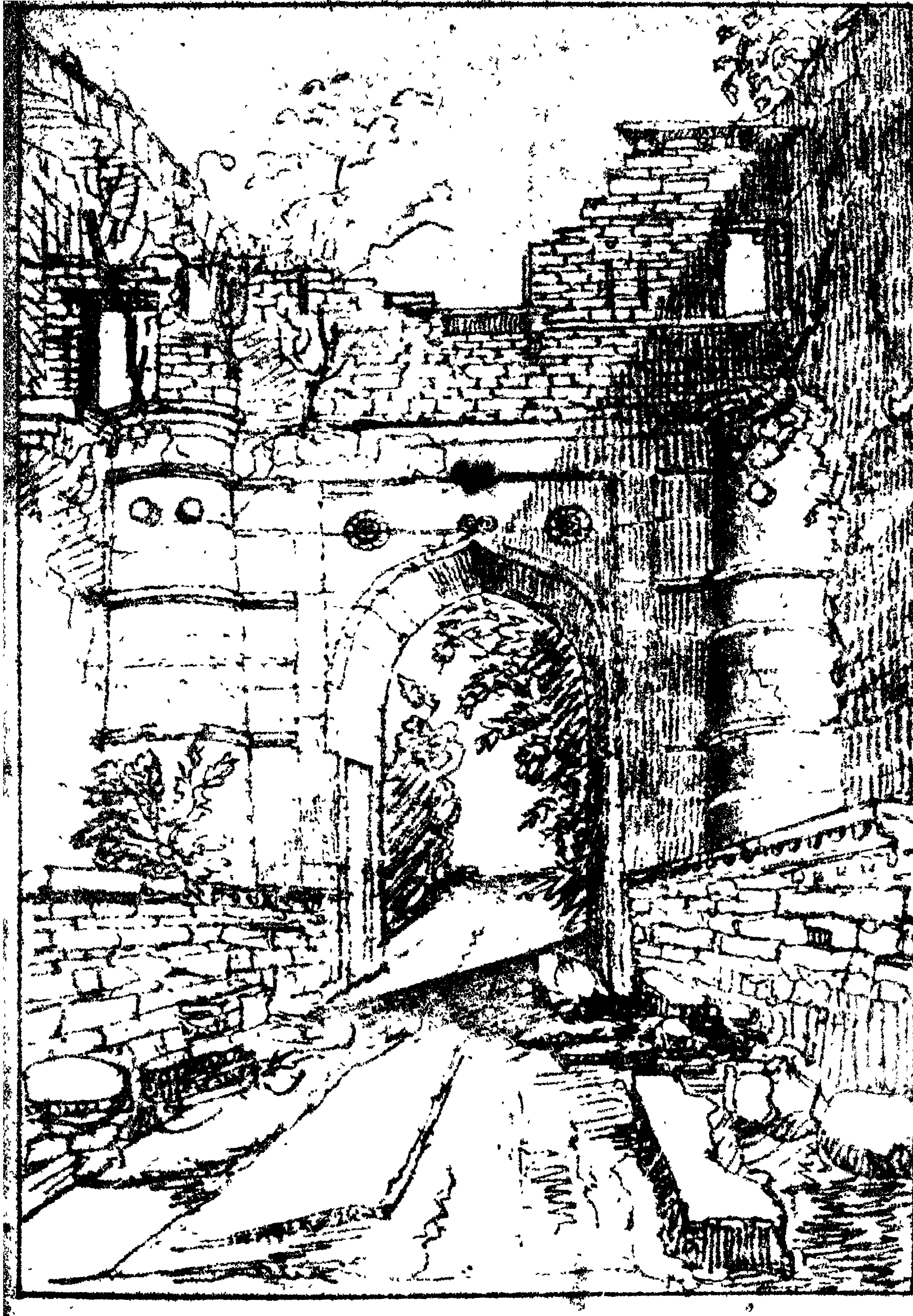
south of the castle. It is called *Katri-kor*, or the "Grain Merchant's house," by the people, but I observed nothing about the rock that would give any clue to its original purpose, save the smallness of the entrance, which was certainly better suited for the cell of a monk, than for the shop of a dealer. This rock house appears in the foreground of the accompanying sketch, which shews the south side of the castle with its peculiar masonry, and the main entrance to the interior.*

Mr. Loewenthal notices that "the vegetation on the hill is principally olive and myrtle;" but in 1848 there was a considerable number of good-sized trees scattered over the summit, of which one appears prominently in the foreground of my sketch. With this view of the castle and the general plan of the summit of the hill, the reader will be able to comprehend the nature of the position which, I think, may possibly be the Aornos of Alexander. I do not insist upon the identification; but if we admit that the accounts of the historians are very much exaggerated, I think that the ruins of Rânigat tally much better with the vague descriptions of Aornos that have come down to us, than any other position with which I am acquainted. In all essential points, save that of size, the agreement is wonderfully close. Its position between Bazar and Ohind, or Bazaria and Embolima, is quite unobjectionable. Its attribution to Raja *Vara* renders it probable that the place may have been named after him, which would give a very near approach to the Aornos of the Greeks. Its great height, its ruggedness, and difficulty of access, its one path cut in the rock, its spring of water and level ground, and its deep ravine separating the outer works from the castle, are so many close and striking points of resemblance, that were it not for the great difference in size, I should be very much disposed to accept the identification as complete. But though in this point it does not come up to the boasting descriptions of the Greek, yet we must not forget the opinion of Strabo that the capture of Aornos was exaggerated by Alexander's flatterers.† It must also be remembered that as the campaign against Assakanus took place "during the winter," and the Macedonians entered Taxila "at the beginning of spring," the

---

* See Plate LVI.

† Geograph., XV., 1, 8.



A. Cunningham del

Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta.

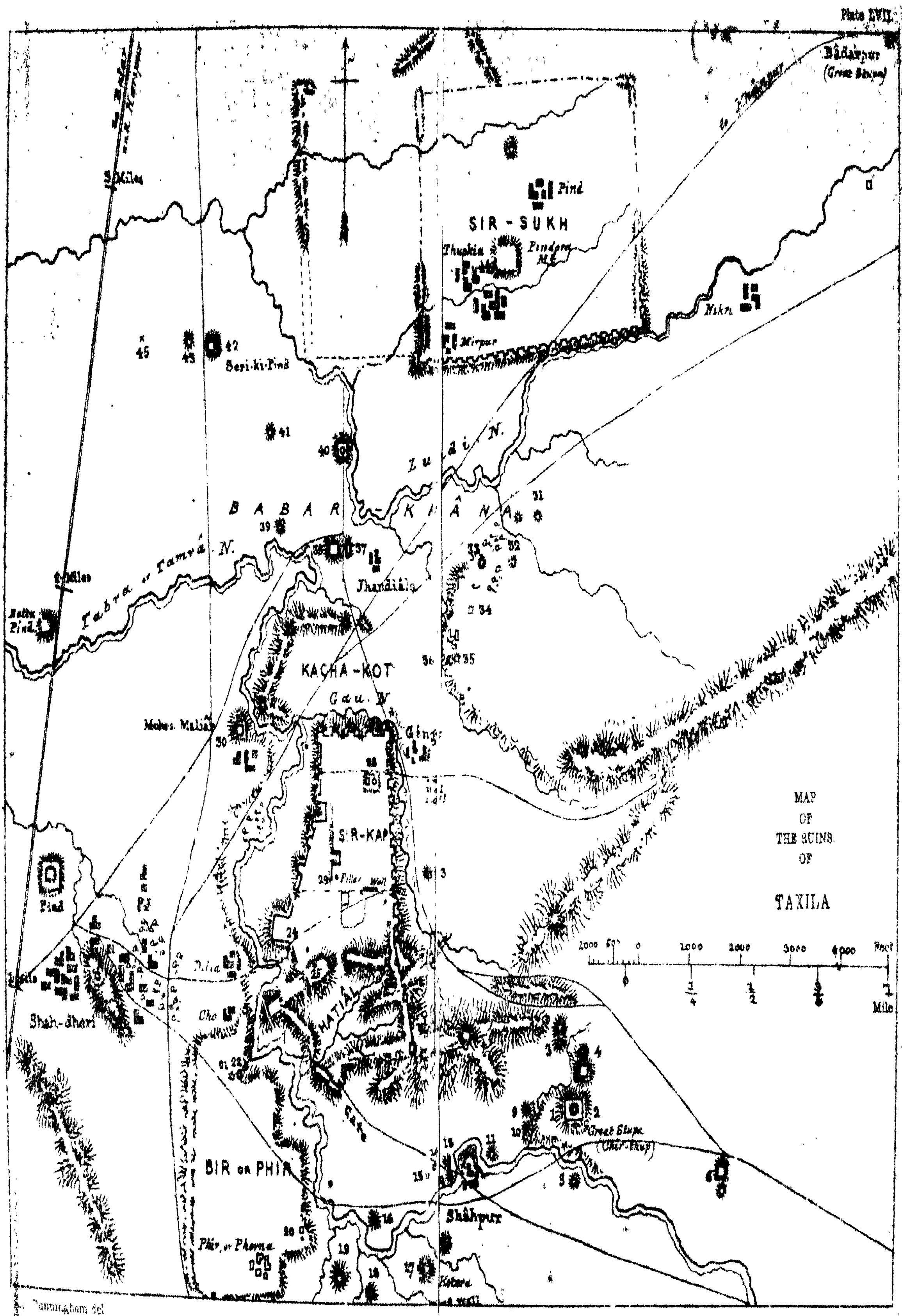
KATTI-GHATI, OR ROCK-HEWN GATEWAY.



A. Cunningham del.

Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta.

Plate LVII.



Cunningham del.

Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta

siege of Aornos must have been carried on during the very depth of winter, when the Mahâban hill, 7,471 feet above the sea, and every other hill of the same height is usually covered with snow. It is quite certain therefore that even the lesser height of 11 *stadia*, or 6,674 feet above the Yusufzai plain, equivalent to 7,874 feet above the sea, must be grossly exaggerated. In this part of the country the snow falls annually as low as 4,000 feet above the sea, or 2,800 feet above the Yusufzai plain, and as no snow is said to have fallen on Aornos, although the Greeks mention that they saw snow during the winter, I think that their silence on this point is absolutely conclusive against the recorded height of Aornos, and therefore also against the claims of Mahâban, and of any other hill exceeding 4,000 feet in height.*

VII. TAXILA, OR TAKSHASILA.

The position of the celebrated city of Taxila has hitherto remained unknown, partly owing to the erroneous distance recorded by Pliny, and partly to the want of information regarding the vast ruins which still exist in the vicinity of Shah-dheri. All the copies of Pliny agree in stating that Taxila was only 60 Roman, or 55 English, miles from Peucolaitis, or Hashtnagar, which would fix its site somewhere on the Haro River, to the west of Hasan Abdâl, or just two days' march from the Indus. But the itineraries of the Chinese pilgrims agree in placing it at three days' journey to the east of the Indus, or in the immediate neighbourhood of Kâlâ-ka-sarâi, which was the third halting place of the Mogul Emperors, and which is still the third stage from the Indus, both for troops and baggage. Now as Hwen Thsang, on his return to China, was accompanied by laden elephants, three days' journey from *Takhshasila* to the Indus at *Utakhanda*, or Ohind, must necessarily have been of the same length as those of modern days, and consequently the

* The great objections to Mahâban mountain are,—1st, its vast size, just double the circuit of Aornos, according to the wildest estimate of Alexander' followers; 2nd, its general accessibility on all sides, instead of being only accessible by one path cut in the rock; 3rd, its utter incompatibility with all the descriptions of Aornos, which was a rugged rocky hill with *walls* for its defences, and not a vast mountain 50 miles in circuit. It is not, however, impossible that some detached spur of Mahâban may be found hereafter, that will fulfil most of the conditions required for identification with Aornos.

site of the city must be looked for somewhere in the neighbourhood of *Kâla-ka-sarai*.* This site is found near *Shah-dheri*, just one mile to the north-east of Kâla-ka-sarai in the extensive ruins of a fortified city, around which I was able to trace no less than 55 *stupas*, of which two are as large as the great Mânikyâla Tope, 28 monasteries, and 9 temples. Now the distance from Shah-dheri to Ohind is 32 miles, and from Ohind to Hashtnagar is 48 more, or altogether 74 miles, which is 19 in excess of the distance recorded by Pliny between Taxila and Peukelaotis. To reconcile these discrepant numbers I would suggest that Pliny's LX. should be read as LXXX., or 80 Roman miles, which are equivalent to 73½ English miles, or within half a mile of the actual distance between the two places.

The classical writers are unanimous in their accounts of the size and wealth of Taxila. Arrian describes it as "a large and wealthy city and the most populous between the Indus and Hydaspes." Strabo also declares it to be a large city, and adds that the neighbouring country was "crowded with inhabitants, and very fertile." Pliny calls it "a famous city, situated on a low but level plain, in a district named *Amanda*."† These accounts agree exactly with the position and size of the ancient city near *Shah-dheri*, the ruins of which are spread over several square miles. About fifty years after Alexander's visit, the people of Taxila rebelled against *Bindusâra*, King of Magadha, who sent his eldest son *Susima* to besiege the place. On his failure the siege was entrusted to his younger son, the celebrated Asoka, but the people came out 2½ *yojanas*, or 17½ miles, to meet the young prince and offer their submission.‡ At the time of Asoka's accession the wealth of Taxila is said to have amounted to 36 *kotis*, or 360 millions of some unnamed coin, which, even if it was the silver *tangka*, or six pence, would have amounted to 9 *karors* of rupees, or £9,000,000. It is probable, however, that the coin intended by the Indian writer was a gold one, in which case the wealth of this city would

* Fa Hian makes it seven days' journey from Peshâwar, or four days to the Indus, plus three days to Taxila. Sungyun also places it three days to the east of the Indus (Beal's Translation, p. 200), and Hwen Thsang three days to the south-east.—Julien, I., 263.

† Hist. Nat. VI., 23, Taxilæ, cum urbe celebri, jam in plana demisso tractu cui universo nomen Amandæ.

‡ Burnouf, "Introduction à l' Histoire du Buddhisme Indien, p. 331.

have amounted to about 90 or 100 millions of pounds. I quote this statement as a proof of the great reputed wealth of Taxila within fifty years after Alexander's expedition. It was here that Asoka himself had resided as Viceroy of the Panjâb during his father's lifetime, and here also resided his own son *Kunâla*, or the "fine-eyed," who is the hero of a very curious Buddhist legend, which will be described hereafter.

Just before the end of the 3rd century the descendants of the Maurya kings must have come in contact with the Bactrian Greeks under Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus, and in the early part of the following century Taxila must have formed part of the Indian dominions of Eukratides. In 126 B. C. it was wrested from the Greeks by the Indo-Scythian *Sus* or *Abârs*, with whom it remained for about a century, when it was conquered by the later Indo-Scythians of the *Kushân* tribe, under the great Kanishka. During this period Parshâwar would appear to have been the capital of the Indo-Scythian dominions, while Taxila was governed by satraps. Several coins and inscriptions of these local governors have been found at Shah-dheri and Mânikyâla. Of these the most interesting is the copper plate obtained by Mr. Roberts, containing the name of *Takhasila*, the Pali form of *Takshasila*, from which the Greeks obtained their Taxila.*

During the reign of the Parthian Bardanes, A. D. 42 to 45, Taxila was visited by Apollonius of Tyana and his companion the Assyrian Damis, whose account of the journey Philostratus professes to have followed in his life of Apollonius. His account is manifestly exaggerated in many particulars regarding the acts and sayings of the philosopher, but the descriptions of places seem to be generally moderate and truthful. But if they were not found in the narrative of Damis, they must have been taken from the journals of some of Alexander's followers; and in either case they are valuable, as they supply many little points of information that are wanting in the regular histories. According to Philostratus, Taxila was "not unlike the ancient *Ninus*, and was walled in the manner of other Greek

* See translation by Professor J. Dowson in Royal Asiatic Society's Journal, XX., 221; also my Notes on the same inscription in Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1863, p. 139.

towns." For Ninus or Nineveh, we must read Babylon, as we have no description of the great Assyrian city, which was destroyed nearly two centuries before the time of Herodotus. Now we know from Curtius that it was the beauty and symmetry of Babylon that struck "Alexander and all who beheld it for the first time." I conclude, therefore, that Taxila must have reminded the Greeks of Babylon by its *symmetry*, as Philostratus goes on to say that the city was "divided into narrow streets with great regularity."* He mentions also a temple of the Sun, inside the city, in which were statues of Alexander and Porus, and a palace in which the usurper was besieged. He speaks also of a garden, one stadium in length, with a tank in the midst, which was filled by "cool and refreshing streams." Outside the city there was another temple, which was large, spacious and surrounded with pillars.† All these points will be separately noticed when I come to describe the existing ruins.

We now lose sight of Taxila until A. D. 400, when it was visited by the Chinese pilgrim *Fa-Hian*, who calls it *Chu-sha-shi-lo*, or the "severed head," and adds that "Buddha bestowed his head in alms at this place, and hence they gave this name to the country." The translation shows that the original Sanskrit name must have been *Chutyasira*, or the "fallen head," which is a synonime of *Taksha-sira*, or the "severed head," the usual name by which Taxila was known to the Buddhists of India. In A. D. 502 "the place where Buddha made an alms gift of his head was visited by *Sung-yun*, but no details of his journey have yet been published.

We now come to Hwen Thsang, the last and much the most valuable of all the Chinese pilgrims, who first visited *Ta-cha-shi-lo* or *Takshasila*, in A. D. 630, and again in D. A. 643, on his return to China. He describes the city as above 10 *li*, or 1⅔ mile, in circuit. The royal family was extinct, and the province, which had previously been subject to

---

* Vita Apollonii, II., 28.

† In my original report to Government, written in 1864, I inadvertently placed the temple of the Sun *outside the city*. I note, as a very remarkable coincidence, that Mr. Delmerick has made the same mistake in 1870, and the same identification of the ruined temple of Mohra Malîar with this temple of the Sun, which I had previously done in the same report, as well as the more important identification of Shah-dheri with Taxila—Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1870, p. 93.

Kapila, was then a dependency of Kashmir. The land, irrigated by numbers of springs and water-courses, was famous for its fertility. The monasteries were numerous, but mostly in ruins, and there were only a few monks who studied the *Mahâyâna*, or Esoteric doctrines of Buddhism. At 12 or 13 *li* or 2 miles to the north of the city there was a *stupa* of King Asoka, built on the spot where Buddha in a former existence had made an alms-gift of his head, or as some said of one thousand heads in as many previous existences. This was one of the four great stupas that were famous all over North-West India, and accordingly on his return journey Hwen Thsang specially notes that he had paid his adorations, for the second time, to the "stupa of the alms-gift of one thousand heads." The present name of the district is *Chach-Hazâra*, which I take to be only a corruption of *Sirsha-sahasra*, or the "Thousand Heads."

From these accounts of the Chinese pilgrims we see that Taxila was specially interesting to all Buddhists as the legendary scene of one of Buddha's most meritorious acts of alms-giving, when he bestowed his head in charity. The origin of this legend I think may be certainly traced to the name, which as *Taksha-sila* means simply the "cut rock," but with a slight alteration as *Taksha-sira* means the "severed head." *Aut ex re nomen, aut ex vocabulo fabula,* "either the name sprang from the legend, or the legend was invented to account for the name." In this case we may be almost certain that the latter was the process, as the Greeks have preserved the spelling of the original name before Buddhism had covered the land with its endless legends of Sakya's meritorious acts in previous births. It is nowhere stated to whom Buddha presented his head, but I believe that it was offered to the hungry tiger whose seven cubs were saved from starvation by a similar offering of his *blood*. I am led to this belief by the fact that the land immediately to the north of the ruined city is still called *Babar Khâna*, or the "Tiger's House," a name which is as old as the time of Mahmud, as Abu-Rihan speaks of *Babarkân* as being half way between the Indus and the Jhelam,* a description which is equally applicable to the Babarkhâna of the ancient Taxila. The name is a Turki one, and is therefore probably

* Reinaud, Fragments Arabes, &c., p. 116.

as old as the time of Kanishka. From the continued existence of this legend I infer that, in the immediate neighbourhood of the great stupa of the "Head Gift," there was most probably a temple enshrining a group in which Buddha was represented offering his head to the tiger. This temple the Turks would naturally have called the *Babar-Khána* or "Tiger's House," and as Taxila itself decayed, the name of the temple would gradually have superseded that of the city. The remembrance of this particular act of Buddha's extreme charity is, I believe, preserved in the name of *Márgala*, or the "Beheaded," which is applied to the range of hills lying only two miles to the south of Shah-dheri. *Márgala* means literally "decollated," from *gala-márna*, which is the idiomatic expression for "cutting the neck," or beheading. I think also that the name of the district, *Hazára*,* or "Thousand," in which Shah-dheri is situated, is most probably derived from the same legend as the scene of the "gift of one thousand heads."

The ruins of the ancient city near Shah-dheri,* which I propose to identify with Taxila, are scattered over a wide space extending about three miles from north to south, and two miles from east to west. The remains of many stupas and monasteries extend for several miles further on all sides, but the actual ruins of the city are confined within the limits above-mentioned. These ruins consist of several distinct portions, which are called by separate names even in the present day. The general direction of these different works is from S. S. W. to N. N. E., in which order I will describe them. Beginning at the south, their names are—

1st.—*Bir or Pher.*
2nd.—*Hatiál.*
3rd.—*Sir-Kap-ka-kot.*
4th.—*Kacha-kot.*
5th.—*Babar Khána.*
6th.—*Sir-Sukh-ka-kot.*

The most ancient part of these ruins, according to the belief of the people, is the great mound on which stands the small village of *Bir* or *Pher*. The mound itself is 4,000

* See Plate LIV. for the position of Shah-dheri, and Plate LVII. for a plan of the ruins.

feet in length from north to south, and 2,000 feet in breadth, with a circuit of 10,600 feet, or rather more than two miles. On the west side towards the rock-seated village of Shah-dheri, the Bir mound has an elevation of from 15 to 25 above the fields close by, but as the ground continues to slope towards Shah-dheri, the general elevation is not less than from 25 to 35 feet. On the east towards the *Tabrá*, or *Tamrá Nala*, it rises 40 feet above the fields, and 68 feet above the bed of the stream. The remains of the walls can be traced only in a few places both on the east and west sides; but the whole surface is covered with broken stones and fragments of bricks and pottery. Here the old coins are found in greater numbers than in any other part of the ruins, and here also a single man collected for me in about two hours a double handful of bits of lapis lazuli, which are not to be seen elsewhere. Judging from the size of the place, I take it to be the site of the inhabited part of the city in the time of Hwen Thsang who describes it as being only 10 *li*, or 1⅔ miles in circuit. This conclusion is confirmed by the position of the great ruined stupa in the midst of the *Babarkhána* land, which is 8,000 feet N. N. E. from the near end of the Bir mound, and 10,000 feet, or just 2 miles from the main entrance to the middle of the old city. As Hwen Thsang describes the position of the *stupa* of the "Head Gift" as being 12 or 13 *li*, or rather more than 2 miles, to the north of the city, I think there can be little doubt that the city of his time was situated on the mound of Bir.* I traced the remains of three small topes on the north and east sides of the mound, all of which had been opened previously by the villagers, who however stoutly denied the fact, and attributed the explorations to General Abbott and Major Pearse.

Hatiál is a strong fortified position on the west end of a spur of the *Márgala* range, and immediately to the north-east of the *Bir* mound, from which it is separated by the *Tabrá Nala*. About half a mile from Bir the spur is divided into two nearly parallel ridges, about 1,500 feet apart, which run almost due west to the bank of the Tabrá, where they are joined by a high earthen rampart. The clear space thus

* Julien's Hwen Thsang, II., 153.

enclosed is not more than 2,000 feet by 1,000 feet, but the whole circuit of the defences, along the ridges and the artificial ramparts, is about 8,400 feet, or upwards of 1½ mile. At the east end the two parallel ridges are joined by stone walls, [illegible] feet [illegible] inches thick, with square towers at intervals, all of which are still in very good order. The crest of the south or main ridge is 291 feet above the general level of the fields, but the north ridge has an elevation of only 163 feet. Between these two there is a small rocky ridge, 206 feet in height, crowned by a large bastion or tower, which the people look upon as a stupa or tope. There is a similar tower on the crest of the north ridge, which I was induced to excavate by the report of a villager named *Nûr*, who informed me that he had found a copper coin at each of the four corners of the the basement, which he considered as a certain sign that the building was a tope. I knew also that it was the custom in Barma to erect a stupa in each of the corner bastions of their square fortified cities. But my excavation which was carried down to the bare rock, a depth of 26 feet, showed only regular courses of large rough blocks which were extracted with much difficulty. Close to the west of this tower I traced the remains of a large enclosure, 163 feet long by 151½ feet broad, divided into rooms on all four sides, from which I at first thought that the building was a monastery. But the subsequent discovery of a large quantity of burnt clay pellets of a size well adapted for slingers led me to the conclusion that the place was most probably only a guard-house for soldiers. The two ridges fall rapidly towards the west for about 1,200 feet, till they meet the general slope of the intervening ground; and at these points are the two gateways of the fort, the one being due north of the other. The north ridge then rises again, and running to the W. S. W. for 2,000 feet, terminates in a square topped mound, 130 feet high. This part of the ridge is entirely covered with the remains of buildings, and near its east end the villager Nûr discovered some copper coins in a ruined tope. Of the name of *Hatiâl* I could obtain no information whatever; but it is probably old, as I think it may possibly be identified with *Hattiâr-Lank*, which Abul Fazl places in the Sindh Sâgar Doab. The spelling of the name would refer it to *Hatti*, a shop, and *Hatti-âla* would then be the market place or bazar. But the *Hatiâl* fort is

is evidently the stronghold or citadel of this ancient place that I look upon this derivation as very doubtful.*

The fortified city of *Sir-kap* is situated on a large level mound immediately at the north foot of Hatiâl, of which it really forms a part, as its walls are joined to those of the citadel. It is half a mile in length from north to south, with a breadth of 2,000 feet at the south end, but of only 1,400 feet at the north end. The circuit of Sirkap is 8,300 feet, or upwards of 1½ mile. The walls, which are built entirely of squared stone, are 14 feet 9 inches thick, with square towers of 30 feet face, separated by curtains of 140 feet. The east and north walls are straight, but the line of west wall is broken by a deep recess. There are two large gaps in each of these walls, all of which are said to be the sites of the ancient gates. One of these in the north face is undoubted, as it lies due north of the two gateways of the *Hatiâl* citadel, and due south of the three ruined mounds in the *Babar-khâna*. A second in the east face is equally undoubted, as parts of the walls of the gateway still remain with portions of paved roadway leading directly up to it. A third opening in the west face, immediately opposite the last, is almost equally certain, as all the old foundations inside the city are carefully laid out at right angles due north and south. The position of Sirkap is naturally very strong, as it is well defended on all sides by the lofty citadel of Hatiâl on the south, by the *Tabrâ Nala* on the west, and by the *Gau Nala* on the east and north sides. The entire circuit of the walls of the two places is 14,200 feet, or nearly 2½ miles.

Kacha-kot, or the "mud fort," lies to the north of Sirkap, in a strong isolated position formed by the doubling round of the Tabrâ Nala below the junction of the Gau Nala, which together surround the place on all sides except the east. The ramparts of Kacha-kot, as the name imports, are formed entirely of earth, and rise to a height of from 30 to 50 feet above the stream. On the east side there are no

* In the translation of Sung-yun's Travels, published by Mr. Beal in 1869, I find that there was a "mountain to the north of Mânikyâla, which possessed a temple called Collected Bones," with more than 300 attendant priests. I venture, therefore, to suggest that the present name of *Hatiâl* may, perhaps, refer to a similar temple, and may be only a contraction of *Haddiâla*, or the "Place of Bones," or, in Sanskrit, *Asthi* plus *ala*, or *Asthyâla*, which would be shortened in *Athyâl*. Mr. Delmerick writes the name *Atiâl*.

traces of any defences, and inside there are no traces of any buildings. It is difficult, therefore, to say for what purpose it was intended, but as the Gau Nala runs through it, I think it probable that Kacha-kot was meant as a place of safety for elephants and other cattle during a time of siege. It is 6,700 feet, or upwards of 1¼ mile in circuit. The people usually called it Kot, and this name is also applied to Sir-kap, but when they wish to distinguish it from the latter they call it *Kacha-kot*. Now this name is found both in Baber's Memoirs, and in the Ain Akbari. In the former the Haro River is called the river of Kacha-kot, which therefore must have been some large place near the banks of that stream, but I suspect that it ought rather to be looked for near Hasan Abdâl or even lower down.

Babar-Khâna is the name of the tract of land lying between the Lundi Nala on the north and the Tabrâ and Gau Nalas on the south. It includes Kacha-kot, and extends about one mile on each side of it to the east and west, embracing the great mound of *Seri-ki-Pind* on the north-west, and the Gângu group of topes and other ruins on the east. In the very middle of this tract, where the Lundi and Tabrâ Nalas approach one another within one thousand feet, stands a lofty mound, 45 feet in height, called *Jhandiâla Pind* after a small hamlet close by. To the west of the *pind*, or mound, there is another mass of ruins of greater breadth but only 29 feet in height, which is evidently the remains of a large monastery. It is remarkable that the road which runs through the two gateways of the *Hatiâl* citatel and through the north gateway of *Sirkap*, passes in a direct line due north between these two mounds until it meets the ruins of a large *stupa* on the bank of the Lundi River, 1,200 feet beyond the Jhandiâla Pind. This I believe to be the famous head-gift *stupa*, which was said to have been erected by Asoka in the 3rd century before Christ. I have already alluded to its position as answering almost exactly to that described by Hwen Thsang; and I may now add as a confirmation of this opinion that the main road of the city of Taxila was laid in a direct line running due north upon the Jhandiâla *Stupa*, a fact which proves incontestably the very high estimation in which that monument must have been held. This is further confirmed by the vicinity of another mound, 3,600 feet to the north-west called *Seri-ki-pind*, or *Siri-ki-pind*, which

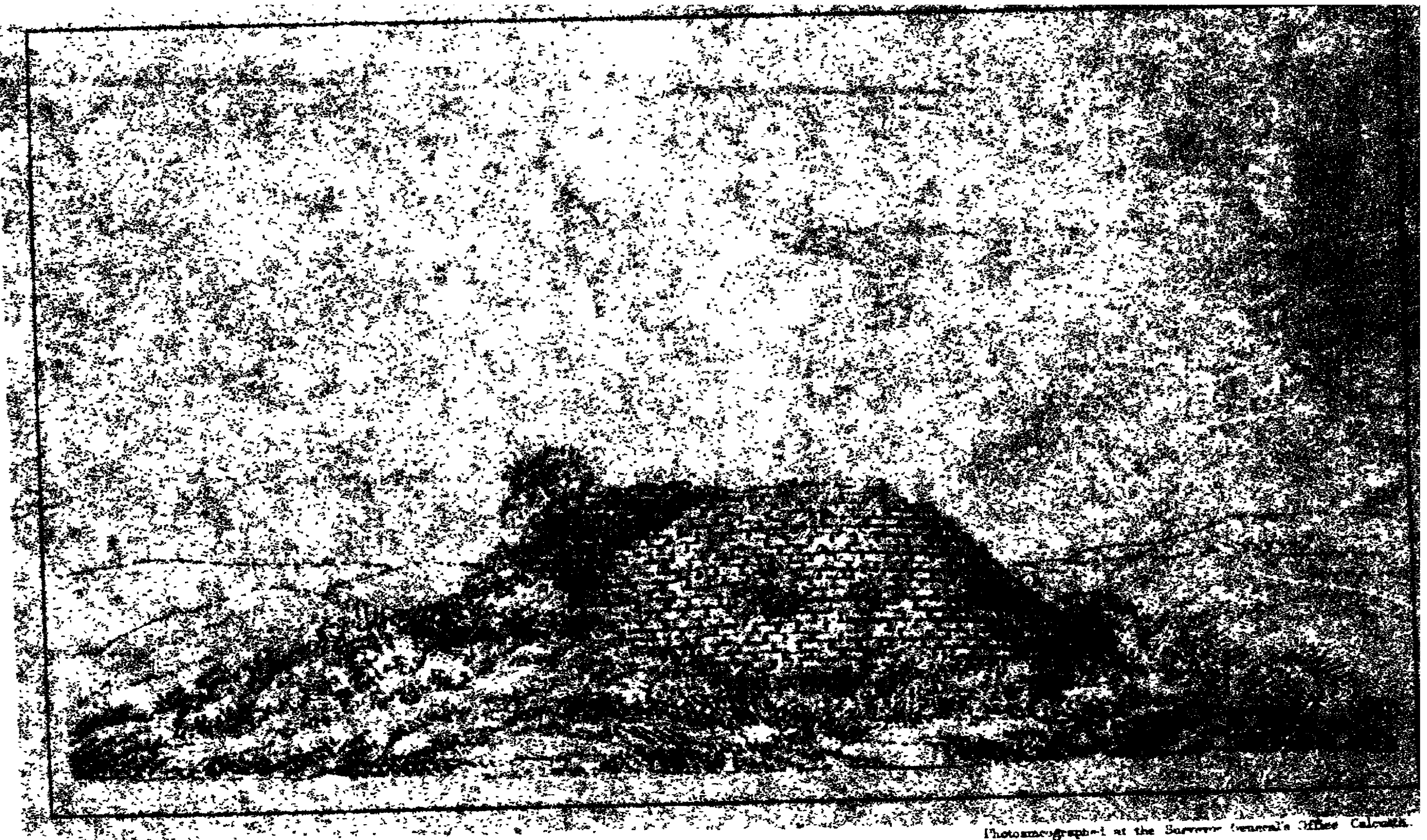
would appear to refer directly to the "head-gift," as the *Sirsha-dánam* or *Sirdán* of Buddha. Taking all these points into consideration I think that there are very strong grounds for identifying the great ruined tope of *Babar-khâna* with the famous *stupa* of the "head-gift" of Buddha. The various ruins of the Babar-khâna will be described separately when I come to speak of the still existing monuments of the ancient Taxila.

The large fortified enclosure called *Sir-Sukh* is situated at the north-east corner of the Babar-khâna, beyond the Lundi Nala. In shape it is very nearly square, the north and south sides being each 4,500 feet in length, the west side 3,300 feet, and the east side 3,000 feet. The whole circuit therefore is 15,300 feet, or nearly 3 miles. The south face, which is protected by the Lundi Nala, is similar in its construction to the defences of *Sir-kap*. The walls are built of squared stones, smoothed on the outer face only, and are 18 feet thick, with square towers at intervals of 120 feet. The towers of this face have been very carefully built with splayed foundations, all the stones being nicely bevelled to form a convex slope. The tower at the south-east corner, which is the highest part now standing, is 10 feet above the interior ground, and 25 feet above the low ground on the bank of the stream. Towards the west end, where the stones have been removed, the south wall is not more than 2 or 3 feet in height about the interior ground. Of the east and west faces about one-half of the walls can still be traced, but of the north face there is but little left except some mounds at the two corners. Inside there are three villages named Mirpur, Thupkia, and Pind, with a large ruined mound called Pindora, which is 600 feet square at base. To the south of Pindora, and close to the village of Thupkia, there is a *khângâh*, or shrine of a Muhammadan saint, on a small mound. As this is built of squared stones, I presume that the khângâh represents the position of a stupa or tope which must have given its name to the village of Thupkia, and that the great Pindora mound is the remains of a very large monastery. I found two massive channelled stones, or spouts, which from their size could only have been used for conveying the rain water from a courtyard to the outside of the walls. At half a mile to the west there is an outer line of high earthen mounds running due north and south for

upwards of 3,000 feet when it bends to the E. N. E. Beyond this the line is only traceable by a broad belt of broken stones extending for 2,500 feet when it turns to the south-east for about 1,200 feet and joins the north face of *Sir-Sukh*. These external lines would appear to be the remains of a large outwork which once rested its north-west angle on the Lundi Nala. The entire circuit of Sir-Sukh and its out work is 20,800 feet, or nearly 5 miles.

I have now described all the different parts of this great city, whose ruins, covering an area of six square miles, are more extensive, more interesting, and in much better preservation than those of any other ancient place in the Panjâb. The great city of *Sirkap*, with its citadel of *Hatial*, and its detached work of *Bir* and *Kacha-kot*, has a circuit of $4\frac{3}{4}$ miles, and the large fort of *Sir-Sukh* with its outwork, is of the same size, each of them being nearly as large as Shah Jahan's imperial city of Delhi. But the number and size of the stupas, monasteries, and other religious buildings is even more wonderful than the great extent of the city. Here both coins and antiquities are found in far greater number than in any other place between the Indus and Jhelam. This then must be the site of Taxila, which, according to the unanimous testimony of ancient writers, was the largest city between the Indus and Hydaspes. Strabo and Hwen Thsang both speak of the fertility of its lands, and the latter specially notices the number of its springs and water-courses. As this description is applicable only to the rich lands lying to the north of the Tabrâ Nala, which are amply irrigated by numerous channels drawn from the Haro River, the proof of my identification is complete. Burnes crossed this tract in 1832, when he encamped at Usmân Katar, 3 miles to the north of Shah-dheri, and about 1 mile to the south of the Haro River. He describes the village as standing on a plain at the mouth of a valley close to the base of the outlying hills."* This agrees most exactly with the accounts of Strabo and Pliny, who describe Taxila as situated in a level country where the hills unite with the plains. Of Usmân Burnes goes on to say that "its meadows are watered by the most beautiful and crystal rivulets that flow from the mountains." In the first part of this statement

* Bokhara, II., 61.



A Cunningham del

Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta.

SHÂHPUR TOPE from S.

TAXILA.

he is quite correct, but in the latter part he is undoubtedly wrong, as every rill of water that passes through Usman is drawn by artificial means from the Haro River. Two miles to the south, towards the ruins of the old city, the irrigation is carried on by cuts from the Lundi Nala, but as the main body of water in this stream is artificially obtained from the Haro, the whole of the irrigation may be truely said to be derived from that river.

In describing the existing ruins of the ancient Taxila, I propose to begin at the south, with the outlying remains near the village of Shahpur, and to proceed northwards until I reach Seri-ki-Pind, the most distant monument in the holy tract of the Babar-Khana. The site of each object is numbered in the accompanying map, and my description will follow these numbers. It is only necessary to premise that Shahpur is a small village on the south bank of the Tabrâ Nala, 3,000 feet to the east of Bir mound, and 2,000 feet to the south of Hatiâl. From Sir-Kap the road to the Shahpur group of topes lies through a pass, to the east of the citadel, which cuts off the Hatiâl hill from the end of the ridge. The distance from the east gate of Sir-Kap to the Shahpur Topes is rather more than one mile.

No. 1, the largest stupa of ancient Taxila, which equals the great tope of Mânikyalâ in size, is situated on a high mound to the north of the Tabra Nala, and about half a mile to the east of Shahpur. It is generally known as the *Chir Thup*, or the "Split Tope," from a broad cut having been made right through the building either by General Ventura, or by some previous explorer.* The cut is 20 feet broad at the west end, and 38 feet at the east end with a depth of 32 feet. This enormous opening has utterly destroyed the appearance of the monument from the east and west sides, where it looks like two massive mounds 17 and 18 feet thick at top, with a gap of 40 feet between them. These numbers give a top diameter of 75 feet; but at 32 feet lower I found the circumference to be 337 feet, which gives a diameter of 107½ feet. But as the outer casing of smoothed stones has entirely disappeared, this diameter could not have been less than 115 or 120 feet and as the point

* See Plate LVIII. for a view of this Tope.

of measurement was 20 feet above the level of the courtyard, the actual base diameter may be set down as from 120 to 125 feet, or within 2 feet of that of the great Mânikyâla Tope. The loss of the outer casing has brought to light the interior construction, which was regulated by a series of walls radiating from the centre of the building. These walls are 4¼ feet thick and 11¼ feet apart, where visible outside of the broken surface. As the outer wall or casing would have been at least as thick as these radiating walls, we shall obtain the least possible diameter of the building at 20 feet above the ground level, by adding twice the thickness of one wall, or 8½ feet to the measured diameter of 107⅓ feet, which gives a minimum diameter of nearly 116 feet. But as the external wall would have been almost certainly of greater thickness than the radiating walls, we may conclude that the diameter at 20 feet above the ground was at least 120 feet, and that it may have been much as 125 feet. The people have no tradition about the contents of this *stupa*, from which I conclude that its exploration was effected long before the time of General Ventura. The stupa stood originally in the midst of a large rectangular court, surrounded by cells for monks, of which only the foundations now remain. Inside the court, and to the south-east of the great tope, there was formerly another stupa, No. 2, of small size, which was explored long ago by the villagers. The platform on which the great tope stands is 60 feet in height above the general level of the fields.

Nos. 3 and 4 are the ruins of small topes with attached monasteries, which stand on the high ground to the north of the great *stupa*, in the direction of the pass leading to Sir-kap. Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 8 are the remains of small topes to the south-east of the great stupa, and Nos. 9 to 16 are the ruins of eight small topes to the west of No. 1, which are clustered around the village of Shahpur. All of these fourteen topes were opened some years ago by the villagers, from whom I ascertained that No. 13 yielded an inscribed stone vase, and No. 14 a copper plate inscription, in three or four pieces, which was given to Major Pearse eight years ago, or about A. D. 1855. This copper plate inscription, which is still in the possession of Major Pearse, is a short record of one line in Arian-Pali characters, which has not

Copper Plate from Stupa in Sur Sukh. ½ size

On Vase in Peshâwar Museum - ½ size

Copper Plate from Stupa in Jhaoli, ½ size

Stone Pillar Sir-Kap.

Gold Plate from Stupa in Gangu.

Stone Pillar of Railing Sen-ki-Pind.

yet been made public.* Some of the letters are doubtful, especially at the beginning, but the greater part are very distinct and easily legible. I read the whole as follows:

Samvatsara (dasa) miti 10 tena Sabhayakena thuba pratistavito Mata pitu puyaë aghara cha puyaë.

"In the year 10 by one named Sabhayaka this *Thuba* (Tope) was erected in honour of his mother and father and in honour of (?)". The first letter is more like *a* than *s*, but the next three letters, and specially the compound letter *ts*, are so plain as to make my proposed reading a very probable one. The inscribed stone vase I was unable to trace satisfactorily, but I believe it to be the Taxila vase which is now in the Peshâwar museum, as it corresponds with the description which I received from the villagers. The inscription on this vase has already been published by Professor Dowson, as well as by myself.† I read it from three different fac-similes as follows:

Sihilena Siha-Rachhitena cha bhratarehi Takhasilaë ayam thuva prathitavito sava Budhana puyaë.

"This Thuva (Tope) was erected in Taxila by the brothers *Sinhila* and *Sinha-Rakshita* in honor of all the Buddhas." This inscription fully proves the accuracy of my identification of the vast ruins near Shah-dheri with the famous *Taxila* of the Greeks, and the equally famous *Takkasila* of the Buddhists.

Nos. 17, 18, and 19 lie to the south of the Tabrâ Nala, between Shahpur and the Bir mound. The first is a large square mound 35 feet in height, called *Kotera-ka-Pind.* It is evidently a ruined monastery, as the cells of the monks can still be traced on all four sides. Midway and in front of the west side, there are the ruins of a small square building, which I presume must once have held a statue of Buddha in the usual position facing the east. The walls of the monastery are very massively built of large squared stones, and this apparent solidity, combined with the great height of the place, must, I believe, have originated its modern

* See Plate LIX., fig. 2, for a copy of this inscription.

† Royal Asiatic Society's Journal, XX., p. 221., and Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1863, pp. 151 and 172. See plate LIX, fig. 3, for a copy of the inscription.

name of *Kotera*, or the "Little Fort." The other two mounds are the ruins of small topes previously explored by the villagers.

Nos. 20, 21, and 22 are the ruins of small topes on the Bir mound, which have already been noticed in my account of that part of the old city. No. 23 is a small ruined tope to the east of Sirkap which was open by *Nur*, an inhabitant of Shah-dheri, without making any discovery.

No. 24 is the remains of a large monolith, called *Chura* by the villagers, which means simply a "bolt," or fastening of a gate. This monolith is now lying in five pieces in a ravine to the north-west of the Hatiâl citaded, and close to the right bank of the Tabrâ Nala, near the village of Dibia. The pillar is formed of a soft, coarse grey sandstone, and is very much weather-worn. But one of the pieces still bears traces of an inscription in Ariano-Pali characters, of which the only legible part reads *sera cha*.* The largest piece of the column is 5 feet 4 inches long, with a diameter of 39·436 inches, and the smallest piece is 1 foot 11½ inches long with a diametor of 34·872 inches. The whole length of the five pieces is 17 feet 10 inches. In making an excavation for the clearance of these pieces, I discovered the abacus, or top of the capital, which was 3 feet 2 inches square and 9 inches thick. I found also a portion of the base 4 feet 3½ inches square, with a mortice hole for fixing the shaft. Judging from the position in which the pillar now lies, I should infer that it must have stood on the side of the high road, and just outside one of the principal entrances of Sir-Kap. The ravine lies between two high mounds, and forms a natural entrance to Sir-Kap and its citadel, which is still the most frequented path of the place.

No. 25 is a small ruined tope on the north ridge of Hatiâl, which has already been alluded to as having yielded some copper coins to the villager Nur. No. 26 is the ruined tower on the highest point of the north ridge which I opened unsuccessfully. No. 27 is a similar tower on the small central ridge which was also opened without result. No. 28 is the remains of a large temple near the north end of Sir-Kap, 43 feet 4 inches in length by 32 feet in breadth inside. From the accounts which I received on the spot this room

* See Plate LIX., fig. 5.

had been lately excavated by Major Cracroft, the Deputy Commissioner of Râwal Pindi, and at a still earlier period by Major Pearse. I cleared out the room entirely for the purpose of ascertaining its original purpose, and from the numerous pieces of broken colossal figures in burnt clay which I found, I conclude that the building was an open temple containing colossal seated figures, similar to those that are seen all over Barma. I found also the lid of a black steatite box, 3 inches in diameter, from which I infer that the box itself may have been found and secreted during some of the previous excavations. My other discoveries were the following: a square bar of lead 13¼ inches long and one-third of one inch thick; a massive iron door hinge, bent for the purpose of allowing the door to be turned completely back against the wall; portions of long bar-hinges of iron with the nails still sticking in them, but no traces of wood; a thin flat strap of iron, 6 inches long and 2¼ inches broad, with a nail hole at each end; a basketful of charcoal; and a very large quantity of quick lime. The last two discoveries might reasonably be supposed to be the produce of a fire which destroyed the buildings, were it not for the discovery of the unmelted piece of lead above mentioned, I incline therefore to suppose that the lime was intended for the repairs of the stucco figures, and that the charcoal may have been designed for heating lead or lac for the fastening of the statues. Similar arrangements for mending stucco figures may be seen any day in the temples of Barma. The portions of statues which I found were three heads, with the eyes wide open, and two right hands,—one empty and the other holding drapery. I was informed that Major Cracroft had obtained two heads of a similar description, and that others had been discovered by Major Pearse near Shah-dheri.* The size of some of the figures must have been 9 or 10 feet, as one of the heads discovered by me had a face of 10½ inches in length, and one of the hands was 6½ inches broad across the four fingers.

At the east end of the temple, distant only 6 feet, and connected by a grand door-way 14 feet wide, there is a circular well, or under-ground room, 32 feet in diameter and 18 feet

* See Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1852, Plates XIX. and XX.

deep, which was excavated without any success under Major Cracroft's orders. It was filled with rubbish, and the excavation was carried down till it reached a solid pavement of rough stones. Nûr, the villager, was very anxious that I should clear out all the stone pavement, as he believed that treasure must be hid beneath it. Had it been a well for supplying water, it would not have been an unlikely place for the concealment of valuables, and as the floor, which had already been dug up to a depth of 3 or 4 feet, was made entirely of a solid stone, and as the walls still bore traces of their stucco covering, I concluded that this deep circular room was probably one of the under-ground apartments of Taxila, which have been described by Philostratus. I confess, however, that I was not satisfied with this explanation, as there were no apparent means of access, except by a wooden ladder, which is possible but not probable, as the great doorway of 14 feet towards the temple would not have been required at the head of a ladder. At first I thought that it might have been a granary, but when I had cleared out the great entrance, I gave up this opinion. The walls of this room are 3¾ feet thick, and square externally, to conform in appearance with the outer walls of the temple. The outside dimensions of the whole building are 89 feet long from east to west, with a breadth of 49½ feet.

No. 29 is the remains of another stone column, which was discovered under-ground near the south end of Sir-Kap by the villager Nûr, who secretly broke it up into small pieces in the hope of discovering gold. When first discovered it is said to have consisted of one square piece, and of five or six cylindrical pieces all broken. The statement is confirmed by the smooth ends of some of the fragments, as well as by the mortice holes in two of the pieces. The largest piece had a diameter of 2 feet 8½ inches, with a mortice hole 6 inches square and 4 deep. The smallest had a diameter of 2 feet 6½ inches, with a mortice hole 4½ inches square, and a third fragment had a diameter of 2 feet 6¼ inches. Now, the practice of building up a column in separate pieces, being Greek and not Indian, I infer that this pillar is most probably of Greek origin, and therefore that we may ascertain its height from its known diameter. As the shaft is smooth, the column was probably of the plain Ionic order, which, at the usual rate of 8½ lower diameters,

would have had a height of about 23 feet. Two fragments of a large flat square stone, 9 inches thick, were found in the same place. This probably belonged to the base, as its breadth was not less than 3 feet. The edges of one face of this stone were broadly bevelled.

No. 30 is a large mound about 200 feet square on the left bank of the Tabrâ Nala, near the small village of Maliâr-ka-Mora. Some superficial excavations which I made showed that it was the remains of a temple, or other large building, 110 feet in length from north to south, and and 78 feet broad, with a colonnade or cloister all round. On the east side the villagers had lately excavated the complete base of a large sandstone column, which is of very great interest, as it is the first specimen of pure Greek architecture that has yet been discovered in the Panjâb. It is the perfect Attic base of a column 2 feet 4¾ inches in diameter, the only difference being the greater projection of the fillet immediately below the upper torus. The plinth is 3 feet 8¼ inches square and 11 inches thick.* At the village masjid I found two pieces of a limestone pillar, each 1 foot 9 inches in diameter and 1 foot high, which were also discovered in the mound. I think it possible that this *Maliâr* mound may be the ruins of the temple described by Philostratus. "Before the walls of the city stood a temple whose dimensions were nearly 100 feet, built of prophyry, within which was a chapel, too small in proportion to the size of the temple, which was large, spacious and surrounded with pillars, but notwithstanding the chapel was worthy of admiration!" The temple just described agrees with the ruins of the Maliâr mound in several curious particulars, in its position which was outside the city, in its size which was nearly 100 feet, and in its external colonnade. This agreement is certainly very close, but my confidence in the identification is not very great on account of the weak and doubtful authority of Philostratus.

Nos. 31 to 36 belong to the *Gângu* group of monuments in *Babar-khâna*. The first is a small ruined tope, with

* At my suggestion this base has been removed to Lahor, where it may now be seen in front of the Museum. I understand that no less than four pillars have since been found in the Mohra Maliâr mound by Mr. Delmerick.

monastery attached, both of which have been explored by the villagers. No. 38 is a small ruined tope in which the villager Nūr discovered the relics which have been described by Mr. Westropp.* These relics consisted of a circular stone box, about 1 foot in diameter and 3 inches in depth, beautifully turned and polished, and covered by a slab of sandstone, inside which there was a small hollow crystal figure of a *hansa* or goose, containing a thin gold plate $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches long and nearly 1 inch broad, inscribed with Ariano-Pali characters. The letters have been punched on the plate from the back, so that they appear in relief on the upper side.† Several of the letters are of unusual forms which renders some portion of the reading doubtful, but the greater number of the letters are distinct and indisputable. I read the whole as follows;

Siraë Bhagavato dhato prethavetiye Matuha-sisa Pituha sasi Loöra-sasi Atiyo hatchajali.

The translation is extremely difficult, owing partly to the doubtful value of some of the letters, and partly to our ignorance of the provincial dialect of the record. Babu Rajendra Mittra has published a tentative translation, to which I must take exception, as it ignores the two most distinct words *Matu* and *Pitu*, or "mother" and "father," which are of such frequent occurrence in these short dedicatory records of the Buddhists. I do not presume to give any translation myself, but I may venture to suggest that the word *sirae* most probably refers to the "head," or *sira* of Buddha which was offered in this very place. I think also that the word *dhato* may refer to the *dhatu*, or "relic" which was found inside the crystal *hansa* when it was first discovered. *Dhatu* is the technical term for a bone-relic, and *dhagoba*, one of the well known names for a stupa, is only the Pali from of the Sanskrit *dhatu-garbha*, or the "relic receptacle." I conclude therefore that the stupa was probably erected either over a piece of the head bone *(sira-dhatu)* of Buddha, or over some other relic in the holy ground of the "head offring of Buddha."

---

* Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, [illegible], p. 175.

† See Plate LIX., fig. [illegible], for a copy of this inscription. The circular stone-box and the crystal goose are now in the British Museum, but the inscription is not with them.

No. 33 is a small ruined tope, with a square recess in the centre, which was long ago explored by the villagers. No. 34 is a small monastery. No. 35 is a small circular room or a large well 15 feet in diameter, full of rubbish, inside which the villager Nur found a gold plate weighing 38 Rupees, and worth upwards of 600 Rupees. It was lying loose amongst the rubbish against the wall of the chamber. No. 36 is a small ruined tope, in which Nur found a small stone box, two stone *hansas*, or geese, along with some copper coins, gold and silver leaf, and a few beads. There was no inscription with this deposit.

We now come to the Jhandiala group of monuments in the land of the *Babar-khâna*, of which No. 37, called *Jhandiâla-ka-dheri*, is the loftiest mass of ruin now existing near Shah-dheri. The mound is 45 feet in height, and about 250 feet square at base. From its size as well as from its position I judge the mound to be the remains of a great temple. I therefore began clearing the top, but as there was no appearance of masonry, I dug two broad trenches at right angles across the mound which, at 7 and 8 feet deep, disclosed three of the walls of a large building. I continued the excavations to a depth of 12 feet without reaching the fourth wall; but as I was now satisfied that the building was a temple, the work was stopped. The wells were of different thicknesses, that to the west being 10 feet 7 inches, that to the east 9 feet 6 inches, while that to the north was only 5 feet 2 inches. The breadth of the room between the east and west walls was 28 feet. In making this excavation, the workmen found a large copper coin of Azas, amidst a quantity of ashes, mixed with a white flakey substance like crushed asbestos. The quantity of ashes was so great that I concluded that the building must have been destroyed by fire.

No. 38 is a large square mound of ruins, 29 feet in height, situated close to the west side of the temple just described. The whole mound is covered with large cut stones, which are half hidden by scrubby thorn bushes. I traced six parallel walls running north and south, and four running east and west. The outer dimensions were 176½ feet by 108½ feet; but the greater length was made up by a court-yard 58 feet broad at the south end. The walls varied from 4½ to 6½ feet in thickness, and the rooms from

9½ to 15 feet in breadth. At the south end of the main building there is a ruined flight of steps leading into the court-yard through a gap in the outer wall, which was no doubt the position of the main entrance. I conclude that this mound was the remains of a monastery attached to the great temple.

No. 39 is a small ruined tope, which was opened by Nur without result. No. 40 is a large ruined tope, standing in the centre of a square enclosure, distant 1,200 feet to the north of the two great ruins just described, and due north also of the gates of *Sir-Kap* and Hatiâl. This was also explored by Nur, who states that he found only a large polished yellow slab, which he sold to a goldsmith of Rawal Pindi for one rupee, who re-sold it for five rupees to form the the tombstone of a British soldier. The stupa is now a mere heap of stones; but after clearing away the loose stones, I was able to measure the undisturbed part of the structure, which was upwards of 40 feet in diameter. The tope was surrounded by a square enclosure containing about 30 cells for the attendant monks. The arrangement of this enclosure, as far as I could trace it, was as follows: The central stupa, about 45 feet in diameter, was surrounded by open cloisters 8 feet wide, forming a square of 90 feet, behind which were the cells of the monks, each 9½ feet broad and 14½ feet long. The outer wall of the monastery was 3 feet and the inner wall 2 feet thick, the whole building forming a square of 145 feet outside. The entrance was in the centre of the south face towards the city. Outside the north-east corner there was a small ruined temple which had been opened by the villagers. This large stupa, standing in the very midst of the *Babar-khâna* land I believe to have been the famous monument which Asoka erected on the spot where Buddha had made an offering of his head. The remains of dentils and other carved stones show that this stupa must have been similar in its architectural ornamentation to the Mânikyâla and Balar Topes.

No. 41 is a small ruined tope situated 1,500 feet to the west of the last, and about the same distance to the north of the Tabra Nala. This was explored by Nur, who states that he discovered in it, along with the usual fragments of bone and beads, a copper plate inscription broken

in two pieces, which was given to the Commissioner. From memory Nur drew the size of the plate on a piece of paper as 6½ inches long and 2 inches broad. The plate was seen by numbers of the people of the Shah-dheri, all of whom agreed that it was broken in two pieces, but they differed as to its length from 8 fingers or 6 inches, to 1 span or 9 inches. From this description of the plate I felt quite satisfied that it must be the same as Mr. Roberts' Taxila plate, and this conclusion has been since confirmed by Mr. Roberts himself, who has kindly informed me that, to the best of his recollection, when he was encamped at Hasan Abdal, the man who brought the plate to him said that he had found it in the lands of a village some miles to the east of Hasan Abdal. As the place of discovery pointed out to me by Nur is exactly 9 miles to the E. S. E. of Hasan Abdal, I think that the proof of the identity of the two plates is most complete and satisfactory. But one difficulty still remains to be explained, which is, the position of the place of discovery with respect to Taxila itself. In the inscription it is distinctly stated that the "deposit of a relic of Sakyamuni was made by the Satrap *Liako Kusuluko*, in the district named *Chhema*, to the north-east of the city of Taxila." Now, the place of discovery, according to Nur, lies almost due north of the old city, although it is N. N. E. from the large village of Shah-dheri. The only probable explanation which I can suggest is the possibility of a mistake on the part of my informant Nur, whose explorations have been so numerous that his memory may easily be supposed to have failed in retaining the details of his discoveries. His first statement made to myself referred the deposit to No. 40, but a fortnight afterwards he changed it to No. 41, and as he adhered to this latter statement during the rest of my stay near Shah-dheri, I have assigned the discovery to that monument. His own wife, however, who, during the absence of her husband, was the first to inform me of the finding of this plate, referred the discovery to one of the ruined topes of *Gángu* or *Chiti*, she could not remember which. As Nur himself was evidently uncertain whether the copper-plate inscription was found in No. 40 or 41, I feel inclined to accept the wife's remembrance of the place of discovery as pointing to a more easterly site than

No. 41.* I visited *Chhi* myself, where I was informed by five different witnesses that no inscription of any kind had been discovered there, but they had heard that an inscribed copper-plate in two pieces had been found near Shah-dheri. The ruined monuments of *Gángu* have already been described as lying within half a mile of the north-east corner of the old city. The balance of evidence, I think, is therefore in favor of the discovery having been made in one of the Gângu Topes, to which Nur has ascribed the deposits of the crystal *hansas* with the gold inscription, and of the two stone *hansas* without inscription. To one of these, either No. 32 or No. 36, I would assign the deposit of the relic of Buddha with Mr. Roberts' Taxila plate, on the supposition that Nur's memory may possibly have failed him as to the exact spots in which his discoveries were made. The following amended translation of this important inscription has been given by Professor Dowson :† "In the year seventy-eight of the great king, the great Moga, on the fifth day of the month Panemos. On this notable occasion, the Satrap of *Chhahara* and *Chukhsa*, by name Liako Kusuluko, deposits a relic of the holy Sákyamuni in the *Stupaliko*, established in the country called *Chhema*, north-east of the city of Taxila, in honour of the collective body of worshippers and of all the Buddhas; for the honouring of his father and mother, for the long life, strength, and prosperity of the satrap's son and wife, for the honouring of all his brothers and relatives, and for making known his great liberality, fame, and success."‡

No. 42 is a very large ruined mound situated about three-quarters of a mile to the north-west of the great *Jhandiála-ka-dheri*. It is between 300 and 400 feet square at base, and 31½ feet in height. It is well known to the

---

* This opinion has since been verified by Mr. Delmerick, who, as Assistant Commissioner, has had the most favourable opportunity of ascertaining the most exact information. The inscribed copper plate was actually found in a ruined tope in the village of Thupki inside the boundary of the old city of *Sir-Sukh*, just two miles to the north east of Shah-dheri. The two places mentioned in the inscription, of which *Liako* was the Satrap, are *Chhahara* and *Chukhsa*, which in the Western Panjab would have been pronounced *Tshahara* and *Tsukh*, just as *Chhatrapa* was pronounced *Tshatrapa* or Satrap. *Tsukh* may, therefore, be the ruined city now called *Sir-Sukh*; but of *Chhahara* or *Tshahara*, and *Chhema* or *Tshema*, I am not able at present to offer any identification.

† Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1863, p. 421.

‡ See Plate LIX., fig. 2, for a transcript of the original of this inscription.

people under the name of *Seri-ki-pind*, or *Siri-ki-pind*, which, I think, may possibly refer to the *sira* or "head-offering" of Buddha. I made several superficial excavations on the top of the mound, which brought to light only the foundations of some modern buildings. I dug also a large well in the middle, which was carried down to a depth of 12 feet. Amongst quantities of broken stones and ashes, I found a single small pillar of a Buddhist railing of a somewhat novel pattern, marked with an Arian letter, which, I think, must be intended for a numerical figure, as I have found several of the Mathura pillars numbered in the same way. The piller is only 18½ inches in height, and 3½ by 3 inches thick. The front face is bevelled on both edges in the usual manner, but the sockets for the reception of the rails are single segments with flat backs, instead of the usual double segments. This pillar must have formed part of a railing round some holy tree or small object in the court-yard of the great monastery, which, I presume, once covered the *Seri-ki-pind* mound. No. 43 is a small ruined tope on the west side of No. 42, which has long ago been opened by the villagers.*

No. 44 is a ruined tope in the village of *Thupkia*, inside the ruined city of Sir-Sukh.

In closing my account of the extensive ruins near Shah-dheri, which I have endeavoured to identify with the famous Taxila of the Greeks, I may remark that the identification is most satisfactorily confirmed by the bearings and distances of the next two places visited by Hwen Thsang, both of which will be now described under the names of Hasan Abdâl and Baoti Pind. The ruins at these places form, what may be called, the western group of the suburban or outlying remains of Taxila, the ancient capital of the Panjâb.

VIII. HASAN ABDAL.

At 70 *li*, or 11⅔ miles, to the north-west of Taxila, Hwen Thsang visited the tank of the Serpent King *Elâpatra*.

---

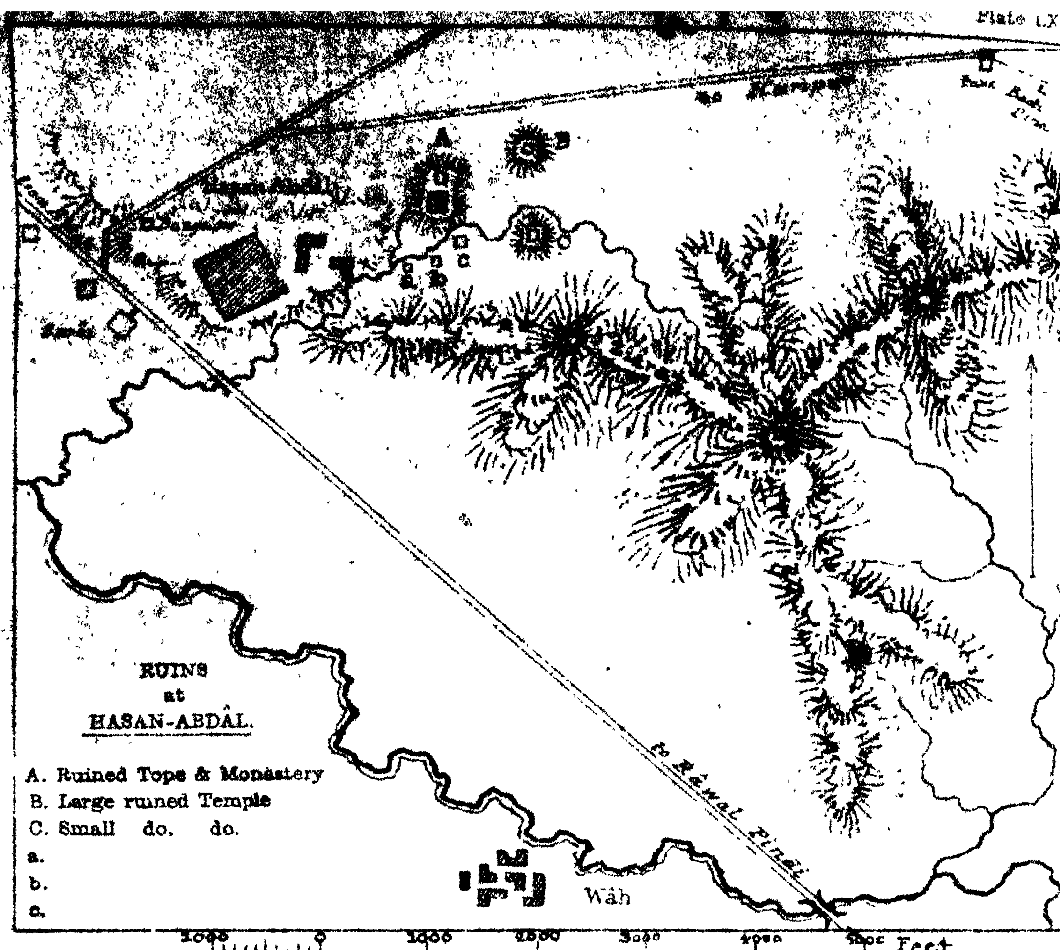
* Mr. Delmerick has since made a discovery in this immediate neighbourhood: "To the west of Seri-ki-Pind, about a gunshot from the village, at a spot called *Thupi*, about 3 feet below the surface" was found a stone box, holding a wooden box, which held a silver box, inside which was a gold box, containing some small pearls, bits of gold, &c. The stone box was found in a square compartment, near which in a mass of earth was found a small roll of very thin silver, scarcely one inch in breadth and very friable, containing an inscription in Arian letters.—See *Panjab Government Gazette*.

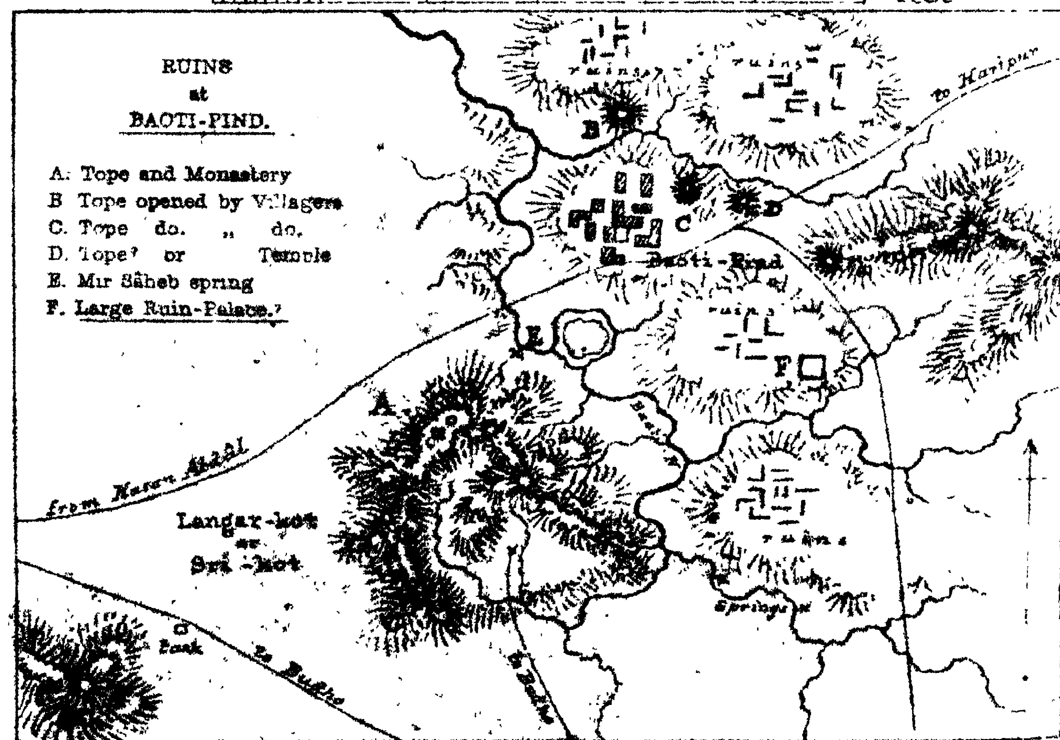
It was 100 paces, or about 250 feet, in circuit, and its pure and limpid waters were fringed with lotus flowers of different colours. Both the direction and distance of the Chinese pilgrim point to Hasan Abdal, which bears north-west 10 miles distant from Shah-dheri by the new main road, and at least 11 miles by either of the two old roads. This agreement is fully confirmed by the presence of the famous spring of Bâba-Wali, or Panja-Sahib, as it is now called by the Sikhs. The shrine of the saint is situated on the peak of a lofty and precipitous hill, about one mile to the east of the town. At the north-west foot of this hill numerous springs of pure limpid water gush out of the ground, and form a clear and rapid rill which falls into the *Wâh* rivulet, about half a mile to the west of the town. The tank of Baba-Wali, or Panja-Sahib is a small square reservoir of clear water, which was full of fish on both occasions when I have visited the place, in 1848 and 1864. It is surrounded by small dilapidated brick temples, and on the west side the water gushes out from beneath a rock marked with a rude representation of a hand, which the Sikhs ascribe to their founder *Bâba Nânak*. The place has been briefly described by Elphinstone, Moorcroft, Burnes, and Hugel, but the legend of the spring is given by Moorcroft alone. Both he and Elphinstone take Baba-Wali and Hasan Abdâl for one and the same person. But, according to the information which I received, Baba-Wali, Kandâri, was a saint from Kandahar, whose *ziârat*, or shrine, is on the top of the hill, while Hasan, surnamed Abdâl, or the "mad," was a *Gujar*, who built the *Sarâi* which still goes by his name, and whose tomb is at the foot of the hill as stated by Moorcroft.

In the time of Hwen Thsang, A. D. 630, the legend of the place referred to the *Nâga* or Serpent King of the fountain, named *Elâpatra*. Whenever the people wanted rain or fine weather, they proceeded to the tank in company with some *Srâmanas*, or ascetic Buddhists, and snapping their fingers, invoked the *Nâga's* aid in a mild voice, and at once obtained their wishes. This is the Buddhist legend, which was probably succeeded by a Brahmanical version, and that again by a Muhammadan one, and the last, in its turn, has given way to the Sikh legend related by Moorcroft.* According to this accurate

* Travels, II., 319.

Plate LX





A. Cunningham del.

Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta

traveller, the block of stone from which the holy spring gushes forth is "supposed to have been sanctified by a miracle wrought there by Nânak, the founder of the Sikh faith. Nânak, coming to the place fatigued and thirsty, thought he had a claim upon the hospitality of his brother ascetic, and invoked the spirit of Bâba Wali for a cup of water. The Muhammadan saint, indignant at the presumption of an unbeliever, replied to his application by throwing a stone at him of several tons weight. Nânak caught the missile in his hand, and then placed it on the ground, leaving the impression of his fingers upon its hard substance. At the same time he commanded water to flow from it, and this constituted the rill here observable." It is from this story that the place has received the Sikh name of *Punja-Sâhib*, or the holy "hand-mark" of Nânak.

The above is the usual story of the Sikh priests, but on enquiring amongst the Muhammadans, I was referred to a Fakir at the tomb of Hasan Abdâl from whom I received the following curious version of the legend: "Janak Raja had two servants, named Moti Râm and Nânak. On the occasion of a particular sacrifice, the Raja appointed separate duties to each of his servants, and amongst them Moti Ram was appointed to keep the door, and Nânak to remove the leaves in which the food had been wrapped. During the ceremony, a dog rushed in through the door towards the Raja. Moti Ram followed the dog and broke its back with a stick, when he was severely reproved by Nânak for his cruelty. Raja Janak then addressed his two servants saying,—'Moti Ram, you have behaved as a *Mlechha*, but you, Nânak, as a man full of compassion. In the Kal-jug you will both be born again; Nânak in Kâlu Katri's house in Talwandi, and Moti Ram as Wali in the house of a Mogal in Kandâr.' When Baba Nânak was re-born, he went to Wali's house in Kandâr and said, 'Do you remember me?' 'No said Wali, but do you open my eyes!' Then Nânak opened the eyes of Wali, and he saw and remembered his former birth, and fell at the feet of his former companion. Nânak then turned Wali into *wind* and himself into *water*, and they came both to the town of Hâro, which is now called Hasan Abdâl, when Nânak placed his hand on the rock, and they resumed their shapes. But ever since then the pure water has never ceased gushing forth

from the rock, and the pleasant breeze has never ceased playing about the lawn of Haro."

In this form of the story I think that I can recognize a genuine Buddhist legend, which may be almost completely restored to its early form by substituting the name of Buddha for that of Nânak, and the name of the Nâga King, Elâpatra, for that of Moti Ram. The last was the cruel serpent who destroyed *life*, or, as Hwen Thsang says, the *Elâpatra tree*, while the first was the compassionate Buddha, who, pitying the sufferings of mankind, must have overcome and converted the Nâga. In the substitution of the dog of the Fakir's legend for the tree of Hwen Thsang, I think that we may detect a Muhammadan version in which the Wali perhaps played the most conspicuous part. The name of Kandâr, also, I would refer to the neighbouring district of Gândhâra, across the Indus, as a more probable locality for the scene of the original Hindu legend. I would also refer the obtainment of the wind and water of the Fakir's version to the old legend of Hwen Thsang, who relates that, whenever the people wanted 'rain' (or 'fine weather') or in other words, "water and wind," they invoked the Nâga of the tank. The whole story is eminently Buddhistical, and its evident connection with the legend of Hwen Thsang is a most satisfactory proof of the identity of the clear spring of Hasan Abdal with the Nâga fountain of the Chinese pilgrim. It is equally also a proof of the identity of the vast ruins near Shah-dheri with the ancient Taxila.

The accuracy of this identification is supported by the existence of several Buddhist ruins near the well known cypress garden of the Mogal Emperors. The most important of these is a large and lofty mound, about 20 feet high on its north face, but 50 on its south face towards the garden, which is close by on the opposite bank of the rivulet. On this mound I traced the ruins of a monastery, 200 feet square, and of a large stupa, both of which had been pulled down to furnish materials for the works of the Mogal Emperors. Amongst the ruins of the *stupa*, one of my servants picked up a piece of copper vessel, and within the walls of the monastery one-half of a square copper Græco-Bactrian coin. Eight hundred feet to the east of these ruins there is another lofty mound on which I traced the foundation walls of a large square building, which was probably a temple. To

the south of the last, and due east from the garden, there is a third mound of smaller dimensions which I take to be the remains of a temple. All these mounds are covered with large cut stones and fragments of pottery.*

The ancient name of the town is said to have been *Hara*, which is most likely true, as the large stream, only three miles to the westward, is called the Haro River. I was told, however, by one of the Sikh priests, that the place was formerly called *But-karad*, which he referred to some kind of *But*, or Banian tree. But I think it more probable that this name is only a corruption of the Arabic *but-kadah*, or "idol-house," which was the common term applied by the Muhammadan conquerors to all the Indian temples; and I would refer the name to the large ruined temple on the second mound to the east of the monastery and stupa, and to the north-east of the cypress garden.

IX. BAOTI PIND.

On leaving the *Nâga* fountain, Hwen Thsang proceeded about 30 *li*, or 5 miles, to the south-east, to a gorge between two mountains, where there was a *stupa* built by Asoka, about 100 feet in height. This was the place where Sâkya Buddha was said to have predicted the period when the future *Maitreya Buddha* should appear; besides the *stupa* there was a monastery which had been in ruins for a long time. The distance points to the neighbourhood of Baoti Pind, where I found the ruins of a large town and of several Buddhist monuments. But the bearing is east, which it certainly should be, as a south-east direction would have carried the pilgrim far away from the hills into the open plain, about half way to Kâla-ka-Sarâi. Baoti-Pind is a small village situated on an ancient mound, or *pind*, on the right bank of the *Baoti* or *Boti Nala*, and at the west end of a rocky hill which stretches as far as the Haro River. In the "gorge" between the Baoti ridge and the Hasan Abdal ridge, there is a small hill forming three sides of a square which is usually called *Langar-kot*, but is also known as *Srikot*.† This was the name of the fort, which was formed by closing the open side of the hill with a strong wall. The

* See Plate LIX., for a map of Hasan Abdâl.

† See Plate LIX., for a map of Baoti Pind.

north side is about [illegible] feet in length, and each of the other three sides about [illegible] feet, which would make the whole circuit of the place just one mile and a half. The remains of numerous buildings and tanks are traceable in the lower part of the fort, and of walls and towers along the crests of the ridge. The hill is everywhere very rocky, but on the north and east sides it is precipitous and inaccessible. The highest point of the ridge is at the north-east angle, which is about 300 feet above the fields. On this point there are the remains of a large *stupa*, which is visible for many miles all round. My attention was first drawn to it by its square appearance, as seen from my camp near Shah-dheri, from which it bore north-west about 7 miles distant. On enquiry I was told that it was certainly a tope, and that it had not been opened: and as its position corresponded almost exactly with that of the *Maitreya Stupa* as described by Hwen Thsang, I judged that it might possibly be the actual *stupa* which was said to have been built by Asoka.

On reaching the top of the hill I found the remains of a small monastery, 70 feet long by 58 feet broad, from which a flight of 30 steps led to a wide platform, on which stood the ruined tope, 65 feet in diameter. Owing to the want of room, the platform is somewhat irregular in shape. The east and west faces are parallel,—the former being 100 feet in length, and the latter only 50 feet. The south face, which is at right angles to these, is 90 feet long, but the north face is 115 feet. The whole is 17 feet in height above the monastery, and the ruins of the *stupa* rise 17 feet more above the platform. After all these measurements had been made, I found that the west side of the *stupa*, which is the most accessible, must have been removed by the villagers, and that the opening which had afterwards been made from the top was not in the middle of the structure, and consequently that the deposit, if any existed, would still be intact. At 8 feet from the top my excavation came upon a small chamber, 2 feet square, formed of cut stones, which was filled up solid with rough stones. The work was continued down to 14 feet where the whole breadth of the chamber was covered with a single slab. On removing this slab, the workmen found a large red earthen-ware vessel, of the common spherical form with a narrow neck, imbedded in red

earth. As the chamber continued below this level, the work was carried on down to 22 feet, where all trace of the square shaft being lost, the work was stopped. The earthen-ware vessel was about one-third part filled with fine red clay, amongst which I found a gold coin of about A. D. 500 or 600, which is of very common occurrence in the Panjâb and N. W. India.* The other objects were a small flat circle of gold, with a bead drop in the middle, a minute silver coin much worn, some small colored beads, and some fragments of bone. The state of this deposit shows that it had never been disturbed, but the presence of the gold coin proves that the *stupa* is not older than A. D. 500, and, therefore, that it cannot be the *Maitreya stupa* which was build by Asoka.

8. The ruins of Baoti Pind occupy several lofty mounds on the right bank of the Baoti Nala, to the north and south of the modern village. The ancient coins, which are found there in considerable numbers, show that the place must have been inhabited long before the time of Asoka. But the natural advantages which the site possesses in its never failing springs of water are so great that there can be little doubt that the position must have been occupied from the very earliest times. The chief spring, called the "Mir Sahib fountain," which is in the bed of the Nala between the village and Langar-kot, gushes out in a copious stream, which is said to be sufficient to turn two mills. To the south-east of the village there are the remains of one large square building which looks almost too large for a monastery; and which may have been a country seat of the ancient kings of Taxila. Amongst its ruins I found a considerable quantity of *lapis lazuli* in small fragments, just such as I afterwards discovered scattered over the Bir mound near Shah-dheri, but which are not found at all amongst the monastic remains of Mânikyâla. For these reasons I believe that the foundations of the large square building to the south-east of Baoti Pind must have belonged to some place of the laity, rather than to a monastery or other religious edifice. To the east of the village I found a ruined *stupa* which had been opened by the people, who professed to have made no discovery in it. They told the same story at first of another *stupa* to the north of the village, but as I had received certain intelligence of the discovery of a crystal *hansa*, or

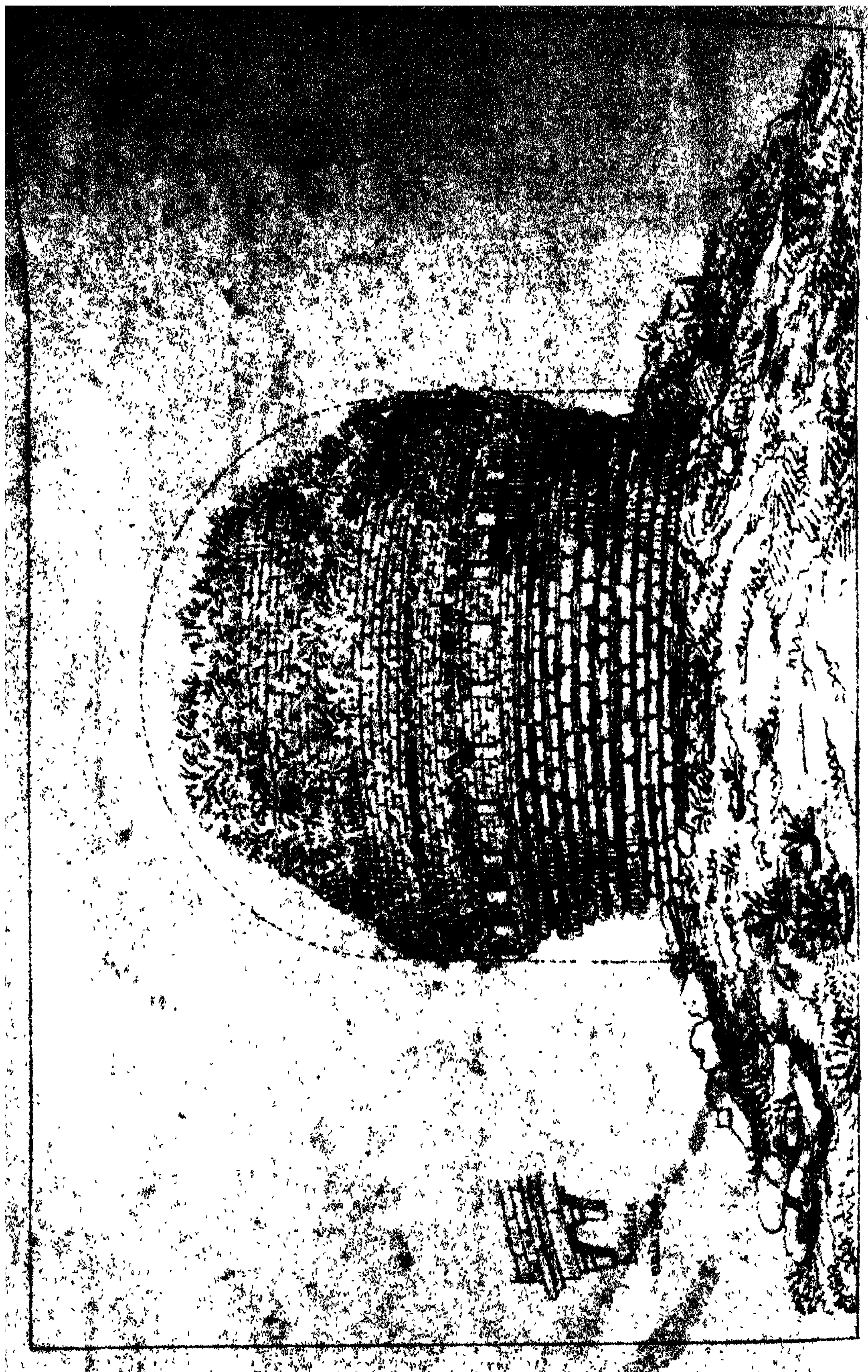
* See Wilson's Ariana Antiqua, Plate XVIII, figs. 27 and 28.

place in this earth tope, they were obliged to acknowledge it. According to the villagers, the discovery consisted of a crystal goose (the *hansa* with closely packed wings) which was deposited in a stone box. The box was broken, and the headmen of the village quarrelled about the possession of the crystal goose, which was at length taken to the Deputy Commissioner, who told them to settle the matter amongst themselves. It was afterwards offered for sale in Rawal Pindi, but as the dealers said it was of no value, it is said to have been soon forgotten and lost.

Baoti Pind is on the high road leading from Hasan Abdâl towards Haripur in Hazara. The name is most probably a modern one, but that of Langar-kot is, I think, an old one. The people have no tradition about the place, except that the fort had belonged to Raja *Sir-kap*, the antagonist of *Rasâlu*, whose name is associated with all the old cities in the Sindh-Sâgar Doab. The story of Rasâlu has been well told by General Abbott, but the legend of *Sir-kap* and his brothers and sisters still remains to be unravelled. I propose to attempt this hereafter.

X. BALÂR.

The tope of *Balar* has been described by Burnes and noticed by General Court. It stands in a most commanding position on the last spur of the long range of hills which forms the north boundary of the Haro Valley. It can be seen by a traveller along the high road for a length of 8 miles from Kala-ka-Sarai to Wah. It is 5½ miles to the north of Shah-dheri, on the east side of the high road leading to Haripur in Hazara, and about half a mile to the north of the Haro River. When Burnes saw the tope, it was still in good preservation, except on the side where the Native Chief had opened it. As he describes a square shaft or chamber of cut stone, it is certain that the tope must have contained some deposit, and most probably one of some value, as the people attribute the opening to General Ventura, which we know to be false, as General Court expressly states that the "large tope at Pahler was explored by the Native Chief." I presume that this notice refers to the Gakar Chief of Khânpur on the Haro, but the present Chief declared to me that the tope was opened long before the time of his predecessor.



Burnes' description of the Balar tope as 50 feet high and like that of Mânikyâla is sufficiently correct, but the sketch published in his travels will give a very erroneous idea of the true form of the building. Its design was, in all respects similar to that of the great Mânikyâla tope, namely, a hemispherical dome with a cylindrical plinth of the same width, supported on a base of a greater diameter, which gave a raised pathway round the building for the perambulation of devout Buddhists. All this is lost sight of in Burnes' sketch, which represents the lower part of the building as sloping inwards, something like the Columbus egg-house of the King of Oudh. The fact is that the whole of the outer facing of the lower part beneath the line of pilasters, has fallen down, so that the present base of the building is really smaller than its body. But since Burnes saw the tope, other excavations have been made which have brought down about one-third of the structure on the east side, and the building is now in such a tottering and dangerous state that it cannot possibly last more than a few years longer. It is fortunate, therefore, that my visit to the Balar tope was made while it was still standing, so that I was able to take the necessary measurements and drawings for the correction of the inaccurate sketch given by Burnes.*

At present the Balar tope is about 43 feet in height above the rock on which it stands, but as the top of the building is much dilapidated, the original height of the dome must have been a feet more. By the mean of three measurements, I found the diameter to be 44 feet, and the cylindrical plinth 9½ feet high at a distance of 15½ feet above the rock. These numbers give a total height of 47 feet to the top of the hemisphere, but the finished building, with its square pinnacle, surmounted by several tiers of umbrellas, could not have been less than 80 or 90 feet in height. The plinth is divided, like that of the Mânikyâla tope, into two distinct portions by a broad belt of bold mouldings, the upper half being ornamented with a line of deep dentils, and the lower half with a row of 32 pilasters. The pilasters are 4 feet 4 inches from centre to centre, which, multiplied by 32, gives a circumference of 138 feet

* See Plate LXI. for a view of this tope, and Plate LIV. for the position of Balar in the map of Taxila. Burnes' view will be found in his Travels into Bokhara, I, p. 71.

[illegible] inches, and a diameter of 44 feet, as noted above. The upper abacus of the pilasters is very broad, and stretches over about one-third of the intercolumniation on each side. All the pilasters and the projecting bands of mouldings are made of Kankar blocks probably for the facility of working, as it is a much softer material than the blue rock of the hill of which the body of the tope is built.

About 50 feet to the south-east there are the foundations of a smaller tope; and at 168 feet to the east there are the remains of a very large establishment of buildings. The nearest portion consists of a number of rooms forming a block, 131 feet in length, from north to south, and 73 feet in breadth, beyond which there is an open space or court-yard, 139 feet broad, and then another suite of rooms covering a space 56 feet wide. To the north-east of the last, there are the remains of a third building, 75 feet long by 67 feet broad. All these remains I take to be the ruins of a large religious establishment, which consisted of two, or perhaps three, distinct monasteries, and two stupas. From the unusual size of the larger monastery, we may conjecture that the establishment was one of considerable importance.

XI. BADARPUR.

Bádarpur is a small hamlet situated 4 miles to the north-east of Shah-dheri, and 3 miles to the north-east of *Sir-Kap.** Its tope is one of the three largest in the Panjâb, being equalled in size only by the two great stupas of Mânikyâla and Shahpur. It is now very much ruined, but it is still 40 feet high, with a diameter of 88 feet at 18 feet above the ground. All the cut facing stones are gone, and the building is altogether so much dilapidated that I am quite satisfied that its original diameter must have been upwards of 100 feet. The people are unanimous in ascribing its opening to General Ventura. I heard the same story in four different villages, and all its details were afterwards confirmed by the Gakar Raja of Khânpur. This tope was not opened, as usual, by a shaft sunk from the top, or by a gallery driven from the side, but by two deep broad cuts from top to bottom of the building, like that which was

* Plate LVII., Map of Shah-dheri, for the position of Bádarpur in the upper right hand corner.

made through the *Chir Thup*, or "split tope," of Shahpur. In the Bâdarpur Tope one great cut, 15 feet broad, has been made right through from east to west, a little to the south of the centre. This is met by another cut, 16 feet wide from the north, which passes through the centre of the building. In the middle of this excavation, General Ventura is said to have found a complete human skeleton, and a silver *Sita-Râmi*, or coin, with figures upon it. All my informants, who belonged to five different places, were unanimous about the discovery of the full length skeleton, and I afterwards found that the fact was well known in all the neighbouring villages. In 1851, however, Major Pearse was informed that this discovery was made in the *Tarnâwa* Tope, which will be described hereafter, and that nothing was found in the Bâdarpur Tope. It is much to be regretted that General Ventura did not publish the result of his explorations amongst the topes of the Haro Valley. The only notice of his operations that we possess is the brief statement of General Court that "near Khânpur General Ventura opened several cupolas."* Three of these I have traced through the reports of the people, but their accounts of the discoveries are generally so much exaggerated that I place but little reliance in the details unless they are corroborated by other testimony. In the present instance the fact of the discovery of a complete skeleton was confirmed by Raja Haidar Baksh, the Gakar Chief of Khânpur, whose intelligence and veracity are certainly entitled to every respect. The deposit of the entire body, instead of a few pieces of bone from the burnt ashes, was sometimes practised by the Buddhists, as in the case of *Kasyapa Buddha* near Srâvasti, but the practice was so rare that this Bâdarpur deposit is the first and only example that has yet been met with amongst the many hundreds of topes that have been explored.

The Badarpur *stupa* stood in the midst of a large open court upwards of 200 feet square, with some considerable buildings on the north and south sides. About 150 feet to the east I traced the foundations of a great monastery with an open court-yard of 147 feet square in the middle, surrounded by numerous cells which increased the dimensions

* Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, V., p. [illegible]

to upwards of 200 feet on the outside. The walls varied from 2½ to 3 feet in thickness, the whole being of cut stone. About 1,800 feet to the east, near the small village of Bhera, there are the remains of another Tope in which nothing is said to have been found.

XII. JAOLI.

The large village of Jaoli is situated in a gorge between two hills, about three-quarters of a mile to the south-east of Bâdarpur, and upwards of four miles to the east-north-east of Shah-dheri.* The ancient remains consist of five ruined topes and two temples. The largest of the topes is said to have been opened by General Ventura, a second by Major Pearse, and the others by the villagers. The first is situated on the open plain at the north foot of the hill, half way towards the village of Dobandi, by which name it is sometimes called. The ruined stupa, marked G. on the plan, is 45 feet in diameter and 20 feet high. It stands in the west half of the large quadrangle, 200 feet square, the east portion being divided into a small open court, and a monastery surrounded with monk's cells. According to one witness, this tope contained "four closed copper vessels with chains." Their contents were unknown, as they were carried off unopened by General Ventura. According to a second witness, the deposit consisted of only "two copper vessels, of which one was full of silver coins, and the other empty." Other witnesses testified to the discovery of "two or four copper vessels," without any details; and some were uncertain whether the copper vessels were found in this tope, or in the *Turnáwa* Tope, which will be described hereafter. In 1851 Major Pearse was informed that the discovery made in this tope by Ventura was of a vessel containing 1,000 silver coins. All these vague and perplexing statements only tend to increase our regret that General Ventura should have left no account of his explorations in the Haro District, which, as well as we can judge, would seem to have been of considerable interest and importance.

The second tope, marked F. on the plan, is situated on the hill to the north of the village, and about 1,200 feet to the south-east of the last. I believe this to be the tope in

* The position of Jaoli is shown in the map of Taxila, Plate LIV.

which Major Pearse obtained "a little silver box which contained a very large but valueless emerald, some bones, beads, and gold leaf, along with a steatite box containing Bactrian copper coins and beads." The other ruins are situated to the south of the village, on a long narrow ridge from 200 to 300 feet in height. The lowest of these, marked A.* on the plan, is a small ruined *stupa*, 22½ feet in diameter, and 11 feet high, which was said to have been only partially explored by the villagers. I continued the excavation to a depth of 19½ feet, until it reached the bare rock, without finding any trace of a relic chamber. I presume, therefore, that the actual deposit of this tope may have been discovered long ago by the villagers, and was cast aside as of no value in their eyes. Close beside this tope I traced the foundations of a small monastery. At a short distance to the north there is another ruined tope, marked B. on the plan, which has also been opened by the villagers, who, as usual, profess to have found no deposit of any kind. Close by, on the north side, there is another ruined tope, marked C. on the plan, which is said to have been opened by Major Pearse. According to most of my informants, the deposit in this tope consisted of a golden figure, *Sona-ka-but*, which is no doubt the small copper *stupa* which was discovered by Major Pearse in a tope at Jaoli in March 1851. As the copper must still have retained some traces of its original gilding, the account of the people is sufficiently accurate to enable us to verify the nature of the discovery. At a short distance to the north of the last, there are the remains of a small square temple, marked D. on the plan, which has been cleared out by the villagers. To the east of this temple, and higher up the hill, there are the square basement walls of a large building, marked E. on the plan, which, from the remains of some straight walls, I judged to be a temple.

XIII. TARNAWA.

Tarnawa is a small village on the left bank of the Haro River, 3 miles to the south-west of Khânpur, and 1½ miles to the north-east of Jaoli.* About 1,200 feet to the west of the village there are the remains of a large stupa, marked K.

* See Plate LIV., Map of Taxila, for the position of Jaoli.

on the plan, about 45 feet in diameter and 20 feet high, which is said by the people to have been explored by General Ventura. According to most of my informants, no discovery was made in this tope, but others declared that either two or four copper vessels were found in it, of which one contained silver coins. Apparently this is the tope in which, as Major Pearse was informed in 1851, "General Ventura dug out things to which the Natives attribute great value." On the east side there are the ruins of a large monastery about 200 square feet. Rather more than half a mile to the south there is a steep hill about 500 or 600 feet in height, on which there are three topes, of which two are said to be unopened, and the third to have been only partially explored, when the work was stopped by the Raja. The last statement was confirmed by the Chief himself, but as he was not aware of the existence of the two unexplored topes, I concluded that it would be a mere waste of time to visit the place. The positions of these three topes, as pointed out to me, are marked in the plan by the letters L., M., and N.

Raja Haidar Buksh also informed me that there were several unexplored topes up the valley of the Haro River. These are, no doubt, the very topes that are mentioned by Major Pearse as remaining unopened at Karâla, Pumbâla, and Palâka. It is therefore very much to be hoped that these few stupas, which are, perhaps, the only intact ones now remaining, may escape the hands of the plundering Natives who secrete the gold and silver coins and destroy all other objects which they find, lest they should lead to their detection. I would suggest that these few remaining topes should be carefully opened under the eye of some trustworthy person who should be directed to note accurately the position and state of each object of discovery. The necessity for this caution has been forced upon my attention by the great number of Roman and Indo-Scythian gold coins that have lately been offered for sale at Rawal Pindi; many of these have been in such fine condition that it is quite certain they could never have been in much circulation, and, therefore, we are justified in concluding that they must have been discovered either in topes, or in other deposits under ground.

XIV. KURMAL.

There are three neighbouring villages of the name of Kurm, which are distinguished from each other as Kurmâl, Kurm Gujar, and Kurm Pârcha. The first is situated exactly one mile to the south of the great Shahpur tope, and about 1¼ miles to the east-south-east of the Bir mound. The second is nearly two miles to the east of Kurmâl, on the old road to Rawal Pindi by the Shaldita Pass, and the last is about one mile to the north-north-east of Kurm Gujar. Near the first and second of these villages there are several ruined topes and monasteries, besides some natural caves which, from the vicinity of four small topes, would appear to have been once occupied by Buddhist monks. All the topes have been opened previously by the villagers, who, as usual, profess to have found nothing. These remains, therefore, possess but little interest in themselves, but they are of importance as being probably connected with the history of the great King Asoka.

During his stay at *Takhasila*, Hwen Thsang visited the *stupa* which the people had built over the spot where *Kunâla*, the eldest son of Asoka, had been deprived of his eyes through the false accusation of his step-mother. The story is told at some length by Burnouf, from whom we learn how the prince's sight was afterwards restored, and the wicked step-mother duly punished.* The position of the spot is rather ambiguously described by Hwen Thsang as being "outside the town on the south-east side, and on the north flank of a hill which faces the south." I have already stated that the village of Kurmâl is to the east-south-east of the Bir mound, and I may now add that it is due south-east from the citadel of Hatiâl. It lies, therefore, in the precise direction indicated by Hwen Thsang. Now, the topes of Kurmâl are situated one mile to the south of the village, on a northern spur of the Mârgala range of hills, which, as it runs almost due east and west, may truly be said to face the south. The position of the chief tope of Kurmâl tallies, therefore, so exactly with the site of Kunâla Stupa as described by Hwen Thsang, that I have but little hesitation in proposing their identity. The close agreement of the names is also curious, although it is perhaps accidental. But with the

* Introduction a l'Histoire de Buddhisme Indien, p. 40.

two villages of Kurm Gujar, and Kurm Párcha so close at hand, it is easy to see how the name of *Kundla*, or *Kund*, would be altered to *Kurmál*, to make it assimilate with the others.

The principal tope of Kurmâl, marked A. on the plan, is a large ruined mound of solid stone work about 50 feet in diameter, and upwards of 20 feet in height. It had been opened previously by the villagers, but as the courses of stone appeared intact at the bottom of the opening, I continued the excavation down to the solid rock, without finding any traces of a deposit. Close by to the west there is a ruined monastery, 120 feet square, with all the monks' cells still easily traceable, and a small ruined tope marked B., which has been previously explored. Lower down there are the ruins of two other topes, marked C. and D., with a small monastery. The latter tope was opened by the principal zemindar of the village, who assured me that he had found nothing but bones in the deposit. At the foot of the hill there is an old tank, and the fields, for about half a mile to the north, are covered with stones and broken pottery, which show the former great extent of the old village of Kurmal.

The caves of Kurmâl, which are situated one mile to the south-east of the village, are natural fissures in the rock, at a height of about 50 feet above the ground. The principal one, called *kalán gupha*, or the "great cave," is 40 feet in length, but its breadth is small, and there are no traces of long occupation. On the sloping terrace of the hill, immediately over the caves, there are the remains of four *stupas* which are said to have been opened by Núr of Shah-dheri, with the usual result of no discovery.

The Buddhist remains of Kurm Gujar are situated on low hills from half a mile to one mile to the east and south-east of the village. The most remarkable of these remains is a ruined tope in the midst of a monastery, which is perched on a precipitous height immediately above two copious springs which gush out of the rocks with a brawling noise. The old monks showed much good taste in choosing this secluded and beautiful spot for their monastery. The *stupa* is a large one, but it had been opened previously by the villagers.

With these topes of Kurmâl I close my account of the ruins which still exist around the ancient Taxila. Altogether I have traced the remains of 55 topes, 28 monasteries and 9 temples, of which the largest are quite equal in size to any that have yet been discovered. The number of these remains that has escaped the destructive intolerance of the Muhammadans is wonderfully large. Many of them, no doubt, owe their safety to their singularly unattractive positions on the tops of steep waterless hills. The escape of others is, perhaps, due to the large size of the stones they are built with, which defied the powers of ordinary destructiveness. But, perhaps, the most active agent in their favor was the greater proximity of the ancient city, whose ruins must have furnished materials for the houses of Shahdheri for several centuries. As Shah-dheri itself is a very large village containing 950 houses, and about 5,000 inhabitants, the amount of materials carried away from the old city must have been very great indeed; and to this cause chiefly I would attribute the complete disappearance of all the buildings from the nearest part of the old city on the ruined mound of Bir.

XV. RAWAL PINDI, OR GAJIPUR.

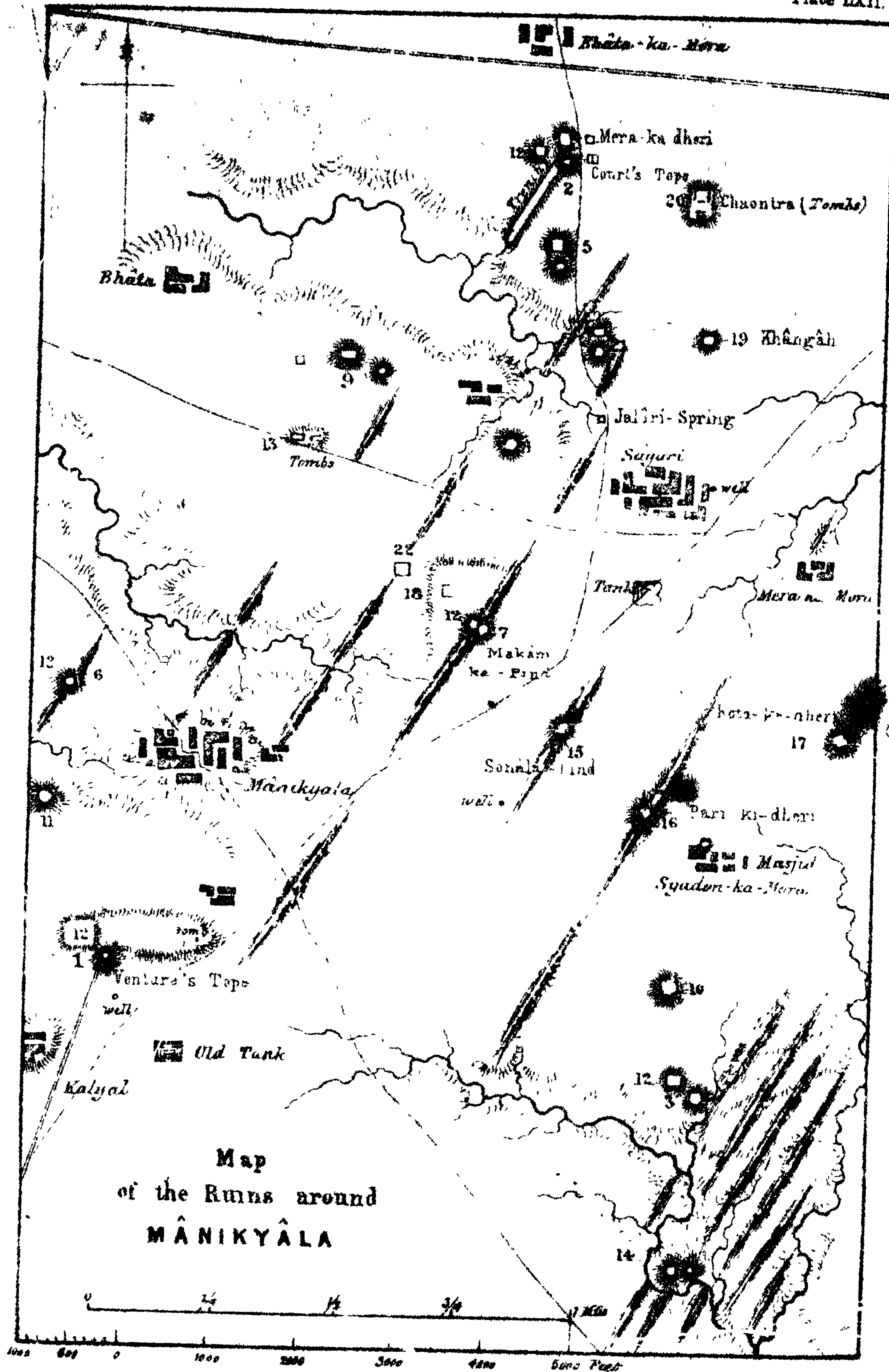
In General Court's map of the District of Taxila there is a *cupola*, or tope, placed on each side of Râwal Pindi.* The first of these is a remarkable object close to the north side of the road about 5 miles from the city. It is a long mound about 20 feet in height, and covered with cut stones. An old excavation has disclosed the four walls of a square temple facing the east; but I could not learn anything about the ruin from the people, who simply call it *Thupi*, which means a *ruined* tope, the term *thup* being applied only to topes that are actually standing, such as those of Mânikyâla, Balar, and the Khaibar Pass. The site of the other cupola is still preserved in the name of the village of *Thupi*, or topi, in the latest maps, which is just half way between the Suhân River and the cantonment of Rawal Pindi. The tope itself no longer exists, as it was pulled down some years ago to furnish materials for the jail. In the excavations near the

* Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, V., 469.

jail, several interesting discoveries were made, of which the most note-worthy are an oil lamp of classical shape with an Arian inscription, said to be now in the British Museum; and a cup of mottled sienna, colored steatite, 2½ inches in height, and 3 inches in diameter, covered with a flat lid. Every year after rain coins are found on the site of the present cantonment, about the ice pits, the Idgah, the Sadar Bâzâr, and the old parade. The ground is still thickly covered with broken pottery, amongst which fragments of metal ornaments are occasionally discovered. During the last three years several didrachms of Hippostratus and Azas have been picked up on the old parade ground, and during the present year a didrachm of Apollodotus has been found in the same place. The only information that I could obtain about the place was a vague tradition that, on this site, there had formerly been a large city, one *kos* or about 1¼ miles in length, which was called *Gajnipur*, or *Gâjipur*, and which was chiefly occupied by *Sonâls* who are a division of the Jâts. A small village, named *Gajni*, still exists about 3 miles to the north of Râwal Pindi, and as it is on the same bank of the stream as the cantonment, it most probably preserves the old name of the city. Râwal Pindi itself is a modern town, situated on the low ground to the east of the stream. The old city was on the high road leading to the Shâldita Pass over the Mârgala range. Shâldita itself is famous for a large cave, which is much frequented by Hindu pilgrims.

XVI. MANIKYALA.

The name of Mânikyâla has become well known by the description of Elphinstone, and by the explorations of Generals Ventura and Court. It is said to have been derived from Raja Mân or Mânik, who built the great stupa to the south of the village. This tradition is probably correct, as I discovered a coin and relic deposit of the Satrap *Jihoniya* or *Zeionises*, the son of *Manigal*, in a small tope to the east of the village. The old town is usually said to have been called Mânikpur or Mâniknagar, and it is so named in all the versions that I have heard of the curious legend of Râsâlu which place the residence of the *Râkshasas*, or Demons, in the old city to the north of the great tope. As the capital of the *Râkshasas*, it is sometimes also called Bedâdnagar, or



Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta.

the "City of Injustice;" but as this is the usual name that is applied to any hostile city in eastern legend, it can only be accepted as a mere epithet. Indeed, the very same name is given by Firdausi to the city of King *Kafur*, "the eater of human beings," who was killed by the hero Rustam.* But as these are the main points in the story of the hero Râsâlu, the slayer of "the man-eating Râkshasa," it may be inferred that the two legends had a common origin, and, therefore, that they must have belonged to the same place. I think, also, that the name of King *Kafur* may be identified with that of *Raja Sir-Kap*, the human enemy of Râsâlu.

An interesting account of the legend of Râsâlu has been given by Colonel Abbott.† I have heard many versions of this legend myself, all of which agree in the main points of the story, although they differ in some of the minor details. The legend belongs essentially to the District of *Putwâr*, between the Jhelam and Indus, but it is well known at *Ambâ-Kapi* near Lahor, the legendary residence of Raja Sir-Kap, and also amongst the Gujars of Buriya and Sahâranpur, on the upper course of the Jumna. The last fact is both curious and interesting, as it would seem to prove that the Gujars of the Jumna had emigrated from the Sindh Sâgar Doab, bringing with them to their new abodes the legends of their Indo-Scythian forefathers. According to all the accounts which I have collected, Râsâlu, son of Sâlivâhan, Raja of *Syalkot*, was the enemy of the seven *Râkshasas*, who lived at *Mânikpur*, or *Udinagar*, to the west of the Jhelam. The former place is the well known Mânikyâla, and the latter is most probably *Sakrabasti* in the Bakrâla Pass, and the Sagala or Euthymedia of Ptolemy. Every day these Râkshasas ate a man, the victim being drawn by lot from the people of Mânikpur. One day Râsâlu came to the city where he found a woman cooking her food, and alternately weeping and singing. Astonished at her strange behaviour, Râsâlu addressed the woman, who replied—"I sing for joy, because my only son is to be married to-day, and I weep for grief because he has been drawn by lot as the victim of the Râkshasas." "Weep no more," said Râsâlu, "and keep your son, for I will encounter the Râkshasas."

* Atkinson's Firdausi, p. 290.

† Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1854, p. 159.

Accordingly, the seven demons were all killed, except *Thera*, who is said to be still alive in a cavern of Gandghar, whence his bellowings are occasionally heard by the people.

The above is a mere outline of this curious legend; but it will be sufficient to enable the reader to follow the different steps in my argument for its identification with the Buddhist legend of Sâkya's offering of his body to appease the hunger of seven tiger cubs. The scene of this legend is placed by Hwen Thsang at 200 *li*, or 33⅓ miles to the south-east of Taxila, which is the exact bearing and distance of Mânikyâla from the ruined city near Shah-dheri. Fa Hian simply states that this place was to the east of Taxila;* but Sung-yun makes it three days' journey to the south-east, which agrees exactly with the 33⅓ miles of Hwen Thsang.† These concurring statements enable us to correct an error in the travels of Hwen Thsang, which place the scene of the "body-offering" across the River *Sin-tu*, or Indus, instead of across the River *Suhân*, which runs between Taxila and Mânikyâla. Unfortunately the place is not named by any one of the Chinese pilgrims but its position is so clearly marked by their concurring bearings and distances, as to leave no doubt of its identity with Mânikyâla. Here, then, we must look for the famous *stupa* of the "body-offering" of Buddha, which was one of the four great topes of North-West India. This I believe to have been the great *stupa* which was successfully explored by General Court. The *Hata-murta* or "body-offering" is twice mentioned in the inscription that was found covering the deposit. The other claims of this tope to be identified with the body-offering stupa will be discussed when I come to describe the existing monuments of Mânikyâla. But one fact may be mentioned here. "Originally," says Hwen Thsang, "the earth in this place was stained with the blood of Buddha, and even in his time it had a reddish tint, as well as all the trees and plants in its neighbourhood."‡ Now, the special characteristic of all the ground about General Court's tope is its extreme

---

* Beal's Fa Hian, c. XI.

† Beal's Fa Hian; compare pp. 193 & 200, the difference between eight days journey to Mânikyâla, and five days to Taxila, leaves three days between Taxila and Mânikyâla. Hwen Thsang, Julien, II., 164, states the distance as 200 *li.*, or 33⅓ miles

‡ Julien's Hwen Thsang, I., 89, 90.

redness, a fact which probably may have suggested the Buddhist legend.

In comparing this Buddhist tradition with the legend of Râsâlu, the points of resemblance are sufficiently striking and obvious. For the compassionate Buddha who had left his wife Yasodharâ, we have the equally compassionate Râsâlu, who had given up the society of his queen Kokilâ. As Buddha offers his body to appease the hunger of the seven starving tiger-cubs, so Râsâlu offers himself instead of the woman's only son who was destined to appease the hunger of the seven *Râkshasas.* Lastly, the scene of both legends is laid at Mânikpur or Mânikyâla. Again, the Râsâlu legend has come down to us in two distinct forms. In the first version, which I take to be the older one, the opponents of the hero are all human beings; while, in the other, they are all Râkshasas or Demons, whose story has already been given. In the first, the seven enemies are the three brother Rajas,—*Sir-kap, Sir-Sukh,* and *Amba,*—with their four sisters —*Kâpi, Kalpi, Munda,* and *Mandehi.* Sir-kap is addicted to gambling, and his stakes are human heads, which he invariably wins, until opposed by Râsâlu. This addition to human flesh connects Sir-kap and his brethren both with the tiger-cubs of the earlier Buddhist legend, and with the Râkshasas of the later one. But this connexion is shown perhaps even more plainly in the name of the *Bâgh bachha,* or "Tiger-cub" River, which flows past the seven ruined towns of *Sir-kap* and his brothers and sisters. The ruins of these seven places, which are still called by their own names, although they are better known by the general name of *Amba-Kâpi,* are clustered together near the bank of *Bagh-bachha* River, about 25 miles to the west of Lahor, and 10 miles to the south of Shekohpura. The general name of Amba-kâpi is, perhaps, as old as the time of Ptolemy, who places a town, named *Amakatis* or *Amakapis,* as I propose to read it, to the west of the Hydraotes, almost in the very position occupied by these ruins. If this identification is admitted, then the names of the three brothers and their four sisters must be as old as the second century, and they would, therefore, most probably, be the Buddhist designations of the seven tiger-cubs. That this was the case seems to me almost certain, as the seven names that have been handed down, without any variation whatever, are all descriptive

epithets characteristic of hunger. Thus, *kap* means the 'trembling;' *sukh*, the 'emaciated;' *ama*, the 'raw;' *kapi* is the feminine of *kap*; *kalpi* is doubtful; *munda* means the 'hairless or 'mangy;' and *madiya*, the 'lean.' Similarly, the names of the man-eating Râkshasas are descriptive of their propensities. Thus *bera* means the 'vengeful;' *chandia*, the 'furious;' *tera*, the 'roarer,' and *pihun* or *pisun*, the 'cruel.'

In accepting these names as characteristic epithets for the seven hungry tiger-cubs, I infer that the Buddhists had represented in a material form, both by sculpture and painting, the ideal story of the "body-offering" illustrative of Buddha's tenderness and compassion. As sculptured realities, the forms of the seven starving tiger-cubs would have attracted the special notice of pilgrims, and their names would soon have become familiar to the people. For these reasons I think that the legend of Sir-Kap and his brothers and sisters may be as old as the beginning of the Christian era. But a geninue Buddhist legend would be incomplete without the usual explanatory story, showing how the good or bad actions of one birth were rewarded or expiated in the next. This custom is well-illustrated by the Hassan Abdâl legend, in which the different positions of Nânak and his companion Wali are expressly stated to be the consequences of their acts in a previous existence. I infer, therefore, that, in the original legend of the seven tiger-cubs, Buddha may, perhaps, have been represented as refusing food to seven hungry but wicked persons, who, for their own sins, were born in the next birth as tiger-cubs, while Buddha was re-born as a man destined to be their prey. Some story of this kind is, I think, necessary to complete the legend by accounting for the transmigration of Sir-kap and his brethren into tiger-cubs. It is true that Hwen Thsang does not even allude to this prefatory part of the legend, but as he altogether omits the Hasan Abdâl legend, his silence shows only the brevity of the remarks which he made in his daily journal. After the fall of Buddhism, the name of Buddha would necessarily have disappeared from the legend in favor of some Brahmanical hero, who, in his turn, would have been supplanted by some Persian hero after the conquests of the Muhammadans. In this way I would account for the appearance of Râsâlu in the Indian legend, and for that of Rustam in the Persian version of Firdausi.

Accepting this view of the legend as, at least, a very probable one, we may easily explain the present appearance of Manikyâla with its numerous ruins of religious edifices, without any traces of either city or fort, by the fact that the great capital of Manikpur was the ideal creation of the fabulist to give reality to the tradition, while the topes and temples were the substantial creations of devout Buddhists which were steadily increasing in number as long as Buddhism was the prevailing religion of the people. General Abbott, when he examined the ruins around the Mànikyála tope could "not see any evidence of the existence of a city. The area occupied by submerged ruins would not have comprised a very considerable village, while the comparatively large number of wrought stones denotes some costly structure which might have occupied the entire site." In 1834 General Court described "the ruins of the town itself as of very considerable extent, massive walls of stone and lime being met with everywhere, besides a great number of wells."* After a careful examination of the site, I have come to the same conclusion as General Abbott that there are no traces of a large city; and I am quite satisfied that all the massive walls of cut stone, which General Court truly describes as being met with every where, must have belonged to costly monasteries and other large religious edifices. Doubtless a few private houses might be built of squared stones even in a village, but these massive edifices, with their thickly gilded roofs, which still repay the labor of disinterment, are, I think, too numerous, too large, and too scattered to be the remains of private buildings even of a great city. The people point to the high ground immediately to the west of the great tope as the site of the Raja Mân's palace, because pieces of plaster are found there only, and not in other parts of the ruins. Here it is probable that the satraps of Taxila may have taken up their residence when they came to pay their respects of the famous shrine of the "body-gift" of Buddha. Here, also, there may have been a small town of about 1,500 or 2,000 houses, which extended to the northward and occupied the whole of the rising ground on which the village of Mànikyála now stands. I estimate the entire circuit of the space that may have been

---

* Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1853, p. 572.

occupied by the town as about one mile and a half, which at 500 square feet per man, would give a population of 12,500 persons, or just 6 persons to each house.

The people are unanimous in their statements that the city was destroyed by fire; and this belief, whether based on tradition or conviction, is corroborated by the quantities of of charcoal and ashes which are found amongst all the ruined buildings. It was also amply confirmed by the excavations which I made in the great monastery to the north of General Court's tope. I found the plaster of the walls blackened by fire, and the wrought blocks of kankar lime-stone turned into quick lime. The pine timbers of the roofs also were easily recognized by their charred fragments and ashes. Unfortunately, I discovered nothing during my researches that offered any clue to the probable period of the destruction of these buildings, but as this part of the country had fallen into the power of the Kashmirian Kings, even before the time of Hwen Thsang, I am inclined to attribute their destruction rather to Brahmanical malignity than to Muhammadan intolerance.

In A. D. 630 when the Chinese pilgrim visited Mânikyâla the entrance to the famous *stupa* of the body-offering lay through a large stone gate which marked the spot of the sacrifice. At 140 or 150 paces, or upwards of 350 feet to the south of the gate, there was a second stone stupa built over the place where Buddha had pierced himself with a slip of bamboo that he might nourish the tiger with his blood. In this spot the ground was still of a red colour, as well as the trees and grass, which looked as if they had been tinged with blood. To the east of the stupa there was a monastery containing one hundred monks. The great stupa of the body-offering which was built by Asoka, is described as 200 feet in height adorned with sculptures, and surrounded with small stupas and stone niches. These two stupas I propose to identify with General Court's topes, Nos. 2 and 5, which will be described in their turn, according to the numbers marked in the accompanying map of the ruins. I have retained General Court's numbers from 1 to 14, and the remaining numbers mark the sites of other ruins which have not been described by him.*

* See Plate LXII. for a map of Mânikyâla.

No. 1 is the great Mânikyâla Tope which was successfully explored by General Ventura.* As the discoveries made in this tope are too well known to need further description, I will confine my account to the measurements of the building itself, and to a few remarks on the probable period of its erection. The main body of the building is a solid hemisphere of stone, 127 feet 4 inches in diameter, and 400 feet in circumference, with rests on a double plinth of slightly increased diameter. The upper plinth which is 7 feet in height, is ornamented with cornice and base mouldings, but the centre is plain. The lower plinth, which is 8 feet 8 inches height, is ornamented with similar mouldings, but the centre is divided by pilasters into 68 panels for compartments, which have a rich and striking effect amid the general plainness of the rest of the building. The whole rests on a base 13 feet 8 inches high, and 510½ feet in circumference, which gives a terrace 17 feet 8 inches broad all round the plinth of the tope for the perambulation of worshippers. According to these measurements, the height of the tope of the hemisphere above the ground is exactly 93 feet. But as the pinnacle of these topes, according to a model stupa relic box which I discovered at Mánikyâla, is equal to eight-tenths of the topes themselves, the great Mânikyâla Tope when complete, must have been 175 feet in height.

Regarding the age of this tope, I find it difficult to arrive at any satisfactory conclusions. The coins extracted from it by General Ventura are of two distinct and widely distant periods. There are coins of Kanerke and Hoérke, which date from the beginning of the Christian era, mixed with a single coin of Yaso Varmma of Kanoj, who reigned not earlier than A. D. 720, and a number of silver Sassano-Arabian coins of about the same period. The only possible explanation that I can suggest as fully meeting all the difficult points of this case, is the following: I suppose that there was on this site an old tope, built during the reign of Hoerke, or Hushka, which contained coins of himself and

---

* Bengal. Asiatic Society's Journal, III., 313. *Stûpa* is the Sanskrit term for a mound or barrow, either of masonry or of earth. The Pali form is *Thûpi*, and also *Thûpa*, and even *Thûva* in the early Arian inscriptions from the Panjâb. The term now used is *Thûp* for a tolerably perfect building; while *Thûpi* is applied to a much ruined barrow. It is therefore much to be regretted that we should have adopted the word *Tope*, which preserves neither the spelling nor the pronunciation of the true name.

of his predecessor Kanerki, or Kanishka, along with the more essential deposit of the relics contained in the casket which was inscribed with Arian characters. After the lapse of seven centuries, the tope having become ruinous was re-built in the massive form that we now see it by Yaso Varmma, King of Kanoj, who re-deposited the original relic caskets with the addition of a gold coin of himself, and of several contemporary silver coins of the Arab governors who succeeded the Sassanian princes in Persia and Khorasan. This suggestion receives some support from the fact that Yaso Varmma was engaged in hostilities with Lalitâditya of Kashmir,—which are more likely to have been brought on by a Kanojian invasion of the Northern Panjáb, than by a Kashmirian invasion of Kanoj. My suggestion receives still further support from the silence of Hwen Thsang, who could scarcely have omitted all mention of this great tope if it had existed at the time of his visit. For these reasons I conclude that the present tope was probably built about A. D. 725 to 730 during the reign of Yaso Varmma of Kanoj, whose gold coin was found mixed with the ancient deposit of the early Indo-Scythian Kings, Kanerki and Hoerki. This view is supported by my discovery in the inside of the monument of a large block of squared stone wrought on one face with twelve different lines of mouldings. The stone is 13½ inches in height, and must undoubtedly have belonged to an earlier building, and very probably to the old stupa, which I suppose to have stood on the site of this great tope.

The two Arian inscriptions that were extracted from this tope have not yet been satisfactorily read. The shorter one, which is inscribed in two lines, on a small circular plate of silver, seven-eighths of an inch in diameter, has been read by Professor Dowson as *Gomanasa Vodavartasa*, which may be translated "(stupa) of the lay-brother Vodavarta."* The reading of the first word appears to me to be unexceptionable, but the second is, I think, very doubtful. The first letter I would read preferably as *K*, making the name *Kadavartasa*. I write with an electro-type *fac-simile* before me, but the form of the fourth letter is new and I cannot suggest any satisfactory combination. The longer

* See Plate LXIII. for these two inscriptions. Professor Dowson's account of them will be found in the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal, XX., pp. 244, 246, and Plate IV.

N° 2

COURT'S STUPA
Stone Slab.

No. 1 VENTURA'S STUPA.

Brass Casket.

Silver Plate.

A Cunningham del

Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta

inscription which is inscribed on a brass cylinder by punched dots, is read by Professor Dowson as *Kavi-siva Chhatrapasa Ganaphkaka Chhatrapa putrasa dana tranam*, or "casket of the gift of the Satrap *Kavi-siva*, son of the Satrap *Ganaphkaka*." I formerly read the last words as *dana-trayam*, or "the three gifts," which Professor Dowson has corrected to *dana tranam*, or "casket-gift," a rendering that is undoubtedly more strictly conformable with the original. The only clue that we possess for ascertaining the date of this Satrap is the coin of Hoérke, that was found inside his casket, which would assign him to the beginning of the Christian era.

No. 2 is the ruined tope which was so successfully explored by General Court.* The position of this tope has been well described by the explorer as "about a cannon-shot distant from the present village "of Mânikyâla to the N. N. E.," but it may be more precisely described as being exactly two miles to the N. N. E. of the great tope. The site of Mânikyâla is remarkable for a succession of narrow ridges of coarse grey sandstone that crop out of the ground in parallel lines but at unequal distances. The direction of the ridges is 33° to the east of north, and the strata are nearly perpendicular. Towards the north, on the bank of a small stream, which rises in numerous springs near the village of Sagari, the ridges approach each other very closely, and stand in dykes across the bed of the stream. The earth lying between these sandstone ridges is generally of a reddish-brown colour, but it becomes of a bright red in the vicinity of General Court's tope. Here the whole of the soil between two ridges has been removed to form a deep trench, 600 feet long and 150 feet broad, with a depth of 27 feet. At the north end of this trench stands General Court's tope, which rises 44 feet above the bottom of the excavation, but only 17 feet above the level of the fields. The position is a very singular one, and could only have been adopted for some cogent reason, as it is in marked contrast with the sites of the other topes at Mânikyâla, which are all placed upon the tops of the sandstone ridges. But if, as I will presently attempt to show, we may identify this site with the holy spot on which Buddha was believed to have made an offering

* Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, III., 562

of his body to the seven hungry tiger-cubs, the reason for its adoption becomes obvious. The two holy stupas described by Hwen Thsang are those of the "body-offering" to the north, and of the "blood-offering" to the south, within a few hundred feet of each other. The latter stupa I would identify with General Court's No. 5, a ruin of considerable size, which is situated just 1,200 feet to the south of No. 2, or as nearly as possible in the very position described by Hwen Thsang. Coupling this close agreement in the relative positions of the two principal topes with the bright redness of the soil, and the fact that the inscription extracted from the larger tope twice mentions the *huta-murtti*, or "body-oblation," I think there can be very little doubt that General Court's tope stands on the famous spot where Buddha was believed to have made an offering of his body to appease the hunger of the seven tiger-cubs.

The deposit discovered by General Court consisted of three cylindrical caskets of copper, silver, and gold, placed one inside the other, and each containing several coins of the same metal. The whole were enclosed in a stone niche which was covered by a large inscribed slate. The four gold coins found in the gold box belong exclusively to the Indo-Scythian King, Kanerke or Kanishka. The seven silver coins found in the silver box are all Roman denarii of the last years of the republic, the latest being M. Antonius Triumvir, and therefore not earlier than B. C. 43. The eight copper coins found in the copper box are all Indo-Scythian, belonging to Kanerki and his immediate predecessors, Hema-Kadphises and Kozola-Kadphises. There is not a single specimen of either of his immediate successors, Hoerke or Bazo Deo, nor of any later prince. On the sole authority of these coins, therefore, the date of the erection of the tope might be safely assigned to the reign of Kanishka himself, but this assignment is placed beyond all doubt by the inscription which records that the monument was erected in the year 18, during the reign of King Kanishka.* For nearly thirty years this inscription has been before the public, but so many of the letters are injured by the disintegration of the soft sandstone on which

* See Plate LXIII. for this inscription.

they are cut, that it has hitherto baffled all attempts at decipherment. The title of *Maha Raja* was read at first sight by James Prinsep, and the names of *Kanishka* and *Gushân*, with the title of *Chhatrapa* or Satrap, were afterwards read by myself. But no further advance was made until 1863, when Professor Dowson took up the subject and succeeded in deciphering about one-half of it. The opening line of the inscription he reads thus: *Bhatarasya Tabudhisa agu patiasaë*, "in hope of the future of the brother Tabuddhi."* I would, however, suggest that the first word may be read preferably as *Bhadatasya*, a well-known title of Buddhist ascetics, which would therefore belong to the *Bhâdanta Tabuddhi*, who may have been the head of the religious establishment of Mânikyâla. The second and third lines contain the date, and the name of King Kanishka, who is called *Gushâna-vasa samvardhaka* "the aggrandizer of the Gushân race." The fourth line gives the name of the Satrap *Vespasi* (*Vespasisa Chhatrapasa*), and this is followed in the fifth line by *Huta-Murta*, which I take to be the old name of the District of *Putwar*, of which Vespasi was the Governor under Kaniskha. The fifth line then continues, *tasa apanage Vihare*, followed in the sixth line by *Huta-murta*, which may be translated—"in his own Vihâr of *Huta-Murta*, or the body-oblation." The next words are *atra nana Bhagava-Budha*, which, as *atra* means "here," and *nana* "many," may possibly refer to the legendary number "of 1,000 oblations which Bhagava-Budha had made," in this place. The remainder of the inscription is so much multilated that I can make nothing of it, excepting only the last line, which has already been rendered by Professor Dowson and myself as "*Kartikasa masa divasa* 20,"—"on the 20th day of the month of Kârtika."

Imperfect as this rendering confessedly is, it is, I think, amply sufficient to show us that the main object of the inscription is to record the erection of the *Huta-Murta Vihâr*, or monastery of the "body-oblation," including of course the *stupa* in which the inscription was found. This monastery I take to be the large square mound of ruins now called *Mera-ka-dheri*, which stands immediately to the

* Royal Asiatic Society's Journal, XX., 244.

north of General Court's tope. The mound is 200 feet long by 180 feet broad, and from 10 to 12 feet in height. I ran several trenches quite across it, which disclosed the outer walls and cells of the monks, forming a square of 160 feet. Exactly in the middle of the quadrangle I excavated three small rooms, each 11 feet square, with doorways facing the east, which I take to have been the shrines of statues belonging to the monastery. These shrines must have been destroyed by fire, as I found many charred fragments of the pine roofing beams, and large masses of quicklime, which had once been the wrought limestone jambs of the doors. I made also some deep excavation at the south-east corner of the quadrangle, which brought to light rooms of various sizes with plastered walls. This part also must have been destroyed by fire, as the walls were blackened and many of the limestone facing blocks were reduced to quicklime. The corners of the outer walls were ornamented with carving in double lines of deep herring-bone pattern. Amongst the ashes of the burnt roof, I found a half-inch round iron cramp, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, with a bend of $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches at each end, and a broken nail three-quarters of an inch in diameter with a large splayed head.

At the south-east corner of this monastery there is another large mound, 200 feet square, with its south-east angle resting on the edge of the deep trench. On the east side of the monastery there is another mound, 120 feet square, from which many large cut stones are said to have been extracted by the villagers. To the E. S. E. of the tope there are two small mounds which the people declare to be the ruins of a gateway. Many large squared stones had been extracted from these mounds during the life time of my informants, who professed to have recognized the character of the building by the arrangement of the walls. I made excavations in the several places pointed out by them, which disclosed the foundation walls of a small court-yard, with a passage 12 feet wide between two suites of rooms. This was certainly an entrance, and from its close vicinity to the other ruins, I think that it may have been the stone gate-way through which Hwen Thsang passed on his visit to the stupa of the body-oblation. It stands to the E. S. E. of the tope instead of the south, as described by the pil-

grim; but as it is to the west of the other ruined tope, which I have identified with the stupa of the blood-oblation, it has a strong claim to be identified with the old stone gate-way.

Nos. 3 to 7 are described by General Court as ruined topes of which the foundations had been dug up. I was able to recognize these ruins with the aid of General Court's small map, and I found that they had all been previously explored. No. 5 is the ruined tope which I have identified with the blood-oblation stupa. It has a monastery attached to it. No. 7, which is the most conspicuous of them, is called *Makâm-ka-Pind*, and is said to have been opened by General Ventura. It stands on one of the sand-stones ridges, but the east and west faces of the square basement are neither parallel to the meridian nor to the 33° strike of the sand-stone ridges. They lie at an angle of 22½°, which is the same that was followed in two other monuments on the *Sonâla Pind* and *Pari-ki-dheri* ridges, which will be described presently. I examined the ground carefully, but failed to discover any reason for this departure from the usual custom. I was induced to re-open General Ventura's excavation, as the people were unanimous that no discovery had been made, because the shaft had not been carried down to the foundation of the building. But I found nothing, and from the measurements which I made I believe that the relic-chamber must have been reached by the original explorer. The base of the tope was 51 feet square, each face being divided by pilasters into 13 panels, with a niche in the middle of each face for the reception of a statue. As the style of ornamentation was exactly the same as that of the Sonâla Pind Tope, I infer that the Makâm Tope must belong to the same period of the first century before Christ. There are the ruins of a small monastery on its west side.

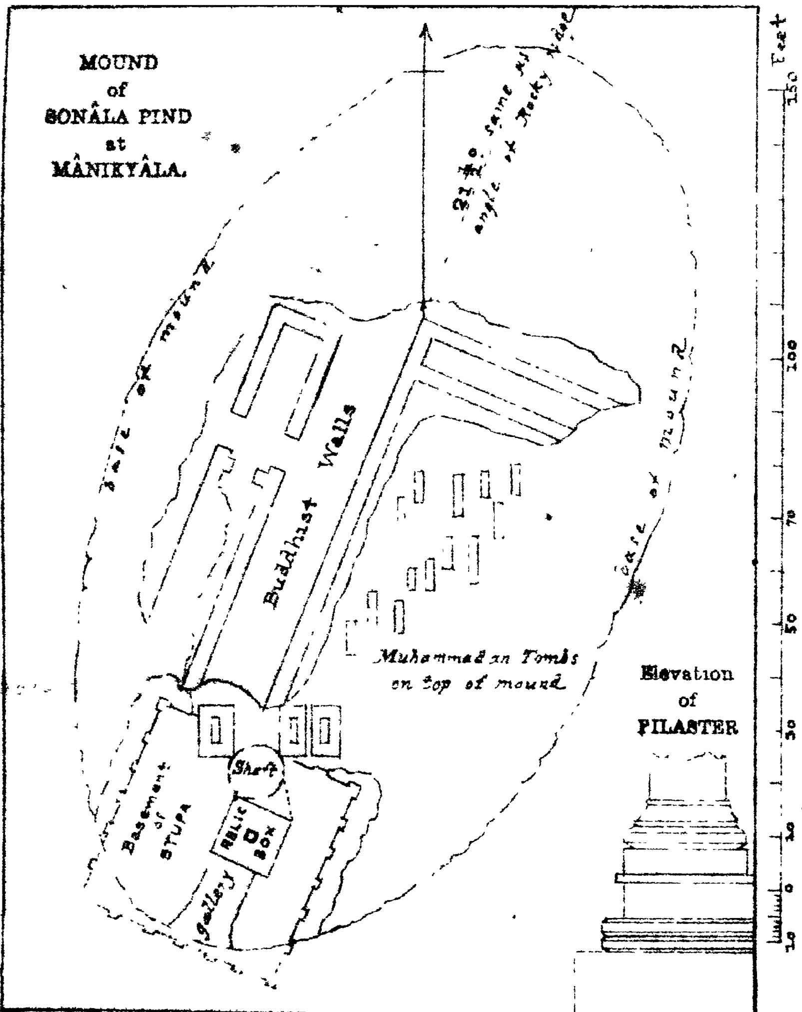
No. 8, which is situated nearly due north from the last, was opened by General Court, who found in it an "urn with a glass prism." It has a small monastery to the north side. No. 9 was also opened by General Court, who obtained a "box with a bit of ivory." From No. 10 the General obtained fragments of bronze images, and from No. 11 an "urn of baked clay." No. 12 is assigned by General Court

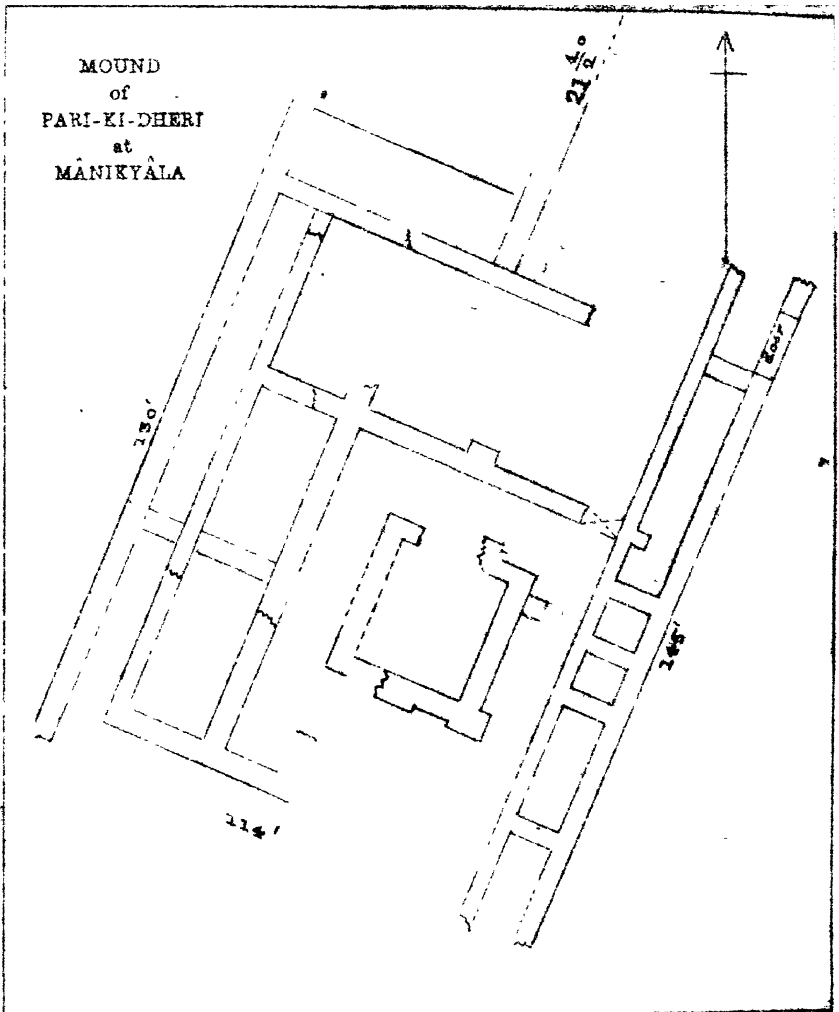
to all the "square buildings attached to topes," which have already been described as monasteries, and No. 13 he affixes to the Muhammadan tombs, with which most of the ruins are now crowned. In No. 14 he obtained some copper and mixed metal coins. By the last I understand the base gold coins of about A. D. 500, similar to that which I discovered in the Langarkot Tope at Baoti Pind. This tope stands in a conspicuous situation in the midst of difficult ravines, about 1½ miles to the E. S. E. of the great tope.

I now come to the few ruins about Mânikyâla which escaped the researches of General Court. The first of these, No. 15 in the map, is named Sonâla Pind by the people, and is due south of the two famous stupas of the body-and-blood oblations. It stands on the highest and most conspicuous of all the sand-stone ridges, and is thickly covered with Musalman tombs. The mound is 180 feet in length and 100 feet in breadth, with a general height of 13 feet above the fields. On examining it carefully I was struck with the numerous remains of walls running at oblique angles to the Muhammadan tombs, which satisfied me that they must have belonged to some earlier buildings of the Hindus, who had no special object in directing the faces of their building on the cardinal points. After a few superficial excavations, which disclosed the foundations of a larger building, 40 feet square, at the south end of the mound, I concluded that this was a specimen of the tope with square basement similar to that in the Khaibar Pass. Accordingly I began a large excavation, as nearly as I could judge, in the middle of the mound, without interfering with the Musalman tombs.*

At 10 feet, the north-west corner of a square platform of cut stones was reached in the very midst of the solid masonry. Continuing the excavation along the north face of the platform, I ascertained that it was 14 feet square. Then judging that the deposit, if any, must be in the centre of this square platform or terrace, I made an opening in its north side and at the same time I began a gallery from the outside of the mound towards its south face. In clearing away the rubbish on this face, two copper coins, one of

* See Plate LXIV. for a plan of *Sonâla Pind*, " or Mound of Sonâla."





A. Cunningham del.

Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta

Sasan and the other of the nameless Indo-Scythian king, were found. At length, after several days' hard labor, the two openings met and the work then became easier. In a few hours the workmen came upon a red earthen-ware pot, placed upside down over the centre of the platform, and, on lifting this pot, they found a single copper coin of the Satrap *Zeionises*, or *Jihonia*, the son of the Satrap *Manigal*. Immediately below this deposit a large stone slab 2 feet square and 6 inches thick, was brought to light, covering another stone of the same breadth, but 2 feet deep. This stone was found to be imbedded in the very centre of the platform, its top rising only 8 inches above the surface. On raising the upper slab, a small cavity, 8½ inches in diameter, was found which was filled with a fine hard red clay. In the midst of the clay there was a small model *stupa* of blue clay-slate, 8½ inches in height, and 4½ inches in diameter, which had evidently been turned upon a lathe. Its design and details are the same as those of the great Mânikyâla Tope, which can now be completed according to the proportions of this model. In the tope casket there was a small crystal box with a long pointed stopper, which together had the appearance of a pear set up on its broad end. This crystal box contained the relic, which was a very small piece of bone wrapped in gold leaf, along with a small silver coin, a copper ring, and four small beads of pearl, turquoise, garnet, and quartz. These, with the gold leaf wrapper, make up the number of the *Sapta-ratna*, or "seven precious things," which usually accompanied the relic deposits of the old Bhuddhists, and which are still placed in the *Chortens* of the Buddhists of Thibet. These relics were uncovered in the midst of several hundreds of people, who had assembled to see the *Sona-ka-harpa*, "or golden casket," and its contents. They called the tope a golden one, because the four umbrellas of its pinnacle, which had once been thickly gilt, still showed many pieces of gold leaf adhering to the less exposed parts.*

In the absence of any written record, the probable date of the erection of this stupa can only be determined by the two copper coins which formed part of the deposit. One of these, which was found inside the chamber of the great stone

* See Plate LXV. for a sketch of this relic casket.

box, beside the model tope, has a bull on one side and a camel on the other, with the legend *Maharajasa Rajadirajasa Kujula Kara Kapahusasa* or "(coin) of the great king, the king of kings, Kujula Kara Kadphises." The other coin has been already mentioned as belonging to Zeionises. It has a bull on one side with a lion on the other, and the legend *Manigulasa Chhatrapasa putrasa Chhatrapasa Jihoniasa*, or "(coin) of the Satrap *Jihonia*, son of the Satrap *Manigula*." In the corrupt Greek legend the Satrap's name is written *Zeionises*. On the authority of these coins, therefore, I would refer the date of the Sonala Tope to the first century before Christ, when *Jihonia* was the Satrap of the Putwar District under the suzerain Prince, Kujula Kara Kadphises. I believe, however, that the *stupa* must have been erected by the Satrap himself, as the model tope casket, which consists of three separate pieces, has the Arian letter *J* cut upon each of them, which, I think, must have been intended for the initial letter of the Satrap's name. The date of *Jihonia* may be fixed with tolerable certainty as ranging from about 80 to 60 B. C. His own coins, which are of three different types, are manifest copies of those of Azas and Azilises, while those of his suzerain, whom I look upon as the successor of Kozola Kadaphes, are bad imitations of the Azas mintage. The date of the tope must, therefore, be posterior to Azas, or about 70 B. C.

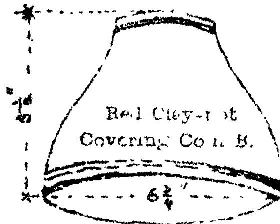
Attached to the Sonala Tope there were other buildings which I was unable to trace on account of the number of Musalman tombs on the top of the mound. I found, however, the entrance door-way 5½ feet wide, and a long passage, 13 feet wide, leading to the tope. The mass of the building was 80 feet by 70 feet, and from the number of its long parallel walls, which I was able to trace, I infer that it must have been a monastery.

No. 16 is another sand-stone ridge called *Pari-ki-dheri*, which is situated 1,200 feet to the south-east of Sonàla Pind and on the same line with the Sonàla and Makám Topes. The mound is covered with Muhammadan tombs, and the highest point, which, by two different measurements, had been determined as the centre of the old tope, is crowned with a fakir's tomb, at which lamps are nightly burned. As this tomb precluded all hope of exploring the tope, I was

Relics from the Stupa of
SONÂLA PIND.

A

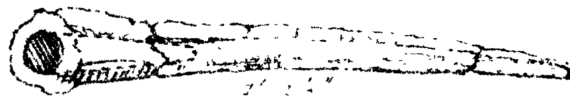




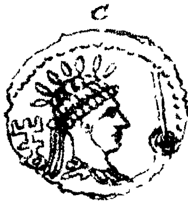
B



Iron Pick deposited over Stone Box

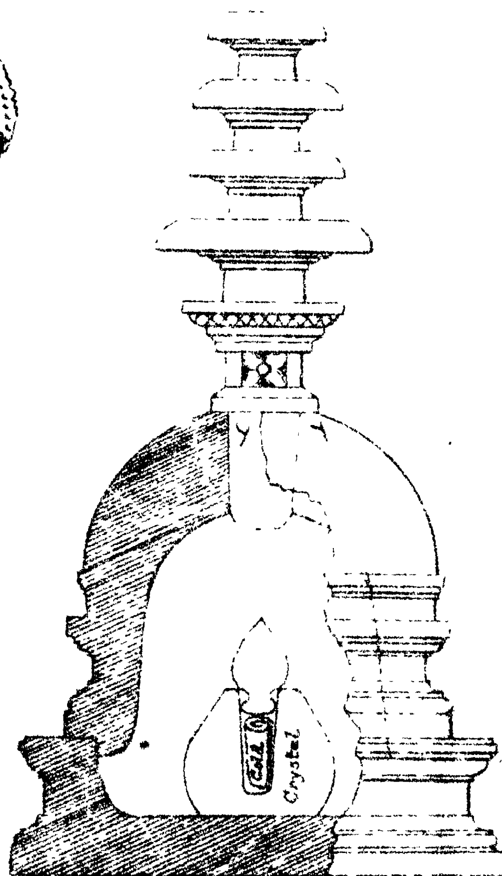


C



D





Blue Slate Casket—½ size.

A. Cunningham del.

Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta.

obliged to content myself with the excavation of the ruined monastery at a distance of 95 feet to the S. S. W. of the fakir's tomb. The mound is 16¼ feet in height, but as the ground on which it stands is lower than that of the Sonalâ Pind, its small dilapidated tomb forms a less conspicuous object than the large tombs of the other. I traced the walls of the monastery for 117¾ feet in length from N. to S., and 97¾ feet in breadth, but as the traces were lost at the north end, the building must have been considerably longer. On the east side I traced one continuous wall for 134 feet in length, but as the broken end was still 85 feet distant from the fakir's tomb, I judged that this wall must have belonged to the monastery and not to the tope. In the centre of the interior quadrangle I found the basement of a temple, 30 feet square, with walls 3¼ feet in thickness. The surrounding cells of the monks were 8 feet by 7¾ feet. Altogether this is one of the most promising mounds for future exploration. The basement of the *stupa* still remains intact, and the foundations of the large monastery have been only partially removed by the villagers. Hereafter, when the fakir's tomb shall have disappeared, either through time or neglect, I believe that the explorer of the *Pari-ki-dheri* mound will find the remains of one of the most important monuments of Mânikyâla.

No. 17, called *Kota-ka-dheri* by the people, is an earthen mound 10 or 12 feet in height, situated on the top of some rising ground, at rather more than half a mile to the east of Sonalâ Pind. I made an excavation in the centre, which disclosed nothing but loose stones and earth. If any building had ever existed on this site, the cut stones must long ago have been carried off to the village. No. 19 is a large low mound, situated about 1,500 feet to the N. N. E. of the village of Sâgari, and just half a mile to the south-east of General Court's tope. The mound, which is 150 feet square, is covered with the remains of walls of cut stone, and towards the west side there is a small *Khângah*, or shrine of some holy Musalmân, which is built entirely of stone. No. 20 is a still larger mound, situated to the north of the last, and about 1,500 feet to the E. S. E. of General Court's tope. The mound is 300 feet long from north to south, and 100 feet broad, with a height of 8 feet. It is covered with small Muhammadan tombs, which have been made of the

materials supplied on the spot by the massive walls of some large building. I conclude that both of these last mounds must be the ruins of monasteries of considerable size and importance. No. 21 is a long mound, 150 feet by 100 feet, with a height of 5 feet at the north end, and of 11 feet at the south and towards the Sagari Nala. Towards the north there were a few traces of the straight walls of a small monastery, but the south end was formed of solid blocks of the stone of large size. I made an excavation, 12 feet in diameter, through the very middle of this solid stone mass, which, at 8 feet, reached the ground below without making any discovery. I am not satisfied, however, that my excavation was in the true centre of the mass, as I had nothing to guide me in the direction from east to west. It is possible, also, that the present ruin is only the remains of the basement of the stupa, which, no doubt, once stood on this spot.

Nos. 18 and 22 are the remains of square buildings which were discovered by accidental digging in the open fields of the Sonalâ lands on the north-west side of Makâm-ka-Pind. General Abbott has remarked in his account of similar discoveries near the village of Mânikyâla, that "no one, on examining superficially this site, could conjecture that beneath it are the ruins above-mentioned." This is strikingly true of the Makâm fields, which have been ploughed over for centuries, so that we might very reasonably conclude that all the larger remains of any ancient buildings must long ago have been removed. The soil, however, is thickly strewn with fragments of stone and broken pottery, and coins are found there every year after heavy rain. The ruined walls on the upper Sonalâ lands, marked No. 18, were found 3½ feet under the ground level by a Brahman shortly before my arrival. His account was that, on crossing the field, he had seen some minute traces of gold leaf amongst the soil, which induced him to obtain the zamindar's permission to dig on the spot. He had made a hole about 16 feet across, which disclosed a large room, upwards of 15 feet square, with a long passage 4½ feet wide running to the south of it. The rear wall of the passage was sighted by a second excavation at 53 feet to the east, and another parallel wall was found in the same manner at 60 feet to the south of the passage. In the room first excavated the Brahman worked very slowly, carefully put-

ting aside all the ashes which were found in considerable quantities, to be afterwards searched for fragments of gold leaf. On examining the ashes which he had collected, I saw numerous particles of gold leaf glittering in the sun. The Brahman's belief was that the building had been destroyed by fire, and that the remains of the gilding of the wooden roof were still to be found in the ashes. The people said that he found other things besides gold leaf, which was no doubt true, but I satisfied myself, by several careful scrutinies of fresh ashes, that the gold was actually the remains of gilding, and that the building must certainly have been destroyed by fire.

No. 22 is the remains of a large square building on the lower Sonalâ lands, which I discovered on my return to Mânikyâla from the westward. During my absence two small bronze heads had been found which Duli Sing, the zamindar of Sâgari, had kindly kept for me. One of them was a small grotesque-looking face, but the other was a solid head of Buddha, about one-fourth of life size. The place of their discovery being pointed out, I set 20 diggers to work, and in about one hour's time I had roughly traced the positions of several rooms of a considerable building. In a corner of one of the smaller rooms I found a complete bronze statue of Buddha, standing in the attitude of teaching. The figure is $16\frac{1}{4}$ inches in height, and is cast solid; but in spite of the great weight of the head, the statue is so well balanced that it will stand upright without support. The drapery on the right side, which was hanging with broad thin folds, is broken off, but I recovered the pieces after a short search amongst the rubbish which had been excavated from the same room. I found also a thin metal radiated halo, 5 inches in diameter, which, most probably, belonged to the statue. I excavated five complete rooms, of which the largest was $16\frac{3}{4}$ feet by 11 feet, the second was $16\frac{1}{4}$ by $9\frac{1}{4}$ feet, and the other three were upwards of 8 feet square. Judging by the size of these small rooms, I conclude that they must be the remains of a monastery, with its cells for monks, its temple containing figures of Buddha, and its larger rooms for the instruction of students, and the recitation of the daily ritual. During the progress of the excavation, the workmen found a large copper coin of Hema Kadphises, and a middle-sized copper coin of Bazodeo. In

the evening, as no further discoveries appeared likely to be made I discontinued the work.

In this description of the ruins of Mânikyâla, I have given an account of 15 topes and as many monasteries, which, judging by the frequent occurrence of massive stone walls in other positions, were probably not more than two-thirds of the great religious buildings of this once famous spot. But even this number, great as it is, falls far short of the 55 topes, 28 monasteries, and 9 temples which I traced around the ancient Taxila. Of all these sixty stupas, there is not one, excepting only the great Mânikyâla Tope, that retains in its original position even a single wrought stone of the outer facing. For this reason alone we should, I think, be fully justified in fixing the date of Ventura's Mânikyâla Tope at a much later period than any of the others. But when we know that this inference is supported by the discovery of Sassano-Arabian coins at a depth of 64 feet in the solid undisturbed mass of the structure, and by the existence in its interior of a wrought stone of a former building, we can only conclude that Hwen Thsang's silence is due to the non-existence of the tope at the period of his visit in A. D. 630.

XVII. SAKHRABASTI.

Sakhra or *Sakha*, is a small village, in a hollow of the hills at the top of the Bakrâla Pass, nearly 24 miles to the north-west of Jhelam, and 5 miles to the south of Dhamâk. The old Muhammadan carriage road avoided this steep pass by a long detour up the bed of the Bakrâla River to Dhamâk; but the pass was always used by travellers, both horse and foot. On his return from Delhi, Timur encamped at "*Sanbaste* on the mountain of Jud," distant 20 miles from the Dindana, or Jhelam. The distance shows that *Sanbaste* must be the same place as *Sakhrabasti*. The hill above the village is called *Sakhrawâla Pahâr*, and *Sumôwala Pahâr*, or "horse-hoof hill." The latter name was derived from a large circular mark in the old pass, which the people called the hoof-print of Râsâlu's horse, made when he was in pursuit of the Râkshasas. The mark was obliterated in making the new road, but the place is well known to the people of the Western Panjâb. A straight mark on the rock in the same place was called the stroke of

his sword when he killed the Râkshasa named *Sakha*. In writing this name I have adhered to the spelling of my illiterate informants, but there can be little doubt that the demon *Sakha* is intended for the chief of the *Sakas* or *Sacæ*, as the same people give the name of Raja *Sankhâr* to Vikramâditya of Ujain. The position is naturally a strong one, and tradition says that the surrounding hills, which are about 2 miles in circuit, were once crowned with walls. The arable land inside the hollow is nearly half a mile in diameter, and large bricks are still dug up in some of the fields. At *Dhamâk*, near the end of the range, the same large bricks are also found, with cut stones and old coins in considerable numbers. The presence of the large bricks and the Buddhist name of *Dhamâk* are sufficient evidence of the antiquity of the position, which is confirmed by tradition, and by its evident natural strength, which alone would have led to its early occupation. I think it possible that *Sakhra* may be identified with Ptolemy's *Sagala* or *Euthymedia*, which he places on the west side of the Hydaspes to the north of Bukephala, although, perhaps, the ruined mound of Abriyân, the earliest seat of the Gakars, opposite Mangala, has a better claim to this distinction. As this question has already been discussed at some length in my account of the Gakars, this reference to the subject will be sufficient in the present place.

XVIII. JALALPUR, OR BUKEPHALA.

The scene of Alexander's battle with Porus has long engaged the attention, and exercised the ingenuity, of the learned. The judicious Elphinstone placed it opposite to Jalâlpur; but Burnes concluded that it must have been near Jhelam, because that place is on the great road from Tartary, which appears to have been followed by Alexander.* In 1836 the subject was discussed by General Court, whose early military training and unequalled opportunities for observation during a long residence in the Panjâb, gave him the best possible means of forming a sound opinion.† General Court fixed the site of Alexander's

* Elphinstone, Kabul, I., 109, and Burnes, Bokhara, II., 49.

† Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1836, p. 473.

camp at Jhelam, his passage of the river at Khilipatan, 3 *kos*, or 6 miles, above Jhelam, the scene of his battle with Porus at Pattikoti on the Jaba Nadi, 8 miles to the east of Jhelam, and the position of Nikæa at *Vessa*, or *Bhesa*, which is 3 miles to the south-east of *Pathi* or *Patti-koti*. The late Lord Hardinge took great interest in the subject, and twice conversed with me about it in 1846 and 1847. His opinion agreed with mine that the camp of Alexander was most probably near Jalâlpur. In the following year General Abbott published an elaborate disquisition on the battle-field of Alexander and Porus, in which he placed the camp of the former at Jhelam, and of the latter on the opposite bank near Norangabad. The passage of the river he fixed at *Bhuna*, above 10 miles above Jhelam, and the field of battle near Pakrâl, about 3 miles to the north of Sukchenpur.* In this state the question remained until the end of 1863, when my tour through the Panjâb gave me the opportunity of examining at leisure the banks of the Hydaspes from Jalâlpur to Jhelam.

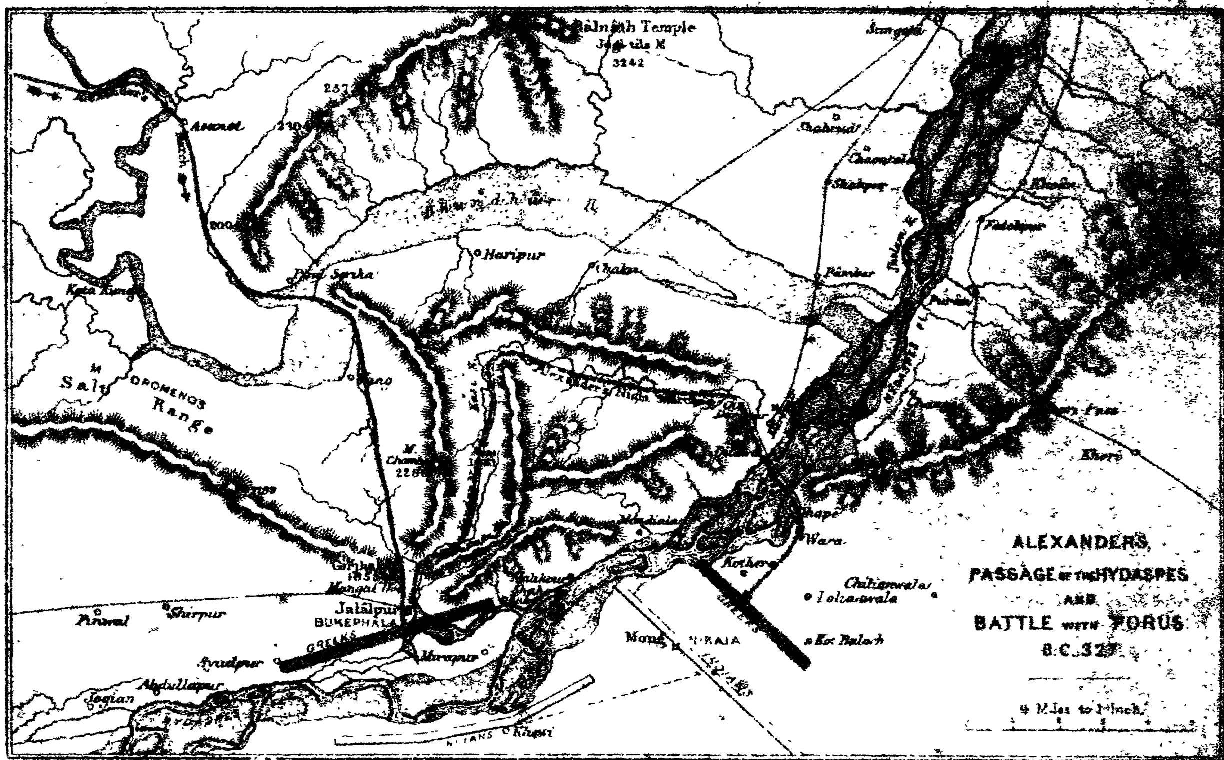
Before discussing Alexander's movements, I think it best to describe the different places on the line of the river, between Jhelam and Jalâlpur, with the approaches to them from the westward. When we have thus ascertained the site that will best agree with the recorded descriptions of Bukephala, we shall then be in a better position for deciding the rival claims of Jhelam and Jalâlpur as the site of Alexander's camp. The distances that I shall make use of in this discussion are all taken from actual measurements.†

The town of Jhelam is situated on the west bank of the river, 30 miles to the north-east of Jalâlpur, and exactly 100 miles to the N. N. W. of Lahor. The remains of the old town consist of a large ruined mound, to the west of the present city, about 1,300 feet square and 30 feet high, which is surrounded by fields covered with broken bricks and pottery. The square mound I take to be the ruins of the citadel, which is said to have been called *Puta*. Numbers of old coins are still discovered in the mound after rain, but those which I was able to collect were limited to the

---

* Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1848, 619.

† See Plate LXIII. for a map of the country, showing Alexander's passage of the Hydaspes.



ALEXANDERS,
PASSAGE of the HYDASPES
AND
BATTLE with PORUS
B.C. 327
Miles to 1 Inch
Balnath Temple
3242
Haripur
Salt
Range
Jalalpur
BUKEPHALA
Shirpur
Pinwal
Abdullapur
Jogian
Wara
Chilianwala
Kot Balach
Khera
Fatehpur
Shahpur

mintages of the later Indo-Scythians, the Kabul-Brahmans, and the princes of Kashmir. As similar and even earlier coins are described by Generals Court and Abbott to have been found in great numbers in previous years, it is certain that the city must have been in existence as early as the first century before Christ. But the advantages of its situation, on one of the two principal lines of road across the North Panjâb, are so great that it must, I think, have been occupied at a very early date. This opinion is confirmed by the numbers of large bricks that have been dug out of the old *mound*.

The ruined city near Dârâpur, which has been described by Burnes and Court,* is situated on the west bank of the river, 20 miles below Jhelam, and 10 miles above Jalalpur. In their time the old mound was unoccupied, but about thirty-two years ago, or in 1832 A. D., the people of Dilâwar abandoned their village on a hill to the west, and settled on the site of the ruined city. Before that time, the place was usually called *pind* or "the mound," although its true name is said to have been Udamnagar, or Udinagar. The same name is also given by Burnes; but Court, who twice alludes to these ruins, mentions no name, unless he includes them under that of *Gagirakhi*, the ruins of which he describes as extending along the banks "of the Hydaspes from near Jalâlpur to Dârâpur."† According to this account, the ruins would not be less than 6 or 7 miles in length. I think it probable that there has been some confusion between the two different places, which have here been joined together as one continuous extent of ruins. *Girjhák*, which I take to be the original of General Court's *Gagirakhi*, is an old ruined fort on the top of the hill to the north of Jalalpur, to which the people assign a fabulous extent. But it is at least 8 miles from *Dârâpur*, and is, besides, separated from it by the deep Kandar ravine, and by the precipitous range of hills at whose west foot Dilâwar is situated. Burnes also describes the old city as extending "for 3 or 4 miles." But this is certainly an exaggeration as I was unable to trace the ruins for more than one mile in length by half a mile

---

* Burnes, Bokhara, II., 51 : Court, Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1836, p. 472 and 473.

† Burnes, Bokhara, II., 50 ; General Court in Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1836, pp. 472 and 473.

in breadth. The ruins consist of two large mounds just half a mile apart, with two smaller mounds about midway between them. The south mound on which Dilâwar is situated is about 500 feet square at top, and 1,100 or 1,200 feet at base, with a height of 50 or 60 feet. The north mound, on which old Dârâpur stands, is 600 feet square, and from 20 to 30 feet in height. Between these mounds the fields are covered with broken bricks and pottery, and the whole place is said to be the ruins of a single city. The walls of the Dilâwar houses are built of the large old bricks dug out of the mound, which are of two sizes,—one of 11½ by 8¼ by 3 inches, and the other of only half this thickness. Old coins are found in great numbers in the Dilâwar mound, from which the Jalâlpur Bazar is said to be supplied, just as Pind Dâdan is supplied from the ruins of Jobnâthnagar. The coins which I obtained belong to the first Indo-Scythians, the Kabul-Brahmans, the Kings of Kashmir, and the *Karlâki* Chiefs, Hasan and his son Muhammad. The site, therefore, must have been occupied certainly as early as the second century before the Christian era. Its foundation is attributed to Raja Bharati, whose age is not known. I conclude, however, that the dominating position of Dilâwar, which commands the passage of the Jhelam at the point where the lower road from the west leaves the hills, just below the mouth of the Bunhâr river, must have led to its occupation at a very early period.

The town of Jalâlpur is situated on the west bank of the Jhelam at the point where the Kandar ravine joins the old bed of the river. The stream is now 2 miles distant; but the intervening ground, though partially covered with small trees, is still very sandy. The town is said to have been named in honor of Akbar, in whose time it was most probably a very flourishing place. But since the desertion of the river, and more especially since the foundation of Pind Dâdan, the place has been gradually decaying until it now contains only 738 houses, with about 4,000 inhabitants. From the appearance of the site I estimated that the town might formerly have been about three or four times its present size. The houses are built on the last slope at the extreme east end of the salt range, which rises gradually to a height of 150 feet above the road. Its old Hindu name is said to have been *Girjhâk*, and as this name is found in the Ain

Akbari as *Kerohâk* (read *Girjâk*) of Sindh Sâgar),* we have a proof that it was in use until the time of Akbar, when it was changed to Jalâlpur. But the people still apply the name of *Girjhâk* to the remains of walls on the top of the Mangal-De hill, which rises 1,100 feet above Jalâlpur. According to tradition *Girjhâk* extended to the W. N. W., as far as the old temple of Bâghanwâla, a distance of 11 miles. But this is only the usual exaggeration of ignorance that is told of all ancient sites. There is no doubt that the city did once extend to the westward for some considerable distance, as the ground on that side is thickly strewn with broken pottery for about half a mile. Its antiquity also is undoubted, as the coins which it yields reach back to the times of Alexander's successors. But I believe that it is much older, as its favorable position at the south-east end of the lower road would certainly have led to its occupation at a very early period. I think, therefore, that it may be identified with the *Girivraja* of the Râmâyana. Tradition has preserved the name of only one king, named *Kâmkamârath*, who is said to have been the sister's son of *Moga*, the founder of Mong. Mogal Beg writes the name *Ghir-Jehâk*, and it is so written by some of the people of the place, as if it was derived from *Giri-Zohâk*, or "Zohâk's Hill." But the usual spelling, which accords with the pronunciation, is Jhâk.

From Jhelam to Jalapur the course of the river is from north-east to south-west between two nearly parallel ranges of mountains, which are generally known as the Tila and Pabhi Hills. The Tila range, which is about thirty miles in length, occupies the west bank from the great east bend of the river below Mangala to the bed of the Bunhar River, 12 miles to the north of Jalalpur. *Tila* means simply a 'peak or hill,' and the full name is *Gorakhnâth-ka-Tila*. The more ancient name was *Bâlnâth-ka-Tila*. Both of these are derived from the temple on the summit, which was formerly dedicated to the sun as *Bâlnâth*, but is now devoted to the worship of *Gorakhnâth*, a form of Siva. The latter name, however, is very recent as Mogal Beg, who surveyed the country between A. D. 1784 and 1794, calls the hill "*Jogion-di-Tibi*, or tower of the Jogis, whose chief is called

---

* Gladwin's Translation, II., 268.

*Bilnât.** Abul Fazl also mentions the "Cell of Balnât,"† and the attendant *jogis* or devotees, from whom the hill is still sometimes called *Jogi-tila*. But the name of Bâlnâth is most probably even older than the time of Alexander, as Plutarch‡ relates that when Porus was assembling his troops to oppose Alexander, the royal elephant rushed up a hill sacred to the sun, and in human accents exclaimed "O great king, who art descended from *Gegasios*, forbear all opposition to Alexander, for *Gegasios* himself was also of the race of Jove." The "hill of the sun" is only a literal translation of *Bâlnâth-ka-Tila*, but Plutarch goes on to say that it was afterwards called the "hill of the elephant," which I take to be another proof of its identity with Bâlnâth; for as this name is commonly pronounced *Bilnât* by the people, and is so written by Mogal Beg, the Macedonians who had just come through Persia, would almost certainly have mistaken it for *Fil-nâth*, or *Pil-nâth*, the "elephant." But wherever Alexander's camp may have been, whether at Jhelam or Jalâlpur, this remarkable hill, which is the most commanding object within 50 miles of the Hydaspes, must certainly have attracted the attention of the Macedonians. Its highest peak is 3,242 feet above the sea, or about 2,500 feet above the level of the river.

The *Pabhi* range of hills, on the east bank of the river, stretches from the neighbourhood of Bhimbar to Rasûl, a length of 30 miles. This range is a very low one, as the highest point is not more than 1,400 feet above the sea, and is less than 500 feet above the river; but the broken and difficult ground on both banks of the hill presents a barrier quite as impassable as a much loftier range. Until the British occupation of the Panjâb, the Pabhi hills were crossed by only one carriage-road through the Khori Pass, 5 miles to the north-east of Rasûl, and by one foot-path through the Khârian Pass, 10 miles to the south-east of Jhelam. But though the main road has since been carried through the latter Pass, it is still liable to interruption after heavy rain.

* Manuscript map of the Panjâb and Kabul Valley, compiled by Wilford from the surveys of Mirza Mogal Beg, in my possession. The Mirza was employed for ten years at Wilford's expense on these surveys.

† Gladwin's Ain Akbari, II., 110.

‡ De Fluviis, in voce Hydaspes. I take *Gegasios* to be only the Greek rendering of *Yayâti* or *Jajâti*.

In approaching the Hydaspes from the westward, Alexander had the choice of two different lines, which are distinguished by Baber as the upper and lower roads. From the Indus to Hasan Abdâl, or Shah-dheri, the two lines were the same. From the latter place the upper road proceeded by the Mârgala Pass through Râwal Pindi and Mânikyâla to Dhamâk and Bakrâla, from which place it descended by the bed of the Kâhan River through a gap in the Tila range to Rohtâs, and from thence over an open plain to Jhelam. From Bakrâla there was also a foot-path to Jhelam, which crossed the Tila range about 6 miles to the north-east of Rohtâs, but this Pass was always a dangerous one for horses and camels, and was difficult even for foot passengers. The length of this upper road from Shah-dheri *viâ* Rohtâs to Jhelam was 94 miles; but this has since been shortened to 87 miles by the new road, which avoids the two long detours by Rohtâs and Dhamâk.

From Taxila, or Shah-dheri, the lower road proceeds *viâ* the Mârgala Pass to Jangi, from whence it strikes off *viâ* Chaontra to Dudhiâl. From this point the road branches into two lines, that to the south proceeding by Chakowâl and the salt mines to Pind Dâdan and Ahmadabad, and that to the east proceeding *viâ* Asanot and the Bunhâr River to Dilâwar, opposite Rasul, or *viâ* Asanot and Vang to Jalalpur. From Shah-dheri to Dudhiâl the distance is 55 miles, from thence to Asanot 33 miles, and thence to Dilâwar, or Jalalpur each 21 miles, the whole distance to either place being 109 miles. From Dudhiâl to Chakowâl is 12 miles, thence to Pind Dâdan 29 miles, and on to Jalâlpur 22 miles, the whole distance by this route being 118 miles. But this distance would be shortened to 114 miles by the traveller proceeding direct from the foot of the salt range to Jalalpur. There is also a third line which branches off from the upper road at Mandra, 6 miles to the south of the Mânikyâla Tope, and proceeds *viâ* Chakowâl and Pind Dâdan to Jalalpur. By this route the whole distance from Shah-dheri to Jalalpur is 116¾ miles, or only 112¾ by leaving the line at the foot of the salt range and proceeding direct to Jalalpur. The respective distances by these three different routes are 109, 114, and 112¾ miles, the mean distance being 112¼ miles.

Now, the distance from Taxila to the Hydaspes is stated by Pliny, from the measurement of Alexander's

surveyors, Diognetes and Beiton, at 120 Roman miles, which are equal to 110¼ English miles, at the value of 0·9193 each, as given in Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities.* As all the copies of Pliny give the same number, we must accept it as the actual measurement of the route that was followed by Alexander from Taxila to his camp on the Hydaspes. In comparing this distance with those already given from Shah-dheri to Jhelam and Jalalpur, we must unhesitatingly reject Jhelam, which is no less than 16 miles short of the recorded distance, while Jalalpur differs from it by less than 2 miles. But there is another objection which is equally fatal to the claims of Jhelam. According to Strabo, "the direction of Alexander's march, as far as the Hydaspes, was, for the most part towards the *south*, after that to the Hypanis it was more towards the *east*."† Now, if a line drawn on the map from Ohind on the Indus through Taxila and Jhelam be continued onwards, it will pass through Gujarât and Sodhra to Jâlandhar and Sarhind. As this is the most northerly road to the Ganges that Alexander could possibly have taken, his route by Jhelam would have been in *one continuous straight line*, which is in direct opposition to the explicit statement of Strabo. But if we adopt Jalalpur this difficulty will be obviated, as the change in the direction would have been as much as 25° more easterly. There is also a third objection to Jhelam, which, though not entitled to the same weight as either of the preceding, is still valuable as an additional testimony on the same side. According to Arrian, the fleet on descending the Hydaspes from Nikæa reached the capital of Sopeithes on the third day. Now, I have already shown that the residence of Sopeithes must have been at *Jobnâthnagar*, or Ahmedabad, which is just three days' distance for a laden boat from Jalalpur, but is six days from Jhelam. As the evidence in each of these three separate tests is as directly in favour of Jalalpur as it is strongly opposed to Jhelam, I think that we are fully justified in accepting the latter as the most probable site of Alexander's camp.

We have now to examine how the river and the country about Jalalpur will agree with the recorded accounts of

* Hist. Nat., VI., 21—'ad Hydaspen fluvium clarum,' CXX. mill.

† Geograph., XV., 1. 32.

Alexander's operations in his passage of the Hydaspes and subsequent battle with Porus. According to Arrian "there was a high wooded promontory on the bank of the river, 150 *stadia* or just 17½ miles above the camp, and immediately opposite to it there was a thickly wooded island." Curtius also mentions the wooded island as "well fitted for masking his operations."* "There was also," he adds, "not far from the spot where he was encamped, a very deep ravine *(fossa præalta)* which not only screened the infantry but the cavalry too." We learn from Arrian that this ravine was not near the river because "Alexander marched at *some distance from the bank*, lest the enemy should discern that he was hastening towards the promontory and island." Now, there is a ravine to the north of Jalalpur which exactly suits the descriptions of both historians. This ravine is the bed of the Kandar Nala, which has a course of 6 miles from its source down to Jalalpur, where it is lost in a waste of sand. Up this ravine there has always been a passable but difficult road towards Jhelam. From the head of the Kandar, which is 1,080 feet above the sea, and 345 above the river, this road proceeds for 3 miles in a northerly direction down another ravine called the Kasi, which then turns suddenly to the east for 6½ miles, and then again 1½ miles to the south, where it joins the Jhelam immediately below Dilâwar. The whole distance from Jalalpur being exactly 17 miles. I marched along this ravine road myself, for the purpose of testing the possibility of Alexander's march, and I satisfied myself that there was no difficulty in it, except the fatigue of making many little ascents and descents in the first half, and of wading through much heavy sand in the latter half. The ravine lies "at some distance from the bank" as described by Arrian, as the bend in the Kasi is 7 miles from the Jhelam. It is also "a very deep ravine," as described by Curtius, as the hills on each hand rise from 100 to 250 and 300 feet in height. Therefore in the three leading particulars which are recorded of it, this ravine accords most precisely with the accounts of the ancient historians.†

* Vita Alexandri, VIII., 13., "tegendis insidiis apta." Compare Arrian, Anabasis, V., 11.

† See Plate LXVII., in which all the features here described are clearly shown.

Amongst the minor particulars, there is one which seems to me to be applicable only to that part of the river immediately above Jalalpur. Arrian records that Alexander placed running sentries along the bank of the river, at such distances that they could see each other, and communicate his orders.* Now, I believe that this operation could not be carried out in the face of an observant enemy along any part of the river bank, excepting only that one part which lies between Jalalpur and Dilâwar. In all other parts the west bank is open and exposed, but *in this part alone* the wooded and rocky hills slope down to the river, and offer sufficient cover for the concealment of single sentries. As the distance along the river bank is less than 10 miles, and was probably not more than 7 miles from the east end of the camp, it is easy to understand why Alexander placed them along this line instead of leaving them on the much longer route, which he was to march himself. Another minor particular is the presence of a rock in the channel by the river, on which, according to Curtius, one of the boats was dashed by the stream. Now, rocks are still to be found in the river only at Kotera, Meriâla, Malikpur, and Shah Kabir, all of which places are between Dilâwar and Jalalpur. The village of Kotera is situated at the end of a long wooded spur, which juts out upon the river just one mile below Dilâwar. This wooded jutting spur, with its adjacent rock, I would identify with the *akra* or promontory of Arrian, and the *petra* of Curtius.† Beyond the rock there was a large wooded island which screened the foot of the promontory from the observation of the opposite bank. There are many islands in this part of the Jhelâm, but when a single year is sufficient to destroy any one of these rapidily formed sand banks, we cannot, after the lapse of more than 2,000 years, reasonably expect to find the island of Alexander. But in 1849, opposite Kotera, there was such an island, 2½ miles in length and half a mile in breadth, which still exists as a large sand bank. As the passage was made in the height of the rainy season, the island, or large sand bank, would naturally have been covered with tamarisk bushes, which might have been

* Anbasis, V., 11.

† Curtius Vita Alex[illegible] VIII., 11 ; and Arrian, Anabasis V., II.

sufficiently high to screen the movements of infantry and dismounted cavalry.

The position of the two camps I believe to have been as follows: Alexander, with about 50,000 men, including 5,000 Indian auxiliaries under Mophis of Taxila, had his head quarters at Jalalpur, and his camp probably extended for about 6 miles along the bank of the river, from Shah Kabir, 2 miles to the north-east of Jalalpur, down to Syadpur, 4 miles to the W. S. W. The head quarters of Porus must have been about Muhabatpur, 4 miles to the W. S. W. of Mong, and 3 miles to the south-east of Jalalpur. His army of nearly 50,000 men, including elephants, archers, and charioteers, must have occupied about the same extent as the Macedonian army, and would, therefore, have extended about 2 miles above, and 4 miles below Muhabatpur. In these positions, the left flank of Alexander's camp would have been only 6 miles from the wooded promontory of Kotera, where he intended to steal his passage across the river, and the right flank of the Indian camp would have been 2 miles from Mong, and 6 miles from the point opposite Kotera.

As my present object is to identify the scene of Alexander's battle with Porus, and not to describe the fluctuations of the conflict, it will be sufficient to quote the concise account of the operation which is given by Plutarch from Alexander's own letters: "He took advantage of a dark and stormy night, with part of his infantry and a select body of cavalry, to gain a little island in the river at some distance from the Indians; when he was there, he and his troops were attacked with a most violent wind and rain, accompanied with dreadful thunder and lightning." But in spite of the storm and rain they pushed on, and, wading through the water breast-high, reached the opposite bank of the river in safety.* "When they were landed," says Plutarch, who is still quoting Alexander's letters, "he advanced with the horse 20 *stadia* before the foot, concluding that, if the enemy attacked him with their cavalry, he should be greatly their superior, and that if they made a movement with their infantry, his own would come up in

* Sir William Napier has paid a just tribute to the skill of both Generals. Speaking of Alexander's passage of the Granicus, he says that it cannot "be compared for soldierly skill with his after-passage of the Hydaspes and defeat of Porus. Before that great man he could not play the same daring game."—London and Westminster Review, 1838, p. 37.

time enough to receive them." From Arrian we learn that as soon as the army had begun fording the channel between the island and the main land, they were seen by the Indian scouts, who at once dashed off to inform Porus. When the ford was passed with some difficulty, Alexander halted to form his little army of 6,000 infantry and about 10,000 cavalry. He then "marched swiftly forward with 5,000 horse, leaving the infantry to follow him leisurely and in order." While this was going on, Porus had detached his son with two or three thousand horse and one hundred and twenty chariots to oppose Alexander. The two forces met at 20 *stadia*, or 2¼ miles, from the place of crossing, or about 2 miles to the north-east of Mong. Here the chariots proved useless on the wet and slippery clay, and were nearly all captured. The conflict, however, must have been a sharp one, as Alexander's favorite charger, Bukephalus, was mortally wounded by the young prince, who was himself slain, together with 400 of his men. When Porus heard of the death of his son, he marched at once against Alexander with the greater part of his army; but when he came to a plain, where the ground was not difficulty and slippery but firm and sandy, and fitted for the evolutions of his chariots, he halted and arrayed his troops ready for battle. His 200 elephants were drawn up in front of the infantry about one *plethron*, or 100 feet apart, and the chariots and cavalry were placed on the flanks. By this arrangement, the front of the army facing north-east must have occupied an extent of about 4 miles from the bank of the river to near Lakhnawâli, the centre of the line being, as nearly as possible, on the site of the present town of Mong. Around this place the soil is "firm and sound," but towards the north-east, where Alexander encountered the young Indian prince, the surface is covered with a hard red clay, which becomes both heavy and slippery after rain.*

When Alexander saw the Indian army drawn up in battle array, he halted to wait for his infantry, and to reconnoitre the enemy's position. As he was much superior to Porus in cavalry, he resolved not to attack the centre where the formidable line of elephants were supported by masses

---

* I speak from actual observation of the field of Chilianwâla for some days after the battle, when the country had been deluged with rain. Both battles were fought on the same ground, between the town of Mong and the southern end of the Pabbi Hills.

of infantry, but to fall upon both flanks and throw the Indians into disorder. The right wing, led by Alexander himself, drove back the enemy's horse upon the line of elephants, which then advanced and kept the Macedonians in check for some time. Wherever Porus saw cavalry advancing, he opposed elephants, but these slow and unwieldy animals "could not keep pace with the rapid evolutions of the horse." At length, the elephants, wounded and frightened, rushed madly about, trampling down friends as well as foes. Then the small body of Indian horse being surrounded was overpowered by the Macedonians, and nearly all slain; and the large mass of Indian infantry, which still held out, being vigorously attacked on all sides by the victorious horse, broke their ranks and fled. Then, says Arrian, "Kraterus and the captains who were with him on the other side of the river, no sooner perceived the victory to incline to the Macedonians, than they passed over and made a dreadful slaughter of the Indians in pursuit."*

From the last statement, which I have quoted it is clear that the battle field was within sight of Alexander's camp. Now, this is especially true of the plain about Mong, which is within easy ken of the east of Alexander's camp at Shah Kabir, the nearest point being only 2 miles distant. With this last strong evidence in favor of Jalâlpur as the site of Alexander's camp, I close my discussion of this interesting question. But as some readers, like Mr. Grote, the historian of Greece, may still think that General Abbott has shown "highly plausible reasons" in support of his opinion that Alexander's camp was at Jhelam, I may here point out that the village of Pabrâl, which he has selected as the battle field, is not less than 14 miles from Jhelam, and, therefore, quite beyond the ken of Alexander's camp. I may quote also his own admission that the bed of the *Sukhetr* River, a level plain of sand one mile in width, "is a torrent after heavy rain, and is so full of quicksands as to be unsuited to military operations." Now, this very *Sukhetr* River, actually lies between Pabrâl and the site of the Indian camp opposite Jhelam, and as we know that a heavy storm of rain had fallen during the preceding night, the Sukhetr would have been an impassable torrent at the time of the

* Anabasis, V., 18.

battle. And so also would have been the Jaba River, which joins the Jhelam just below the Sukhetr. With these two intervening rivers, which, whether wet or dry, would have been obstacles equally great to the march of the Indian army and more specially to the passage of the war-chariots, I am quite satisfied that the battle field could not have been to the north of the Sukhetr River.

The position of Bukephala still remains to be discussed. According to Strabo,* the city of Bukephala was built on the west bank of the river where Alexander had crossed it; but Plutarch says that it was near the Hydaspes, in the place where Bukephalus was buried. Arrian, however, states that it was built on the site of his camp, and was named Bukephala in memory of his horse.† Diodorus, Curtius, and Justin leave the exact position undecided; but they all agree that it was on the opposite bank of the river to Nikæa, which was certainly built on the field of battle. With these conflicting statements alone to guide us, it is difficult to arrive at any positive conclusion. According as we follow Strabo or Arrian, we must place *Bukephala* at Dilâwar, or at Jalâlpur. Both places are equi-distant from the battle field of Mong, which I take without much hesitation to be the site of Nikæa. If the two cities were built on the same plan, which is not improbable, then Dilâwar would have the preferable claim to represent Bukephala, as its ruined mound is of the same size and height as that of Mong. I have already noticed in another place the possibility that Bugiâd, or Bugiâl, the name of the district in which Dilâwar is situated, may be only an abbreviation of Bukephâlia by the easy elision of the *ph*. But this is only a guess, and I have nothing else to offer on the subject, save the fact that the ancient name Jalâlpur was certainly *Girják*, while that of Dilâwar is quite uncertain, as *Udinagar* is applied to at least three different places. Altogether, therefore, I think that the claims of Dilâwar to be the Bukephala of Alexander are stronger than those of Jalâlpur.

XIX. MONG, OR NIKÆA.

The position of Mong has already been described, but I may repeat that it is 6 miles to the east of Jalalpur, and

---

* Geograph, XV., 1. 29.

† Anabasis, V., 19.

the same distance to the south of Dilâwar. The name is usually pronounced *Mong* or *Mung*, but it is written without the nasal, and is said to have been founded by Raja *Moga* or *Muga*. He is also called Raja *Sankhâr*, which I take to mean king of the *Sakas* or *Sacæ*. His brother, Râma, founded Râmpur or Râmnagar, the modern Rasul, which is 6 miles to the north-east of Mong, and exactly opposite Dilawar. His sister's son, named Kâmkamârath, was Raja of Girjâk or Jalalpur. The old ruined mound on which Mong is situated, is 600 feet long by 400 feet broad, and 50 feet high, and is visible for many miles on all sides. It contains 975 houses built of large old bricks, and 5,000 inhabitants, who are chiefly Jâts. The old wells are very numerous, their exact number, according to my informant, being 175.

I have already stated that I take Mong to be the site of Nikæa, the city which Alexander built on the scene of his battle with Porus. The evidence on this point is, I think, as complete as could be wished; but I have still to explain how the name of Nikæa could have been changed to Mong. The tradition that the town was found by Raja Moga is strongly corroborated by the fact that *Maharaja Moga* is mentioned in Mr. Roberts' Taxila inscription. Now, *Moga* is the same name as *Moa*, and the coins of *Moa* or *Mauas* are still found in Mong. But the commonest Greek monogram on these coins forms the letters NIK, which I take to be the abbreviation of *Nikæa* the place of mintage. If this inference be correct, as I believe it is, then *Nikæa* must have been the principal mint-city of the great King *Moga* and, therefore, a place of considerable importance. As the town of Mong is traditionally attributed to Raja Moga as the founder, we may reasonably conclude that he must have re-built or increased the place under the new name of *Moga-grama*, which, in the spoken dialects, would be shortened to *Mogaon* and *Mong*. Coins of all the Indo-Scythian princes are found at Mong in considerable numbers, and I see no reason to doubt that the place is as old as the time of Alexander.*

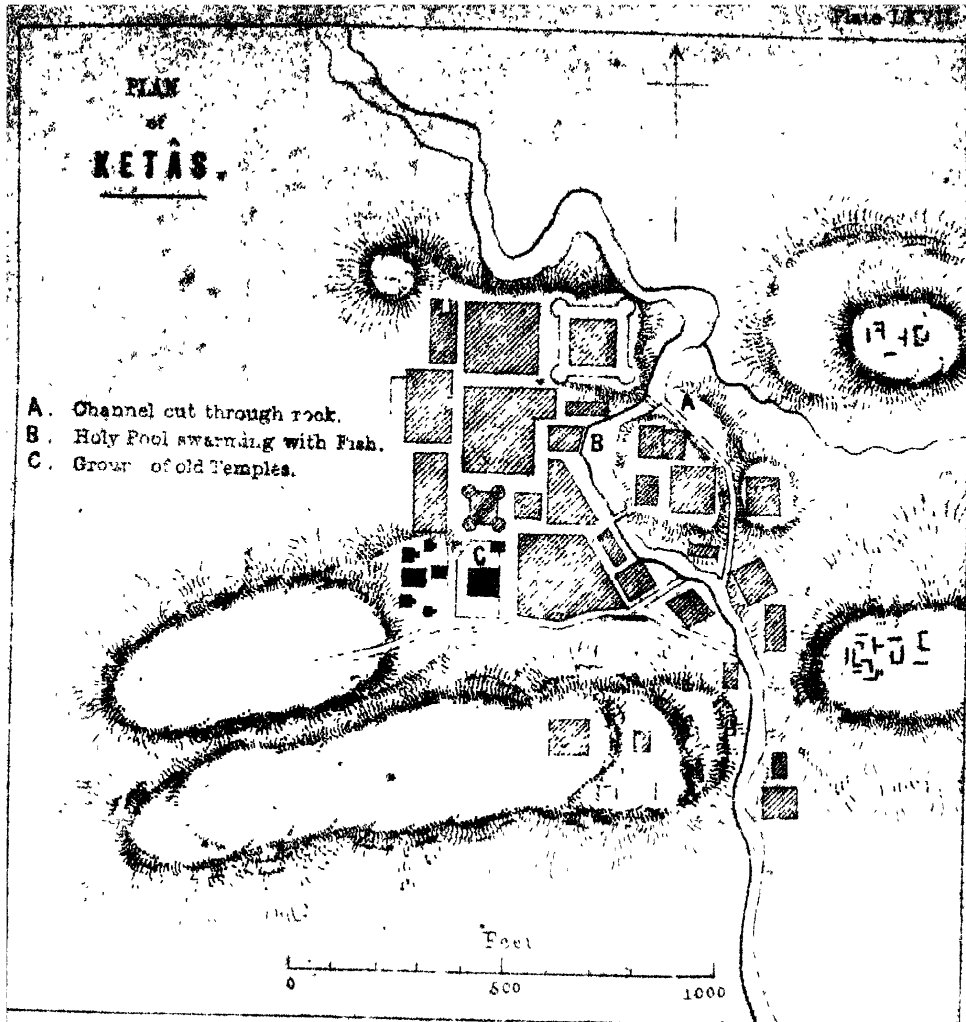
* The copper coins of the nameless king are found in such numbers at Mong, that they are commonly called *Monga-Sâhis* by the people of the country.

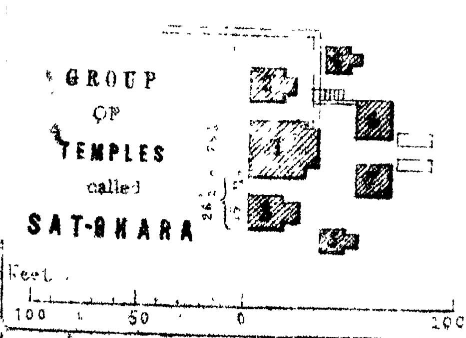
XX.—KATAS, OR KATAKSHA.

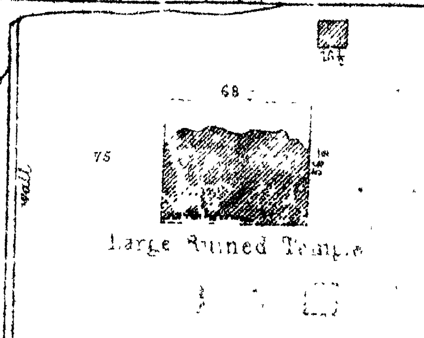
The holy fountain of Katâs is, next to Jwâlamukhi, the most frequented place of pilgrimage in the Panjâb. The Brâhmanical story relates that Siva was so inconsolable for the death of his wife *Sati*, the daughter of Daksha, that the tears literally "rained from this eyes," and formed the two sacred pools of *Pushkara* or *Pokhar*, near Ajmer, and *Katâksha* or *Katâs* in the Sindh Sâgar Doab. *Katâksha* means the "raining eyes," but the ignorant Brahmans of the place spell the name *Ketâksha* and *Kettaksha*, although they give it exactly the same meaning. The pool is partly artificial, the rock having been cut away to enlarge the natural basin in the bed of the Ganiya Nala. Just above the pool there is a strong masonry wall 2½ feet thick and 19 feet high, which once dammed up the stream so as to form a large lake; but only the land portions are now standing, and the water disappears entirely amongst the broken rocks and ruins of the embankment. The Brahmans say that the dam was built by Raja Pâtak, the Dewân or minister of some King of Delhi for the purpose of turning the water away from the holy pool of Katâksh. There certainly is a channel cut through the rock, for 122 feet in length, which would have carried off the waters to a point below the tank; but as there are springs in the pool itself, it seems more probable that the dam was made to retain water for irrigation. This channel was originally a tunnel, but the roof has fallen in, and the rock still overhangs on both sides in rough unchiselled masses. The pool is irregular in shape, but it may be described at 200 feet in length, with an extreme breadth of 150 feet at the upper end, and about 90 feet at the lower end, where it is closed by a low stone causeway, 6 feet broad with three narrow openings for the passage of the water. After heavy rain the swollen stream passes clear over the causeway. The water is pure and clear, but the fish are said to die annually.*

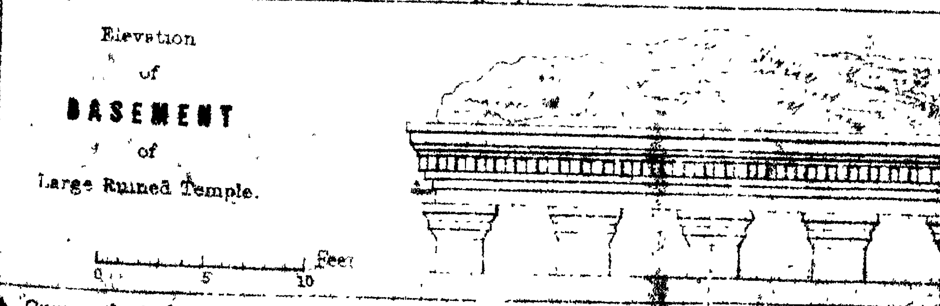
Katâs is situated on the north side of the Salt Range, 16 miles from Pind Dadan, and 18 miles from Chakowâl, at a height of more than 2,000 feet above the sea. About 800

* See Plate LXVIII. for a map of Katâs.









A. Cunningham del.

Litho. at the Survr. Genl's. Office. Cal. December 1871

feet below the pool, the Ganiya Nala passes between the two flat-topped hills, about 200 feet in height, on which the ancient town is said to have stood. On the west hill, named Kotera, I traced several walls and towers of the old fortifications, and the remains of a brick building which the people call *Sadhu-ka-Makân*, or Sadhu's house. The bricks are 14½ by 9½ by 2¼ inches. In the middle of the north side of the hill I traced the walls of a gateway leading down to a lower enclosure, at the east end of which stand the *Sat-Ghara* or "seven temples." These are the only ancient remains of any interest that now exist at Katâs. The upper fort is 1,200 feet long by 300 feet, and the lower fort 800 feet by 450, the whole circuit being about 3,500 feet, or less than three-quarters of a mile. But the whole circuit of Katâs, including the ruins of the town on both banks of the stream above and below the fort, is about 2 miles.

The *Sat-Ghara* or "seven temples," are attributed to the Pândus, who are said to have lived at Katâs during a portion of their twelve years' wanderings. On examining the place carefully I found the remains of no less than twelve temples, which are clustered together in the north-east corner of the old fort. Their general style is similar to that of the Kashmir temples, of which the chief characteristics are dentils, trefoil arches, arches, fluted pillars, and pointed roofs, all of which are found in the temples of Katâs and of other places in the salt range. Unfortunately these temples are so much ruined that it is impossible to make out their details with any accuracy; but enough is left to show that they belong to the later style of Kashmirian architecture which prevailed under the Kârkota and Varmma dynasties, from A. D. 625 to 939, and as the salt range belonged to the kingdom of Kashmir during the greater part of this time, I believe that these temples must be assigned to the period of Kashmirian domination. The temples of Malot and Katâs have been described by General Abbott,* but others exist at Sibganga near Malot and at Bâghanwâla, equi-distant from Pind Dâdan and Jalalpur. Those of Malot and Bâghanwâla are the least ruinous; but they are all built of the same soft friable standstone, which

* Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1849, 131.

has now crumbled away so much that the details of the mouldings are no longer distinguishable with any certainty.

The *Sat-Ghara* group of temples is formed of six smaller temples placed in pairs at regular distances about one large central fane, and this again is connected with the remains of a very large temple which is situated due east 170 feet distant. The central fane of the *Sat-Ghara* group is 26½ feet square, with a portico to the east of 20 feet front, and 7 feet projection, which is pierced by trefoil arch as shown in General Abbott's sketch. On each side 11½ feet distant and flush with the back wall, there is a small temple, 15 feet square, with a portico 7 feet square, of which the entrance is a cinque-foil arch. On the north side 27 feet distant and nearly flush with the front wall, there is another small temple 11½ feet square, with a portico of 6 feet. The corresponding temple on the south side is gone. At 17½ feet to the front there are the ruins of two other buildings which are said to have been temples, but so little remains that I was unable to verify the Brahmanical belief. In front of these ruins is the gateway, 17 feet square, with a passage 5½ feet wide leading straight up to the central fane. The whole of these temples have been so often restored and plastered that they have suffered more from the repairs of man than from the ravages of time. The body of the central fane is now altogether hidden by a thick coat of plaster, the unfortunate gift of Gulâb Singh.

The great ruined fane to the east consists of a mound of ruins resting on a basement 68½ feet long by 56½ feet broad, which is in rather better preservation than the *Sat-Ghara* temples. Its design, too, is quite different, as it is divided into a number of small panels or recesses by broad pilasters after the style of the tope basement at Mâni-kyâla. But the intervals are only one diameter and two-fifths, and the capitals are without the long abacus, which is the peculiar feature of the tope architecture. The cornice is supported by a row of plain dentils, 7½ inches deep and 3⅝ inches broad, with intervals equal to the breadth. The whole was covered with a thin coat of plaster which may still be seen in the sheltered recesses between the dentils, and even on the smooth face of the architecture. There is nothing now remaining about this basement to show

whether it belonged to a Buddhist tope or a Brahmanical temple. But over the doorway of a modern temple to Rama Chandra, which is close by on the north side, there is a three-headed and four-armed male figure that it is said to have been found in the mass of ruins overlying the basement. The statue is of red sandstone 3 feet high. The three heads are different,—in the middle a man, to the right a boar, and to the left a lion. This differs from every other three-headed statue that I have yet met with; but it is, I believe, a representation of Vishnu as the supreme being, the man's head being *Vishnu Narayana*, the creator, the boar's head *Vishnu Varàha*, the preserver of the universe, and the lion's head, *Vishnu Nara-Sinha*, the destroyer. There is nothing else about the figure to show what it is intended for, as there are only lotus flowers in three of the hands, and the fourth rests on the hip.

Hwen Thsang describes a town, named Sinhapura, which, judging by its bearing and distance of 700 *li*, or 117 miles, south-east from Taxila, and its clear tanks swarming with fish, should be Katàs; but the whole description will not apply to Katàs, nor, indeed, to any other place with which I am acquainted.* Sinhapura is said to be a large town 14 or 15 *li*, or about 2½ miles in circuit. It was situated on the top of a high hill of difficult access, and as the climate also is described as very cold, it is certain that Sinhapura must have been situated on one of the isolated hills of the salt range. Either Malot or Katàs will answer this description very well, although their distance from Taxila is little more than 85 miles. But the pilgrim no doubt over-estimated the length of this tedious and fatiguing journey "over hills and through ravines," even admitting that he may have travelled by a more circuitous route. The great difficulty, however, does not lie in the exaggerated distance, but in the position of the ten tanks of clear water swarming with fish, which are placed at 40 or 50 *li*, or 7 to 8 miles to the south-east of Sinhapura. Now, the only tanks of this description that I could hear of are those of *Katàs, Sib-Ganga*, and *Nar-Singh-Phudr*. The last is properly a spring of water and not a tank, as it issues from the rock, according to my informant, like as Narsingh himself sprang from the

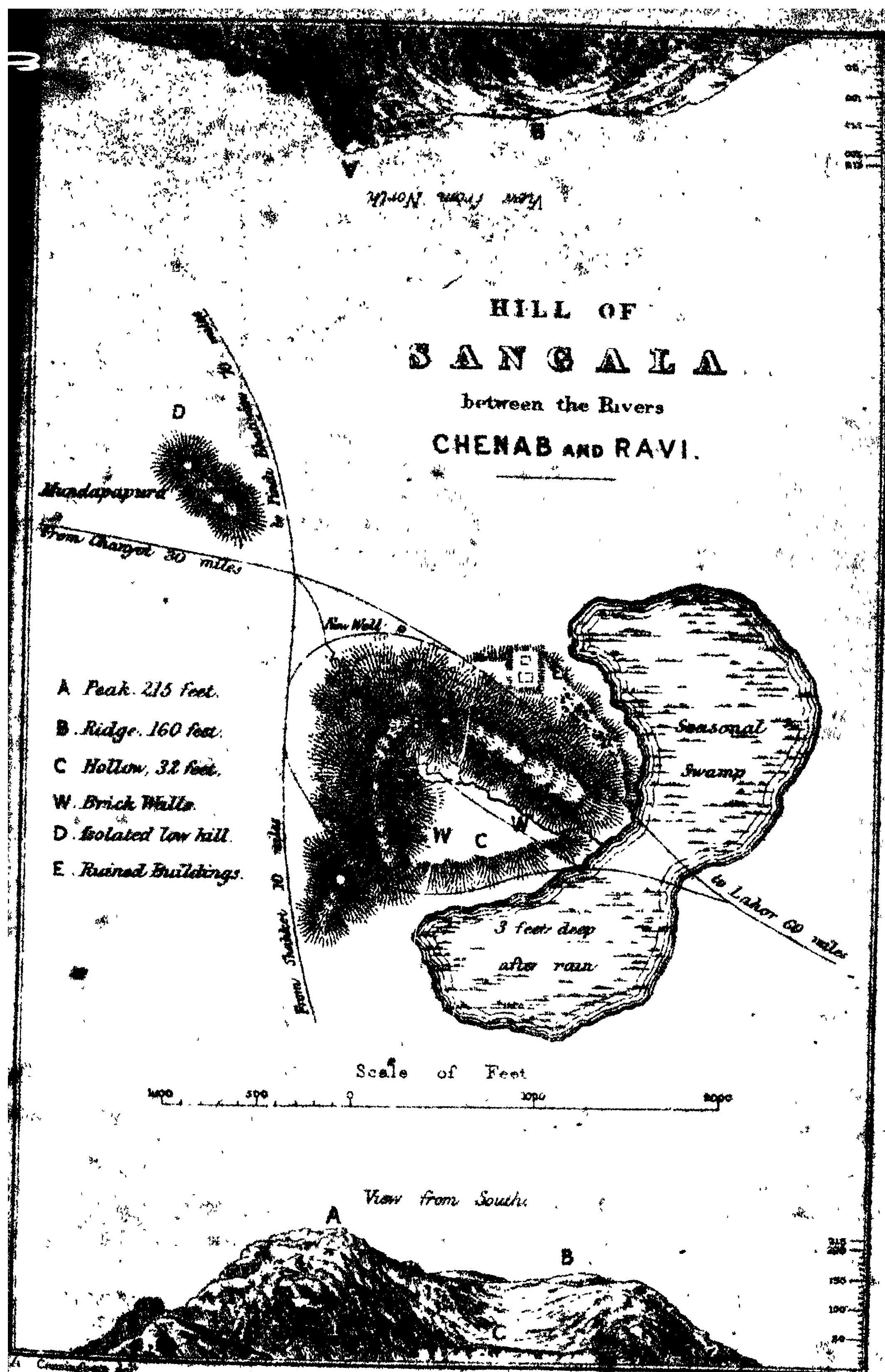
* Julien's Hwen Thsang, II., 162.

pillar at Multan. Sil-Ganga is a small tank formed in the bed of a stream like that of Katâs, about 3 miles to the east of Malot. On the bank there is a small old temple of the later Kashmirian style which contains a figure of Kali-Devi in black stone. Malot does not answer the description, because there is no ancient place possessing holy tanks within the recorded distance of 7 or 8 miles. I think, however, that Malot must be the Sinhapura of Hwen Thsang, as it is known to have been the capital of the Janjuhas at a very early period. The fort is said to be about the same size as that of Katâs. The ten holy tanks I would identify with the different pools in the bed of the Ganiya Nala below Katâs, but the bearing is north-east and the distance about 12 miles. As, however, Hwen Thsang does not appear to have visited the holy tanks himself, the error in their position must be due to his informants.

XXI. SANGALA-WALA-TIBA, OR SANGALA.

The *Sangala* of Alexander has long ago been recognised in the *Sakala* of the Brahmans and the *Sagal* of the Buddhists; but its position would still perhaps have remained undetermined had it not fortunately been visited by the Chinese pilgrim, Hwen Thsang, in A. D. 630. Both Arrian and Curtius place Sangala to the east of the Hydraotes, or Ravi, but the itinerary of Hwen Thsang shows that it was to the west of the Ravi, and as nearly as possible in the position of the present *Sângla-wala-Tiba*, or "Sangala Hill." I first became acquainted with this place in 1839, when I obtained a copy of Mogal Beg's manuscript map, compiled by Wilford, who has three times described its position in the Asiatic Researches.* But I was not able to obtain any account of the place until 1854, when I heard from Colonel G. Hamilton who had visited it, and from Captain Blagrave who had surveyed it, that Sangala was a real hill with traces of buildings and with a sheet of water on one side of it. During my last season's tour through the Panjâb I was able to visit the hill myself, and I am now satisfied that it must be the Sangala of Alexander, although the position does not agree with that which his historians have assigned to it.

* Vol. V., p. 282; VI., 520 and IX., 53.



Anastatiqued at the Surveyor General's Office, Calcutta.

In the time of Hwen Thsang, *She-kie-lo*, or *Sakala*, was in ruins, and the chief town of the district was *Tse-kia* or *Chekia*, which may also be read as *Dhaka* or Daka.* The pilgrim places this new town at 15 *li*, or 2½ miles, to the north-east of *Sakala*, but as all the country within that range is open and flat, it is certain that no *town* could ever have existed in the position indicated. In the same direction, however, but at 19 miles, or 115 *li*, I found the ruins of a large town, called *Asarur*, which accorded almost exactly with the pilgrim's description of the new town of *Tse-kia*. It is necessary to fix the position of this place, because Hwen Thsang's measurements, both coming and going, are referred to it and not to Sakala. From Kashmir the pilgrim proceeded by Punach to Rajapura, a small town in the lower hills which is now called Rajaori. From thence he travelled to the south-east over a mountain and across a river called *Chen-ta-lo-po-kia*, which is the *Chandrabhaga* or modern Chenab, to *Che-ye-pu-lo* or *Jayapura* (probably Hafizabad) where he slept for the night, and on the next day he reached *Tse-kia*, the whole distance being 700 *li*, or 116 miles. As a south-east direction would have taken the pilgrim to the east of the Ravi, we must look for some known point in his subsequent route as the best means of checking this erroneous bearing. This fixed point we find in *She-lan-to-lo*, the well known *Jâlandhara*, which is, the pilgrim places, at 500, plus 50, plus 140, or 150 *li*, or altogether between 690 and 700 *li* to the east of *Tse-kia*. This place was, therefore, as nearly as possible, equi-distant from Rajaori and Jâlandhar. Now, Asarur is exactly 112 miles distant from each of these places in a direct line drawn on the map, and as it is undoubtedly a very old place of considerable size, I am satisfied that it must be the town of *Tse-kia* described by Hwen Thsang.

In A. D. 630 the pilgrim found the walls of *Sakala* completely ruined, but their foundations still remained, showing a circuit of about 20 *li*, or 3⅓ miles. In the midst of the ruins there was still a small portion of the old city inhabited, which was only 6 or 7 *li*, or just one mile in circuit. Inside the city there was a monastery of one hundred monks who studied the Hinayâna, or exoteric doctrines of Buddhism, and beside it there was a

* Julien's Hwen Thsang, II., 190.

stupa, 200 feet in height, where the four previous Buddhas had left their foot prints. At 5 or 6 *li*, or less than one mile to the north-west, there was a second stupa, also about 200 feet high, which was built by King Asoka on the spot where the four previous Buddhas had explained the law.

Sânglawâla Tiba is a small rocky hill forming two sides of a triangle, with the open side towards the south-east.* The north side of the hill rises to a height of 215 feet, but the north-east side is only 160 feet. The interior area of the triangle slopes gradually down to the south-east till it ends abruptly in a steep bank 32 feet above the ground. This bank was once crowned with a brick wall, which I was able to trace only at the east end, where it joined the rock. The whole area is covered with brick ruins, amongst which I found two square foundations. The bricks are of very large size, 15 by 9 by 3 inches. During the last fifteen years these bricks have been removed in great numbers. Nearly 4,000 were carried to the large village of Marh 6 miles to the north, and about the same number must have been taken to the top of the hill to form a tower for the survey operations. The base of the hill is from 1,700 to 1,800 feet on each side, or just 1 mile in circuit. On the east and south sides the approach to the hill is covered by a large swamp, half a mile in length, and nearly a quarter of a mile in breadth, which dries up annually in the summer, but during the seasonal rains has a general depth of about 3 feet. In the time of Alexander this must have been a fine sheet of water which has been gradually lessened in depth by the annual washings of silt from the hill above. On the north-eastern side of the hill there are the remains of two large buildings, from which I obtained old bricks of the enormous size of 17½ by 11 by 3 inches. Close by there is an old well which was lately cleared out by some of the wandering tribes. On the north-western side, 1,000 feet distant, there is a low ridge of rock called *Munda-ka-pura*, from 25 to 30 feet in height, and about 500 feet in length, which has formerly been covered with brick buildings. At 1¾ miles to the south there is another ridge of three small hills called *Arna* and little *Sângala*. All these hills are formed of the same dark grey rock as that of Chanyot and of the Karâna

* See Plate LXIX. for a plan of the Hill of Sangala.

hills to the west of the Chenab, which contains much iron, but is not worked on account of the want of fuel. The production of iron is noticed by Hwen Thsang.

In comparing this account with the description of the Chinese pilgrim, I find only two places that can be identified. The first is the site of the modern town, which was about a mile in circuit, and was situated in the midst of the ruins. This I take to be the hill itself, which accords exactly with the description, and which would certainly have been occupied in preference to any part of the open plain below on account of its security. The second is the stupa of Asoka, which was situated at rather less than one mile to the north-west of the monastery inside the town. This I would identify with the low ridge of rock on the north-west called *Mundapapura*, of which the highest point at the north-western end is 4,000 feet, or more than three-quarters of a mile distant from the central point of the triangular area of the town. The plain on the north and west sides of the hill is strewn with broken pottery and fragments of brick for a considerable distance, showing that the town must once have extended in both of these directions. But the whole circuit of these remains did not appear to be more than 1½ or 1¼ miles, or about one-half of Hwen Thsang's measurement.

The Brahmanical accounts of Sâkala have been collected from the Mahâbhârata by Professor Lassen.* According to that poem, Sâkala, the capital of the Madras, who are also called Jârtikas, and Bâhikas, was situated on the *Apagâ* rivulet to the west of the *Irâvati* or Râvi River. It was approached from the east side by pleasant paths through the *Pilu* forest.

Sami-*pilu* kâriranâm vaneshu sukhavartmasu.

which Professor Lassen translates "per amœnas *sylvarum* tramites ambulantes." But the *Pilu*, or Salvadora Persica, is the commonest wood in this part of the Panjâb, and is specially abundant in the Rechna Doab. In these "pleasant paths" of the *Pilu* forest, the traveller was unfortunately liable to be despoiled of his clothes by robbers. This description by the author of the Mahâbhârata was fully verified

* Pentapotamia Indica, pp. 73-

by Hwen Thsang in A. D. 630, and again by myself in 1863. On leaving Sâkala, the Chinese pilgrim travelled eastward into a forest of *Po-lo-she* trees, where his party encountered fifty brigands who despoiled them of their clothes.* In November 1863 I approached Sâkala from the east through a continuous wood of *Pilu* trees, and pitched my tent at the foot of the hill. During the night the tent was three times approached by parties of robbers, who were detected by the vigilance of my watch dog. M. Julien has properly rendered Hwen Thsang's *Po-lo-she* by *Palása*, the Butea frondosa or *Dhâk* tree; but as the forest consisted of *Pilu* trees, both before and after the time of Hwen Thsang, I would suggest the propriety of correcting *Po-lo-she* to *Pi-lo*. I conjecture that the Chinese editor of the pilgrim's life, who was most probably ignorant of the *Pilu*, substituted the well-known *Palása*, which is frequently mentioned by Hwen Thsang, under the belief that he was making an important and necessary correction.

The country is still well known as *Madr-des*, or the district of the *Madras*, which is said by some to extend from the Biâs to the Jhelam, but by others only to the Chenab. Regarding the *Apagá* rivulet, I believe that it may be recognized in the *Ayak Nadi*, a small stream which has its rise in the Jammu hills to the north-east of Syalkot. After passing Syalkot the Ayak runs westerly near Sodhra, where in the rainy season it throws off its superfluous water into the Chenab. It then turns to the S. S. W. past Banka and Nandanwâ to Bhutâla, and continues this same course till within a few miles of Asarur. There it divides into two branches, which, after passing to the east and west of Asarur, rejoin at 2½ miles to the south of *Sángalawâla Tiba*. Its course is marked in the revenue survey maps for 15 miles to the south-west of Sángala, where it is called the Nananwâ canal. An intelligent man of Asarur informed me that he had seen the bed of the Nananwa 20 *kos* to the south-west, and that he had always heard that it fell into the Râvi a long way off. This then must be Arrian's "small rivulet" near which Alexander pitched his camp, at 100 *stadia*, or 11½ miles to the east of the Akesines below its junction

* Julien's Hwen Thsang, I., 97.

with the Hydaspes.* At that time, therefore, the water of the Ayak must have flowed for a long distance below Sangala, and most probably fell into the Ravi, as stated by my informant. Near Asarur and Sângala, the Ayak is now quite dry at all seasons, but there must have been water in it at Dhakawala only 24 miles above Asarur even so late as the reign of Shah Jâhân, when his son Dara Shekoh drew a canal from that place to his hunting seat at Shekohpura, which is also called the Ayak or Jhilri Canal.

The Buddhist notices of Sâkala refer chiefly to its history in connection with Buddhism. There is the legend of the seven kings who went towards *Sâgal* to carry off Prabhâvati, the wife of King Kusa. But the king, mounting an elephant, met them outside the city and cried out with so loud a voice, "I am Kusa," that the exclamation was heard over the whole world, and the seven kings fled away in terror.† This legend may have some reference to the seven brothers and and sisters of Amba-Kâpa, which is only 40 miles to the east of Sângala. At the beginning of the Christian era *Sâgal* was the capital of Raja *Milinda*, whose name is still famous in all Buddhist countries as the skilful opponent of the holy Nagasena. The territory was then called *Yona* or *Yavana*, which might refer either to the Greek conquerors, or to their Indo-Scythian successors; but as Nagasena is generally referred to the beginning of the Christian era, the term must certainly be restricted to the latter. Milinda himself states that he was born at Alasadda, which was 200 *yojans*, or about 1,400 miles distant from Sâgal.‡ He was therefore undoubtedly a foreigner; and, in spite of the exaggerated distance, I would identify his birth-place with Alexandria Opiane, at the foot of the Indian Caucasus, about 40 miles to the north of Kabul. At a somewhat *later* period *Sâkala* was subject to *Mahirkul*, or *Mihirkul*, who lost his kingdom by an unsuccessful campaign against Balâditya King of Magadha. But being afterwards set at liberty by the conqueror, he obtained possession of Kashmir by treachery. I know of no other mention of Sâkala until

* Anabasis, VI., 6.

† Hardy's Manual of Buddhism, p. 263, note.

‡ Ibid, p. 513.

A. D. 633, when it was visited by Hwen Thsang, who describes the neighbouring town of *Tse-kia* as the capital of a large kingdom, which extended from the Indus to the Bias, and from the foot of the hills to the confluence of the five rivers.

The classical notices of Sangala are confined to the two historical accounts of Arrian and Curtius and a passing mention by Diodorus. Curtius simply calls it "a great city defended not only by a wall but by a swamp *(palus)*."* But the swamp was a deep one, as some of the inhabitants afterwards escaped by swimming across it *(paludem transnavere)*. Arrian calls it a lake *(limnê)*, but adds that it was not deep, that it was near the city wall, and that one of the gates opened upon it. He describes the city itself as strong both by art and nature, being defended by brick walls and covered by the lake. Outside the city there was a low hill *(gêlophos)*, which the Kathæans had surrounded with a triple line of carts for the protection of their camp.† This little hill I would identify with the low ridge to the north-west called *Mundapapura*, which would certainly appear to have been outside the city walls, as the broken bricks and pottery do not extend so far. I conclude that the camp on the hill was formed chiefly by the fugitives from other places, for whom there was no room in the already crowded city. The hill must have been close to the city walls, because the Kathæans, after the second line of carts had been broken by the Greeks, fled into the city and shut the gates. It is clear therefore that the triple row of carts could only have surrounded the hill on three sides, and that the fourth side was open to the city. The hill was thus connected with the city as a temporary out-work, from which the defenders, if overpowered, could make their escape behind the walls. As the number of carts captured by Alexander was only 300, the hill must have been a very small one. For if we allow 100 carts to each line, the innermost line, where they were closely packed at 10 feet per cart, could not have been more than 1,000 feet in length round the three sides at the base. Placing the middle row 50 feet beyond the inner one, its

---

* Vita Alexandri, IX., I. "ad magnam deinde urbem pervenit, non muro solum, sed etiam palude munitam."

† Anabasis, V., 22.

length would have been 1,200 feet, and that of the outer row at the same distance would have been 1,400 feet, or little more than a quarter of a mile. Now this accords so well with the size of the *Mundapapura* hill that I feel considerable confidence in the accuracy of my identification. As these carts were afterwards used by Ptolemy to form a single line of barrier outside the lake, we obtain a limit to its size, as 300 carts would not have extended more than 5,000 feet, or about 17 feet per cart if placed end to end, but as there may have been numerous trees on the bank of the lake, the length of the barrier may be extended to about 6,000 feet. Now it is remarkable that this is the exact length of this outer line according to my survey, which shows the utmost extent of the lake in the rainy season. I could find no trace of the rampart and ditch with which Alexander surrounded the town, but I was not disappointed, as the rains of two thousand years must have obliterated them long ago.

The Kathæans made an unsuccessful attempt to escape across the lake during the night, but they were checked by the barrier of carts and driven back into the city. The walls were then breached by undermining and the place was taken by assault, in which the Kathæans, according to Arrian, lost 17,000 slain and 70,000 prisoners. Curtius, however, gives the loss of the Kathæans at 8,000 killed. I am satisfied that Arrian's numbers are erroneous either through error or exaggeration, as the city was a small one, and could not, at the ordinary rate of 400 or 500 square feet to each person, have contained more than 12,000 people. If we double or triple this for the influx of fugitives, the whole number would be about 30,000 persons. I should like therefore to read Arrian's numbers as 7,000 slain and 17,000 prisoners. This would bring his number of slain into accord with Curtius and his total number into accord with probability.

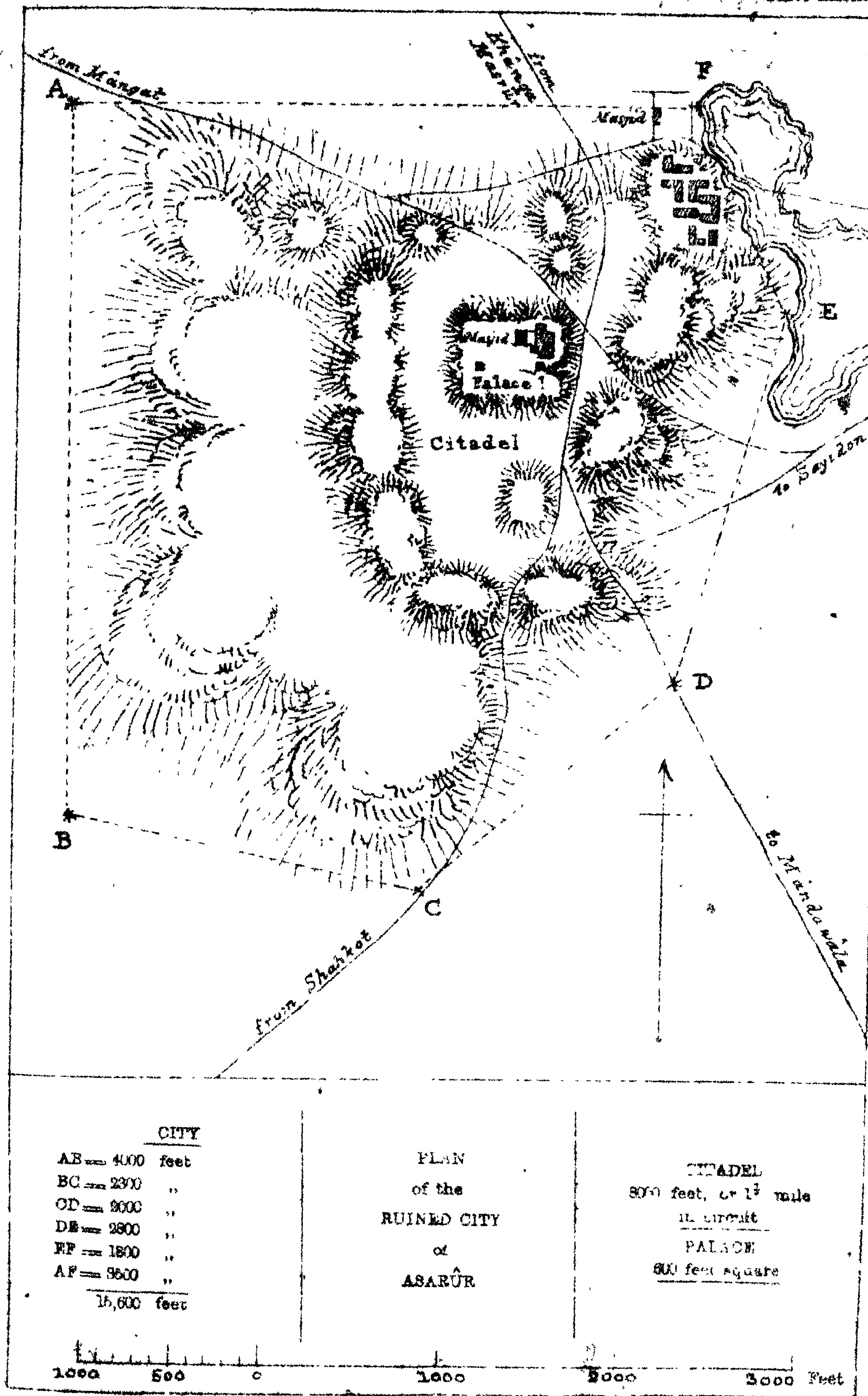
Both Curtius and Arrian agree in stating that Alexander had crossed the Hydraotes before he advanced against Sangala, which should therefore be to the east of that river. But the detailed measurements of Hwen Thsang are too precise, the statement of the Mahâbhârata is too clear, and the coincidence of name is too exact to be set aside lightly. Now the accounts of both Arrian and Curtius show that Alexander was in full march for the Ganges when he heard

"that certain free Indians and Kathæans were resolved to give him battle if he attempted to lead his army thither." Alexander no sooner heard this than he immediately directed his march against the Kathæans, that is, he changed the previous direction of his march and proceeded towards Sangala. This was the uniform plan on which he acted during his campaign in Asia, to leave no enemy behind him. When he was in full march for Persia, he turned aside to besiege Tyre; when he was in hot pursuit of Bessus, the murderer of Darius, he turned to the south to subdue Drangiana and Arachosia; and, when he was longing to enter India he deviated from his direct march to besiege Aornos. With the Kathæans the provocation was the same. Like the Tyrians, the Drangians and the Bazarians of Aornos, they wished to avoid rather than oppose Alexander; but, if attacked, they were resolved to resist. Alexander was then on the eastern bank of the Hydraotes or Ravi, and, on the day after his departure from the river, he came to the city of *Pimprama*, where he halted to refresh his soldiers, and, on the third day, reached Sangala. As he was obliged to halt after his first two marches, they must have been forced ones of not less than 25 miles each, and his last may have been a common march of 12 or 15 miles. Sangala therefore must have been about 60 or 65 miles from the camp on the bank of the Hydraotes. Now, this is the exact distance of the Sangala Hill from Lahor, which was most probably the position of Alexander's camp when he heard of the recusancy of the Kathæi. I believe therefore that Alexander at once gave up his march to the Ganges and re-crossed the Ravi to punish the people of Sangala for daring to withhold their submission.

XXII. ASARUR, OR TAKI.

I have already mentioned Asarur as the probable position of Hwen Thsang's *Tse-kia*, which was the capital of the Panjâb in A. D. 633. It is situated about 2 miles to the south of the high road between Lahore and Pindi-Bhatiyân, being 45 miles from the former, and 24 from the latter place. It is 19 miles distant from Sangala by the road, but not more than 16 miles in a direct line across the country. Nothing whatever is known of its ancient history, but the people say that it was originally called *Udamnagar*,

Plate LXIX.



A. Cunningham del.

Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta

or *Uda-Nagari*, and that it was deserted for many centuries until Akbar's time, when Ugar Shah, a Dogar, built the masjid which still exists on the top of the mound. The antiquity claimed for the place is confirmed by the large size of the bricks, 18 by 10 by 3 inches, which are found all over the ruins, and by the great numbers of Indo-Scythian coins that are discovered annually after heavy rain. It therefore reaches back to the first century before the Christian era, and from its position I believe it to be the *Pimprama* of Alexander.

The ruins of Asarur (or Asrur) consist of an extensive mound 15,600 feet, or nearly 3 miles in circuit.* The highest point is in the north-west quarter, where the mound rises to 59 feet above the fields. This part, which I take to be the ancient palace, is 600 feet long and 400 feet broad, and quite regular in shape. It contains an old well 21 feet in diameter which has not been used for many years, and is now dry. The palace is completely surrounded by a line of large mounds about 25 feet in height, and 8,100 feet, or 1½ miles in circuit, which was evidently the stronghold or citadel of the place. The mounds are rounded and prominent like the ruins of large towers or bastions. On the east and south sides of the citadel, the mass of ruins sinks to 10 and 15 feet in height, but it is twice the size of the citadel, and is no doubt the remains of the old city. I could find no trace of any ancient buildings, as all the surface bricks have been long ago carried off to the neighbouring shrine of Ugar Shah at *Khângâh* Masrur; but amongst the old bricks forming the surrounding wall of the Masjid, I found three moulded in different patterns, which could only have belonged to buildings of some importance. I found also a wedge-shaped brick 15 inches long and 3 inches thick, with a breadth of 10 inches at the narrow end and nearly 10½ inches at the broad end. This could only have been made for a *stupa*, or a well, but most probably for the latter, as the existing well is 21 feet in diameter. *Asarur* is a small village of only 45 houses.

Hwen Thsang places *Tse-kia* at 14 or 15 *li* or 2½ miles to the north-east of *Sâkala*, but as there are no traces of any

* See Plate LXX. for a map of the ruins of Asarur.

former town in this position, I think it very probable that the true numbers should be 114 or 115 *li*, or 19 miles, which is just the distance between Sangala and Asarur by the road, although in a direct line it is not more than 16 miles. The circuit of *Tse-kia* was about 20 *li*, or upwards of 3 miles, which agrees sufficiently well with my measurement of the ruins of Asarur at 15,600 feet, or just 3 miles. At the time of Hwen Thsang's visit there were ten monasteries, but very few Buddhists, and the mass of the people worshipped the Brahmanical gods. To the north-east of the town at 10 *li*, or nearly 2 miles, there was a *stupa* of Asoka, 200 feet in height, which marked the spot where Buddha had halted and which was said to contain a large quantity of his relics. This stupa may, I think, be identified with the little mound of *Sálár* near Thata Syadon, just two miles to the north of Asarur.

XXIII. RAN-SI, OR NARA-SINHA.

On leaving *Tse-kia,* Hwen Thsang travelled eastward to *Na-lo-seng-ho* or *Nára-Sinha,* beyond which place he entered the forest of *Po-lo-she* or *Pilu* trees (Salvadora Persica) where he encountered the brigands, as already related.* This town of *Nára-Sinha* is, I believe, represented by the large ruined mound of *Ran-Si,* which is situated 9 miles to the south of Shekohpura, and 25 miles to the E. S. E. of Asarur, and about the same distance to the west of Lahore. *Si* or *Sih* is the usual Indian contraction for *Sinh,* and *Ran* is a well known interchange of pronunciation with *Nar,* as in *Ranod* for *Narod,* a large town in the Gwalior territory about 35 miles to the south of Narwar, and in *Nakhlor* for *Lakhnor,* the capital *Katehar* or *Rohilkhand.* In *Ransi,* therefore, we have not only an exact correspondence of position, but also the most precise agreement of name, with the long-sought-for *Nára-Sinha* of the Chinese pilgrim. This identification is the more valuable as it furnishes the most conclusive evidence that could be desired of the accuracy of Hwen Thsang's emplacement of Sangala to the westward of the Râvi, instead of to the eastward as indicated by the classical authorities.

* Julien's Hwen Thsang, I., 97.

The remains of *Ran-si* consist of a large ruined mound, 600 feet in length from north to south, and 500 feet from east to west, with a general height of from 20 to 25 feet. It is thickly covered with broken bricks of large size, and coins are occasionally found by the saltpetre manufacturers. All the old ruined mounds in the Panjâb, as Shorkot, Multân, Harapa, &c., abound in saltpetre, which has been derived from man's occupation, and which therefore affords a certain proof that the mound of Ransi is not a natural elevation but an artificial accumulation of rubbish, the result of many centuries. Ransi also possesses a tomb of a *Nao-gaja*, or giant of "nine yards," which I believe to be only the remains of a recumbent statue of Buddha, after his attainment of *Nirvâna*, or death. Similar gigantic statues of bricks and mud are still made in Barma, which, when in ruins, present exactly the same appearance as these *Nao-gaja* tombs. As Buddha was believed to have died with his face to the east, all the *Nirvâna* statues would of course be placed in a direction from north to south, and as Muhammadan tombs in India are placed in the same direction, I believe that the early Musalmâns took advantage of these Buddhist statues to form ready-made tombs for their leaders who fell in battle. I shall have more to say on this subject hereafter, and I only mention it here as another proof of the antiquity of *Ransi*.*

XXIV. AMBAKAPI, OR AMAKATIS.

Amba and *Kápi* are the names of two ruined mounds, the remains of ancient cities, which are said to have been called after a brother and sister, whose story has already been given in my account of Mânikyâla. According to the legend, the family consisted of three brothers, named *Sir-kap*, *Sir-sukh* and *Amba*, and of four sisters, named *Kâpi*, *Kalpi*, *Munde*, and *Mândehi*, each of whom is said to have founded a city to the south of Shekohpura, and in the immediate vicinity of *Ran-si*. The ruins of these cities are pointed out at the following places:

1st.—*Sir-kap* is a mound of ruins near the village of Balarh, 6 miles to the south of Shekohpura. It is remarkable that the name of Balarh is also connected with Sirkap

* See Plate LXXI. for the positions of Ransi and Ambakâpi.

in the legends of the Sindh Ságar Doáb, which assign the Balarh Tope as the seat of this Raja.

2nd.—*Sir-sukh* is a ruined mound, near the village of Murád, 3¼ miles to the south of Shekohpura, and 2¼ miles to the north of the Sir-kap mound.

3rd.—*Amba* is a large ruined mound and village upwards of 9 miles to the south of Shekohpura, and one mile to the east of *Ran-si.*

4th.—*Kápi,* or *Kánpi,* as it is also written and pronounced, is a small mound 2½ miles to the east of Amba, on the old high road to Lahor.

5th.—*Kalpi* is another small ruined mound near the village of Bhuipur, about midway between the mounds of Sir-kap and Amba.

6*th.*—*Munde* is a ruined mound and village on the west bank of the *Bágh-bachha* River, 8 miles to the south of Ransi and Amba..

7*th.*—*Mándeki* is a ruined mound and village to the south-east of Amba and Kapi, from which it is equi-distant 3½ miles.

All of these mounds are on the western bank of the *Bágh-bachha* River, and at a mean distance of about 25 miles to the westward of Lahor. The whole of the villages just mentioned will be found in the district map of Lahor, but the mounds themselves are shewn only in the large map of the *Sarakpur* Parganah. I have already remarked that the name of the *Bágh-bachha* or Tiger-cub River is most probably connected with the legend of the "seven hungry tiger cubs" *(Bágh-bachhas),* whose names are preserved in those of the seven mounds above-noted. The same story is told here that is so common in the Sindh Ságar Doáb. Rásálu, the Raja of Syálkot, plays at *chopar* with *Sir-kap* for a human head, and having won it accepts his daughter *Kokilá* instead of the stake. The people have the most undoubting faith in the truth of this legend, and they quoted, with evident satisfaction, the following couplet in support of their belief:

Amba Kapa pai larai,
Kalpi bahin chhuráwan ai.

When strife arose 'tween Amb and Kap,
Their sister Kalpi made it up.

As they could give no explanation of the nature of this quarrel, the couplet adds but little to our information regarding the seven brothers and sisters. I may observe, however, that the junction of the two names of *Ambá* and *Kápi* is most probably as old as the time of Ptolemy, who places a town named *Amakatis*, or *Amakapis*, to the west of the Rávi, and in the immediate neighbourhood of *Labokla* or Lahor.*

The mound of Amba is 900 feet square, and from 25 to 30 feet in height; but as the whole of the surrounding fields, for a breadth of about 600 feet, are covered with broken pottery, the full extent of the ancient town may be taken at not less than 8,000 feet, or upwards of 3 miles in circuit. The mound itself is covered with broken bricks of large size, amongst which I discovered several pieces of carved brick. I found also one piece of grey sandstone, and a piece of speckled iron ore, similar to that of Sangala, and of the Karâna Hills. According to the statements of the people, the place was founded by Raja Amba 1800 or 1900 years ago, or just about the beginning of the Christian era. This date would make the three brothers contemporary with Hushka, Jushka, and Kanishka,—the three great kings of the *Yuchi* or *Kushân* race of Indo-Scythians, with whom I am on other grounds inclined to identify them. At present, however, I am not prepared to enter upon the long discussion which would be necessary to establish their identity.

XXV. SARHIND.

The large town of Sarhind owed its sudden rise to the Pathân Emperor, Firuz Tughlak, who in A. D. 1360 made it the head of a separate district under the charge of Zia-uddin Barani, the historian. At the same time he built a fort called Firuzpur, which must have been of considerable strength, as only seventy years later a rebel Turki slave, named Folâd, held it for no less than six years against his suzerain the King of Delhi. But before this time it was

* The legend of Rásálu, and his demon foe, Sir Kap, is well known also at Pinjor to the east of the Satlaj, and at Sahâranpur to the east of the Jumna. I believe that its extension must be attributed to the Gujars. The identification of Ptolemy's *Labokla* with *Lahor* was first made in Kiepert's Map of India according to Ptolemy, which accompanied Lassen's 'Indische Alterthumskunde.' It has since been confirmed by the researches of Mr. T. H. Thornton, in his "History and Antiquities of Lahor."

a place of some note, as it is mentioned by Ferishta as the most easterly possession of the Brahman kings of Kabul. After their subjection by the King of Ghazni, it became the frontier town of the Musalmâns, and its name of *Sar-Hind* or "frontier of Hind," is popularly assigned to this period, when it was the boundary town between the Hindus and the Muhammadans. Its actual foundation is generally attributed to a Chohân Thâkur or Raja, who about 900 years ago brought people from *Borâs* and *Nolâs*, two very old towns which are said to have been built by Raja Bali and Raja Nala. *Borâs* is situated at 8 miles to the east south-east and *Nolâs* at 14 miles to the south-east of Sarhind. There are ruined mounds in which old coins are found at both sites; and at Nolâs there is a stone temple with a stone *lingâm* called *Naleswara*, near which an annual fair is held on the 4th of the waning moon of Phâlguna.

Other accounts attribute the foundation of Sarhind to the time of *Sikandar Julkarn*, or Alexander the Great. A fakir flying from Sikandar with the *Páras*, or "philosophers' stone," and being closely followed by the king, threw the stone into a tank near *Miran-ka-dera*, to the north-west of the present city of Sarhind. Sikandar sent two elephants into the water to search for the *Páras*, when one of their iron fetters was turned into gold, but the stone was never found. So the king pitched his tent near the tank and planted a grove of mangoes, and stayed there searching for the *Páras* until the trees bore fruit. He remained there for twelve years, when he abandoned the vain search, and filling up the tank, he dug another, which still exists, called *Bibi-Sar*, or "the lady's tank." This tank, however, is usually attributed to *Háj-Táj*, or *Háji* and *Táji*, the two daughters of Sikandar, who are said to have died unmarried. Their tombs are still pointed out near the tank, and about one-quarter of a mile to the north is the *Bâgh Sikandar*, or grove of mangoe trees which is said to have been planted by Alexander.

According to the more popular account, a holy man, named Mir Miran, or Amir Sayid, received the king's daughter *Háj-Táj* in marriage, along with a jaghir in the neighbourhood of Sarhind. The lady made the tank now called *Bibi-Sar*, and when her husband died, the king built

over him the large stone tomb which stands near the *Bibi-Sar* Tank. This tradition is supported by the fact that the neighbouring village is still called Mir Miran-ka-Dera. But of Mir Miran himself nothing whatever is known, except that he lived in the time of the Pathân kings. This, indeed, is evident from the style of the tomb, which is a very fine specimen of the later Pathân architecture. I conclude, therefore, that he must have lived after the time of Firuz Tughlak, or some time during the fifteenth century. A similar date may also be deduced from the title of Mir, which would seem not to have been used in India by holy men until after the time of Timur. If any dependence could be placed on the name of the king, I should be inclined to assign Mir Miran to the time of Sikandar Lodi, in the beginning of the 16th century. From the late date of the tomb it is certain, therefore, that Sarhind could not have been founded by the saint, although his residence at the place would perhaps have contributed to its aggrandizement. I think it highly probable that the fakir of one legend is the saint of the other, as the same story of the *hansas*, or wild geese, dropping pearls into the *Hansala Nala* during the stay of the fakir, is related also of the saint.

But Sarhind must have been a place of some consequence even in the time of the Hindus, as a governor was appointed to it by Kutb-ud-din-Aibeg, the first Muhammadan King of Delhi.* In A. D. 1246 it formed part of the viceroyalty of the Panjâb under the celebrated Shir Khan, who re-built its fort, but it still had a separate governor under his jurisdiction.† On the death of Shir Khan in A. D. 1268, when the different districts of the Panjâb were placed under separate governors, Sarhind again became an independent province of the Delhi empire. Under the Khilji kings, however, it was once more attached to the viceroyalty of Samâna, in which state it continued until A. D. 1360, when the fort was re-built and made the head of an independent province by Firuz Tughlak. From this time Sarhind continued to increase in wealth and importance

---

* Briggs' Ferishta, I., 206. Minhâj-us-Sirâj, in the Tabakât-i-Nâsiri, states that the fort of Sarhind was taken by Muhammad Ghori in A. H. 587, or A. D. 1191. Previous to this the fort had been in his possession, but it was surrendered to Rai Pithora after a siege of *thirteen* months.—See Sir Henry Elliot's Muhammadan Historians by Dowson, II., 295 & 296.

† Briggs' Ferishta, I., 225, 241.

until the time of Akbar, when the rival cities of Sunâm and Samâna were both made subordinate to it, and included in the Sarhind Sirkâr of the Subah of Delhi. Its prosperity was further increased by the gradual encroachments of the sandy desert, which at last forced the Mogal Emperors to abandon the old lines of road by Hânsi and Sunâm, and to seek for a permanent line farther to the north by Sarhind and Ambâla. For the century and a half that intervened between the accession of Akbar and the death of Aurangzib, Sarhind was one of the most flourishing cities of the Mogal Empire, and to this period belong nearly all the existing buildings both public and private. Some idea of the great extent of the city during this period may be formed from the popular belief that it contained no less than 360 mosques, with as many tombs, forts, sarâs, and wells. Many of the tombs and mosques are yet standing, and numerous wells may still be seen amongst the billowy heaps of the vast sea of the brick ruins which now surrounds this old city for several miles.

But the prosperity of Sarhind closed with the reign of Aurangzib, who died in A. D. 1707. Two years later the city was captured and plundered by the Sikh Chief, Banda, who put the Governor, Vazir Khan, to death, in revenge for the cruel murder of Guru Govind's family. In 1713 his successor, Bâyazid Khan, was killed, and Sarhind was again plundered by the victorious Sikhs. Its further decay was arrested for a time by the capture and death of Banda in 1716, and the consequent dispersion of the Sikh troops. But in 1758, when they had recovered their strength, it was plundered for the third time by the Sikh soldiers of Adina Beg's army, who expelled the Afghan Governor of Ahmad Shah. In 1761 Ahmad Shah reinstated his Governor, Zein Khan, in person, and in the end of the following year he again returned and frustrated the designs of the Sikhs by defeating them with great slaughter between Ludiâna and Sarhind. But though checked, the Sikhs were not much weakened, and in December 1763 they managed to assemble another large army for a fourth attack on Sarhind. Zein Khan marched out to oppose them, but he was defeated and killed, and Sarhind was taken and totally destroyed by the vengeful Sikhs who had not yet forgotten the murder of Guru Govind's family. Even to this day every Sikh, on

passing through Sarhind, carries away a brick which he is supposed to throw into the Jumna as he goes towards Haridwâr, and into the Sutlej on his return to the Panjâb, with the hope that in time the detested city will thus be utterly removed from the face of the earth. The Muhammadan families who escaped retired to the village of Bassi, four miles to the northward, which has now become a large and flourishing town.

After its destruction in 1763, Sarhind remained desolate for several years, until it was partially occupied by the Sikhs of Patiâla. In 1838, when I first saw its ruins, they were surrounded by a thick jungle of *Palás*, or *Dhák* trees. This has now disappeared, and when I visited the place in 1864 I saw only fine fields covered with crops of green corn waving amidst the ruins. At present there are said to be upwards of 3,000 inhabited houses, which would give a population of more than 15,000 souls.

The ruins of Sarhind, as already mentioned, consist almost entirely of Muhammadan buildings of a late period. With the single exception of Mir Miran's tomb, they are all of brick which has once been plastered, but the loss of the stucco has hastened their decay, and has deprived them of much of their beauty. Some of them are still remarkable for their size, but the greater number are mere shapeless heaps of ruin.

The finest and oldest building at Sarhind is the tomb of Mir Miran. It forms a square of 47 feet outside, and 26 feet 4 inches inside, with a height of about 32 feet. It is built entirely of stone, and is surmounted by a large central dome, raised on an octagonal base, with a smaller dome, raised on a square base, crowning each of the four covers. Each of the four sides is pierced by a recessed doorway with a pointed arch, which is covered by a second loftier arch of larger span. The dead walls are relieved by three rows of recesses, surmounted by battlements, and ornamented with numerous squares of blue enamelled tiles. The general effect is decidedly good, and altogether the tomb of Mir Miran is one of the most pleasing as well as one of the most perfect specimens of the later Pathân or earlier Afghan architecture.

The largest tomb at Sarhind is a plain brick building attributed to Sayid Khan, Pathân. It is a square of 77½

feet outside and of 27½ feet inside, the thick walls being pierced from the outside by deeply recessed rooms, which are roofed with pointed half domes. At the four corners there are very small square turrets which look mean and insignificant beside the lofty central dome of about 40 feet diameter, which crowns the building. This dome springs from a tall base or neck about 20 feet in height, and is surmounted by an octagonal cupola which forms an elegant and appropriate summit to the whole edifice. I notice this last fact the more particularly, because the pinnacle or cupola of most Pathân tombs is usually wanting altogether, or is too much ruined to show its design.

The next tomb in point of size is another red brick building attributed to Khoja, or Khwâja Khan. This is a square of 68 feet outside and 23½ feet inside. The great dome is 36 feet in diameter outside, and 7 feet thick. At each of the four corners there is a small cupola standing on a base 14 feet square. As the general style of this building approaches very closely to that of Mir Miran's tomb, it may be assigned with great probability to the fifteenth century.

The smaller tombs it is unnecessary to describe, but I may mention the octagonal brick tomb of *Chirka Choti* or the "thread maker," and the pretty little octagonal tomb of *Pirbandi Nakshawála*, or "the painter." The latter is an octagonal building on open arches, surmounted by the well known pear-shaped dome of the Mogal period; but the body of the building is profusely covered with paintings of flowers, most probably designed by the *Nakshawála* himself, and the roof is entirely covered with glazed tiles arranged in a novel and pleasing manner, which I have not seen repeated elsewhere. The thin ribs, or melon-like divisions of the dome, are marked by dark blue lines, and the intervals are filled by colored tiles, laid herring-bone fashion, in a gradation of shades beginning from pale yellowish green at the top down to dark green at the bottom. Each of these spaces therefore represents a large green leaf with stem and fibres marked by the thin lines of junction of the tiles. The octagonal base of the dome is covered with three rows of yellow tiles divided by thin lines of blue, the whole surmounted by a diamond pattern of yellow and blue. Altogether this is one of the most pleasing specimens of glazed ornamentation that I have yet met with.

The only existing mosque that is worth mentioning is that which bears the name of *Sadan Kasai*, or Sadan the Butcher, to the north of the present town. This Masjid was originally 140 feet long and 70 feet broad, but, since I first saw it in 1838, the west end has fallen down, and the whole building is otherwise in much worse order. The central room is covered by a dome 45 feet in diameter, but the narrower side rooms are covered in a peculiar manner by two small domes each, instead of by the usual oblong domes of the later Mogals. I conclude, therefore, that this mosque must belong either to the close of the Afghan period, or to the beginning of the earlier Mogal period. Its approximate date may be fixed at about A. D. 1500.

The *Haveli* or dwelling house of *Sahâbat* Beg, or *Sandik* Beg, is only worthy of notice as, perhaps, the largest existing specimen of the ugly domestic architecture of the wealthy Muhammadans of the Mogal Empire. It consists of two great piles of brick building each about 60 feet square, and 70 or 80 feet in height, connected by high dead walls, which enclose a court yard. Externally, the dead walls are divided into ten rows of square panels mounting one above the other with monotonous regularity, which is broken, but not relieved, by a single piece of lattice work on each side. Here and there may be observed a few small square holes which are much more suggestive of the dreary cells of a prison than of the cheerful rooms of a nobleman's palace.

The only other building that is worthy of notice is the great *Sarâi*, or staging palace of the Mogal Emperors, to the south-east of the city. A *sarâi* was built at every stage on the road from Agra to Lahor, *viâ* Delhi and Sarhind. Many of these buildings still exist, and most of them are still occupied for different purposes. The sarâi at Phalor was turned into a fort by the Sikhs, and is now used as an arsenal by the British Government. The sarâi at Sarhind was unoccupied when I saw it in 1838, but it is now used as a public audience hall by the Patiâla authorities, to whom it is only known as the *Âm-khâs*, and under this name it is inserted in the Atlas of India, Sheet No. 48. The usual *sarâi* is a large square enclosure surrounded by a high wall, with a gateway towards the high road, a large building in the middle of each of the other three sides, and

a continuous suite of small rooms on all four sides. But the sarâi of Sarhind is remarkable for its superior accommodation and additional buildings, which, as they must have contributed to the comfort and even luxury of the place, would seem to show that the Emperors were in the habit of halting at Sarhind. This *sarâi* consists of a large enclosure with the royal apartments arranged on all four sides, and a tank in the middle of the square. The enclosure is 600 feet in length from east to west, and 475 feet from north to south. The tank is 320 feet by 280 feet, with a flight of eight steps on all four sides, and an arched causeway or bridge passing through the middle of it. The principal apartments, which are on the south side, consist of a block 97 feet long by 65 feet, and on the opposite side across the tank there is a *Shish-Mahal*, or "hall of mirrors," for public audiences. At the south-east and south-west corners there are hamàms and private apartments, and on the east and west sides there are suites of servants' rooms and stables.

During my stay at Sarhind I made diligent enquiries for old coins, which are found in considerable numbers after the annual rains. I obtained numerous specimens of the Muhammadan coinage from the earliest kings down to the Mogal Emperor, Muhammad Shah, dated in A. H. 1138, or A. D. 1725. I got also four coins of the early Brahman Kings of Kabul who reigned from about A. D. 900 to 950, with a few specimens of the later Indo-Scythian coinage, and a single coin of the great *Indo-Scythian* prince Kanishka. The conclusion which I draw from these coins is, that Sarhind was certainly a flourishing town in A. D. 900, and that it was most probably in existence as early as the reign of Kanishka at the beginning of the Christian era.

XXVI. THANESAR, OR STHANESWARA.

The name of *Thânesar or Sthâneswara* is said to be derived either from the *Sthâna* or abode of *Iswara* or Mahadeva, or from the junction of his names of *Sthânu* and *Iswara.* The town is one of the oldest and most celebrated places in India, but the earliest certain notice of it under this name is by the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang in A. D. 634, although it is probably mentioned by Ptolemy as *Batan-Kaisara,* for which we should, perhaps, read *Satan-aisara*

for the Sanskrit *Sthâneswara*. But the place was more famous for its connexion with the history of the Pândus, than for its possession of a temple of Mahâdeva, whose worship, in India at least, must be of much later date than the heroes of the Mahâbhârata. All the country immediately around Thânesar, between the *Saraswati* and *Drishadwati* Rivers, is known by the name of *Kuru-Kshetra*, that is the "field or land of *Kuru*," who is said to have become an ascetic on the bank of the great holy lake to the south of the town. This lake is called by various names, as *Brahmâ-Sar*, *Râma-hrad*, *Vâyu* or *Vâyava-Sar*, and *Pavana-Sar*. The first name is attributed to Brahmâ, because he performed a sacrifice on its banks. The second name is derived from *Parasu Râma*, who is said to have spilt the blood of the *Kshetriyas* in this place. The last two titles are derived from the names of the god of wind, on account of the pleasant breezes which blew over the waters of the lake during Kuru's period of asceticism. This lake is the centre of attraction for most pilgrims; but all round it for many miles is holy ground, and the number of holy places connected with the *Kauravas* and *Pândavas*, and with other heroes of antiquity, is very great indeed. According to popular belief, the exact number is 360, but the list given in the *Kuru-Kshetra Mahâtmya* is limited to 180 places, of which one-half, or 91, are to the north along the line of the venerated Saraswati River. There are, however, in this list so many omissions of places of acknowledged importance, such as the *Nâgahrada* at *Pundri*, the *Vyâsasthala* at Basthali, the *Parâsaratirath* at Bâlu, and the *Vishnu-tirath* at Sagga near *Narâna*, that I feel inclined to believe that the popular number of 360 may not be exaggerated.

The *Chakra* or district of *Kuru-Kshetra* is also called *Dharma-Kshetra*, or the "holy land," which is evidently the orginal of Hwen Thsang's "*le champ du bonheur.*" In his time the circle of pilgrimage was limited to 200 *li*, which, at his valuation of 40 *li* to the Indian *yojana* of 4 *kos* is equivalent to 20 *kos*.* In the time of Akbar, however, the circle had already been increased to 40 *kos*,† and at the time of my visit it had been extended to 48 *kos*, although

* Julien's Hwen Thsang, II., 213.

† Gladwin's Ain Akbari; II., 217.

the 40 *kos* circuit was also well known, and is, indeed, noted by Mr. Bowring. The circuit stated by the Chinese pilgrim could not have been *more* than 35 or 40 miles, at 7 or 8 miles, to the *yojana*, but the circle mentioned by Abul Fazl could not be less than 53 miles, at the usual valuation of the Padshahi *kos* at 1⅓ miles, and might, at Sir H. Elliot's valuation of Akbar's *kos* at more than 2½ miles, be extended to upwards of 100 miles. It is possible, indeed, to make these different statements agree very closely by changing the pilgrim's number to 400 *li*, or 10 *yojanas*, which are equivalent to 40 *kos*, or 80 miles, and by estimating Abul Fazl's 40 *kos* at the usual Indian rate of about 2 miles each. I am myself quite satisfied of the necessity for making this correction in the pilgrim's number, as the narrow extent of his circle would not only shut out the equally famous shrines at *Prithudaka*, or *Pehoa* on the Saraswati, as well as the *Kausiki-Sangam*, or junction of the Kausiki and *Drishadwati* Rivers, but would actually exclude the Drishadwati itself, which in the *Vâmana Purâna* is specially mentioned as being within the limits of the holy land.

Dirgh-Kshetre Kurukshetre dirgha Satantra yire
Nudyastire Drishadvatyâh punyayâh suchirodhasah.

"They were making the great sacrifice of *Satranta* in the wide region of *Kurukshetra* on the banks of the *Drishadwati* esteemed holy on account of its virtues." This river is also specially mentioned in the *Mahâbhârata* as being the southern boundary of the holy land.*

Dakshinena Sarasvatyâh Drishadvatyuttarena-cha
Ye vasanti Kurukshetre te vasanti trivishtape.

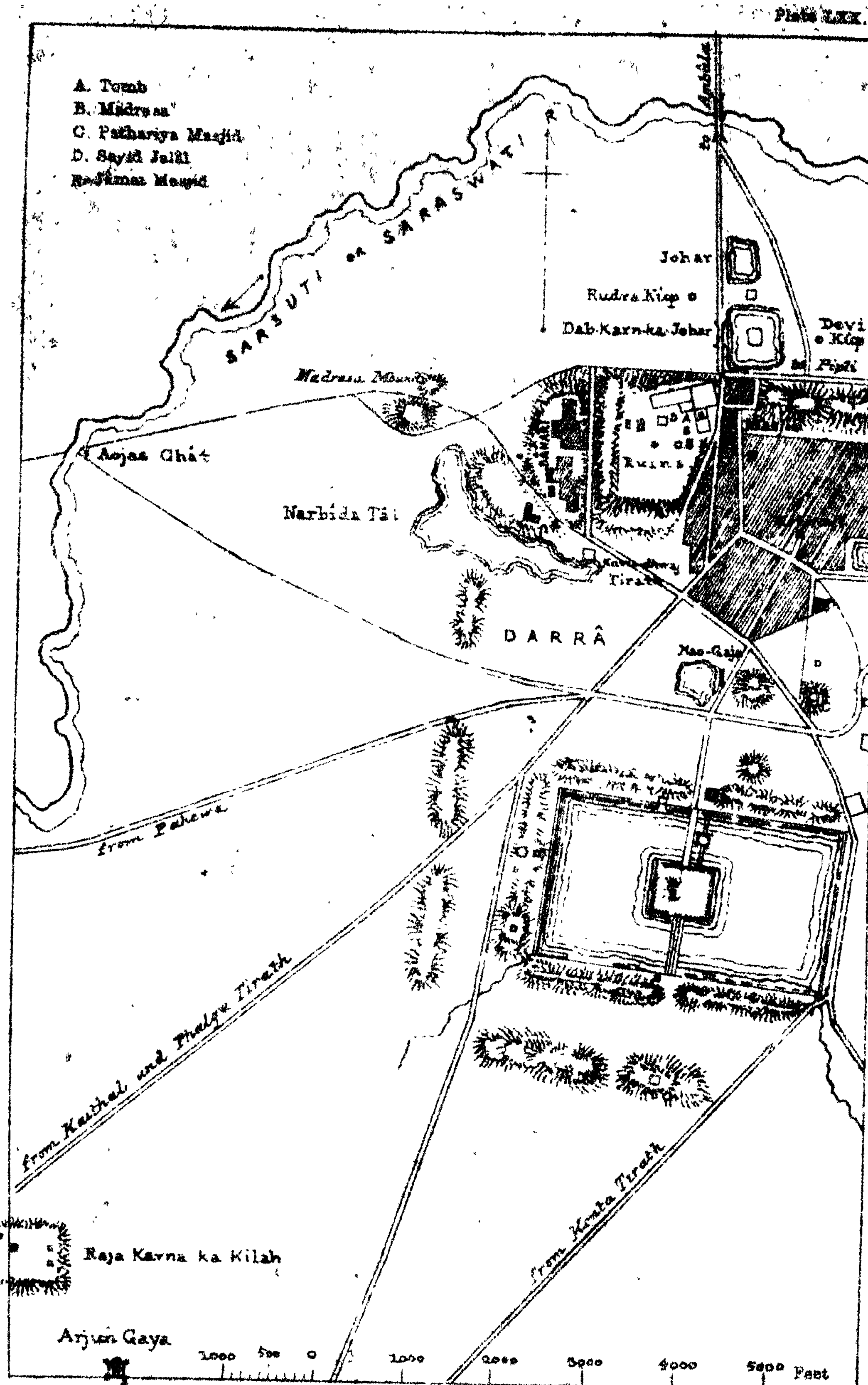
"South from *Saraswati*, and north from *Drishadwati*, they who dwell in *Kurukshetra* live in paradise." From these texts it is certain that the holy land of *Kurukshetra* must have extended to the *Drishadwati* in the time of Hwen Thsang, and therefore that his limitation of its circuit to 200 *li*, or 20 *kos*, must be erroneous.

In another passage of the *Mahâbhârata*, the boundaries of the holy land are even more explicitly detailed.†

---

* Vana-parva . ch. 83—V. 4.

† Ibid—ch. 83, last verse.



A. Cunningham del.

Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta.

Tad Ratnukâratnukyor yadantaram Râmâhradânân-cha Bhachaknukasya-cha.

Etat Kurukshetra, Samanta-panchakam, Pitamahâsyottara Vediruchyate.

"The tract between *Ratnuka, Aratnuka, Râmâhrada*, and *Bhachaknuka*, is called *Kurukshetra, Samantapanchaka*, and the northern *Vedi* of *Pita-maha* or Brahmâ." As this last name of *Brahmâ-vedi* is equivalent to *Brahmâvartta*, we have another testimony in the Code of Manu for extending the holy land to the banks of the Drishadwati.*

Sarasvati Drishadvatyordeva nadyor yadantaram.

Tandeva nirmitam-desan Brahmâvarttan prachakshate.

"That region, made by the gods, which is between the *Saraswati* and *Drishadwati* Rivers, is called *Brahmâvartta*."

With the explicit statements of these texts before us, there ought to have been little or no difficulty in ascertaining the precise limits of the *Dharma-Kshetra*, or holy land in the neighbourhood of Thanesar. We have given as the names of two rivers which form its northern and southern boundaries, and the names of the four places of pilgrimage at the four corners of the holy circuit. The position of *Ratnuka*, indeed, is well known as the *Ratan Jaksh*, or *Ratna yaksha*, at the north-east corner of the circuit, and four miles to the east of Thanesar. But the positions of the other three places I have been unable to verify exactly, as I could find but very few people who agreed about them. According to some people, the *Aratnuka Yaksha*, or north-west corner, was on the Sarsuti, only 4 miles to the west of Pehoa. According to others, it was also called *Bahar Yaksh* which they identified with Bahar on the Sarsuti, no less than 22 miles to the west of Pehoa, and 40 miles to the west of Ratan Jaksh. The position of the south-west corner, called *Râmâhrada* in the *Mahâbhârata*, is equally difficult to discover, as there are no less than four holy tanks of this name, each of which has its advocates. According to some, the true Râmâhrada is only 2 *kos* from *Jhind*, and no less than 28 *kos* beyond *Kaithal*, or from 65 to 70 miles distant from Thanesar, which is utterly impossible. I believe that this Râmâhrada is a late invention of interested Brahmans who wished to curry favor with

* Haughton's Institutes of Manu II, 17.

the Sikh Raja of Jhind by bringing his capital within the range of the holy circuit of Kurukshetra. Others referred to a Râmâhrada near Pundri, between Nisang and Kaithal, about 18 or 20 miles to the south of Pehoa, which is the very position in which the south-west corner of the 40 *kos* circuits should be looked for, but I could not learn anything more definite about it. The position of the south-east corner, called *Bachaknuka Yaksha*, or *Bachakruka*, is equally doubtful. Some pointed to the neighbourhood of Safidan, which is many miles to the south of the *Râkshasi*, or Drishadwati River. Others said it was only 4 *kos* from Nisang, in which position there is a village called *Bajhere*, and the lake of *Kachwa* close to the bloody battle-field of *Narâna*, and from 18 to 20 miles to the south of Ratan Jaksh and the same distance to the east of Pundri. As no one seemed to know anything about the place, I am unable to identify its exact position. When encamped near Ratan Jaksh, I was informed that the south-east corner was at *Trikka Jaksh* 40 *kos* to the south, that the *Râmâhrada* was 40 *kos* to the west of *Trikka*, and that *Bahar Jaksh* was 40 *kos* to the north of Râmâhrada. As this would make the circuit into a square of 40 *kos* each side, and would carry the boundary beyond Pânipat to the Râmâhrada of Jhind, I am satisfied that it is an invention of late date to please the Raja of Jhind. I propose to complete my enquiries on this subject during the ensuing cold season, but I may now state my belief that the extent of the holy circuits of Kurukshetra will be found within the limits which I have here indicated. The circuit thus formed from Ratan Jaksh on the Sarsuti westward to Pehoa, from thence southward to beyond Pundri, from thence eastward *viâ* Nisang to Narâna on the Râkshasi, and from thence northward to Râtan Jaksh, is as nearly as possible 80 miles, or 40 *kos*. Within these limits lie all the famous places connected with the history of the Pândus, and with their predecessors Raja Vena and Raja Prithu, some of which I now propose to describe.

The *Sarsuti*, in Sanskrit *Saraswati*, is too well known to require more than a mere notice. Its name is derived from *Saras*, a "lake or pool," and *vati*, "like," meaning the "river of lakes or pools," a character which it still bears, as it partially dries up early in the year and becomes a mere succession of pools without any visible stream. The

Brahmans have cleverly taken advantage of these pools, to each of which they have attached a legend with its accompanying shrine. Thus, along the bank of the Sarsuti to the north of Thânesar, from *Ratan Jaksh* on the east to *Aujas-Ghât* on the west, a distance of only 5 miles, there are no less than 34 shrines, or 7 shrines in one mile, or a shrine at every 250 yards. Of these the most celebrated is the *Kula-Prâchin*, or *Ganga-tirath*, in which the Ganges herself is said to have bathed to get rid of the load of sin with which the people had defiled her waters. Another famous place is the *Sthânu-tirath*, where *Vena Raja* dedicated a shrine to Siva, under the name of *Sthânu*. According to the legend, the leprous *Raja Ben*, whose name I have found as widely diffused as those of the Pândus themselves, while travelling in a *duli*, was set down by the bearers on the bank of the Saraswati. A dog crossed the river and stopped near the *duli* to shake himself, when some water was sprinkled on the Raja, who was astonished on seeing that each spot thus wetted immediately became whole. He at once plunged into the stream and came out entirely cleansed from his leprosy. These two legends are alone sufficient to account for the deeply-rooted belief of the people in the purifying quality of the waters of the Saraswati. Some places refer to the destruction of the Kshatriyas by Parasu-Râma, and other spots are dedicated to the story of the Pândus, such as *Kshiriki-vâsa* and *Asthipur*. In the first of these places the water of the river was changed to milk *(kshira)* for the use of the wearied *Pândus*, and in the other their bones *(asthi)* were collected together in a heap. In A. D. 634 these bones were shown to the Chinese pilgrim, Hwen Thsang, who records that they were of very large size.* All my enquiries for them were fruitless, but the site of *Asthipur* is still pointed out in the plain to the west of the city towards Aujasghat.

The great lake of *Kuru-Kshetra* is an oblong sheet of water 3,546 feet in length from east to west, and 1,900 feet in breadth.† Lloyd estimated it at one mile by half a mile, but he afterwards gives the breadth as three times 235 paces, or 705 paces, which, even at 2½ feet each, are equal to only

---

* Julien's Hwen Thsang, II., 214.

† See Plate LXXI. for a Map of Thânesar.

1,864 feet, thus proving the accuracy of my measurement, and the incorrectness of his own estimate. In the middle of the lake there is an island 580 feet square, which is connected with the north and south banks by two broken bridges 26 feet broad. In the west half of the island, there is a deep square tank called *Chandra-kupa*, or "Chandra's well," which is one of the places of pilgrimage, although it is not enumerated in the list which I obtained from the *Mahâtmya*. The island is bounded by a brick wall, and the lake itself is surrounded by a continuous flight of brick steps. Both of these works, as well as the two bridges, are attributed to Raja Birbal, the witty companion of Akbar. The whole place is said to have been desecrated in the reign of Aurangzib, who built a castle on the island called Mogalpâra, from which his soldiers could fire upon any pilgrims who might venture to bathe in the holy lake. But with the decline of the Mogal Empire, and the consequent ascendancy of the Sikhs, many of the old shrines have been restored, and new shrines have been erected, to which the Hindu pilgrims now flock in thousands upon thousands. But the whole place has an appearance of desolation and decay in spite of the crowds of pilgrims with their gay-looking water baskets crowned with red and white flags. This holy tank is mentioned by Abu Rihân, who records on the authority of Varâha Mihira, that during eclipses of the moon the waters of all other tanks visit the tank at Thânesar, so that the bather in this tank at the moment of eclipse obtains the merit of bathing in all the other tanks! *

This notice by Varâha Mihira carries us back at once to A. D. 500, when the holy tank of Thânesar was in full repute. But the Pauranic legends attribute to it an antiquity long anterior even to the Pândus themselves. On its banks *Kuru*, the common ancestor of the *Kauravas* and *Pândavas*, sat in ascetic abstraction; here Parasu-Râma slew the Kshatriyas, and here Pururavas having lost the nymph *Urvasi*, at length met his celestial bride at Kuru-kshetra "sporting with four other nymphs of heaven in a lake beautiful with lotuses." But the story of the horse-headed *Dadhyanch*, or *Dadhicha*, is perhaps even older than the legend of Pururavas, as it is alluded to in the Rig Veda.† "With his bones

* Reinaud, Memoire sur l' Inde, p. 287.

† Wilson's Translation, I., p. 216.

Indra slew ninety times nine *Vritras.*" The scholiast explains this by saying that the thunderbolt of Indra was formed of the horse's head, with which the Aswins had supplied the headless Dadhyanch that he might teach his science to them. According to the legend, Dadhyanch during his life-time had been the terror of the Asuras, who, after his death, multiplied and overspread the whole earth. Then "Indra inquiring what had become of him, and whether nothing of him had been left behind, was told that the horse's head was still in existence, but no one knew where. Search was made for it, and it was found in the lake *Saryanâvat* on the skirts of Kuru-kshetra." I infer that this is only another name for the great tank of Kurukshetra, and consequently that the scared pool is at least as old as the Rig Veda itself. I think it also probable that the *Chakra-tirath*, or spot where Vishnu is said to have taken up his *Chakra*, or discus, to kill Bhishma, may have been the original spot where Indra slew the Vritras, and that the bones, which were afterwards assigned to the Pândus, may have been those of the Vritras of the older legend. In support of this suggestion, I may mention that the *Chakra-tirath* is close to *Asthipur*, or the "place of bones."

In the time of Mahmud of Ghazni, the *Chakra-tirath* was the most famous shrine of Kuru-kshetra. Abu Rihân records that when the Muhammadans captured Thânesar, they found a statue which the people believed to be as old as the war of the Kauravas and Pândavas. This statue, which was somewhat above life-size, was called *Chakra Swâmi*, or the "lord of the discus," one of the well known names of Vishnu. In Ferishta's history this name has been altered to *Jag-Soma*, which in the Persian characters is an easy misreading for *Chakra Swâmi*. According to both authors, the statue was carried to Ghazni to be broken and trodden under foot.*

The only other places of consequence in the immediate neighbourhood of Thânesar, are the *Kurudhwaj-Tirath* and Raja *Karn-ka-kilah*. The first of these is a ruined temple at the east end of the *Narbida-Tâl*, and close to the south-west corner of the old fort. On this spot Raja Kuru is said to have set up his flag. I found here several fragments of

* Reinaud, Fragments Arabes, &c., p. 101, note—Briggs, Ferishta, I. 52.

sculpture connected with the worship of Siva, but the most certain evidence of its antiquity is the number of large bricks, from 9 to 10½ inches in breadth, which are built into the walls of the two modern temples.

Raja Karn-ka-kilah is a huge mound upwards of one mile to the south-west of the holy tank. It is 500 feet square at top, and about 800 feet square at base, with a general height of 30 feet, which, on the western side, rises to 40 feet. There are no ancient remains except a large dry well, which is 13 feet in diameter and 53 feet deep. The mound is covered with fragments of pottery, and broken bricks of the same dimensions as those of *Kurudhwaj*. This place is said to have been the stronghold of Raja *Karna*, the half-brother of the *Pándavas*, but engaged on the side of the *Kauravas*, as the General of Duryodhan. *Karna* was so famous for his liberality that it has now passed into a proverb, and people say "what is that compared to the munificence of Raja Karna."

Thânesar itself consists of an old ruined fort, about 1,200 feet square at top, with the modern town on a mound to the east, and a suburb, called *Báhari*, on another mound to the west. Altogether the three old mounds occupy a space nearly one mile in length from east to west, and about 2,000 feet in average breadth. These dimensions give a circuit of 14,000 feet, or less than 2¾ miles, which is somewhat under the 20 *li*, or 3⅜ miles of Hwen Thsang. But before the inroads of the Muhammadans, it is certain from the number of brick ruins still existing, as well as from the statements of the people themselves, that the whole of the intervening space between the present town and the lake, which is now called *Darrá*, must have formed part of the old city. Taking in this space, the original city would have been as nearly as possible an exact square of one mile on each side, which would give a circuit of 4 miles, or a little more than the measurement of the Chinese pilgrim. According to tradition, the fort was built by Raja *Dilipa*, a descendant of Kuru, five generations anterior to the Pândus. It is said to have had 52 towers or bastions, of which some remains still exist. On the west side the earthen ramparts rise to a height of 60 feet above the road, but the mass of the interior is not more than 40 feet high. The whole mound is

thickly covered with large broken bricks, but, with the exception of three old wells, there are no remains of any antiquity. The first well, in front of the ruined Jâmai Masjid, is 9½ feet broad and 66 feet deep. The second well, called *OtwâlaKûa*, is 12 feet broad and 54 deep. The third well, in the very centre of the fort, is now only a deep hole, its brick walls having been carried away by the people. At the north-east corner of the fort there are some Muhammadan buildings which will be described presently.

When the Chinese pilgrim, Hwen Thsang, visited *Sa-ta-ni-she-fa-lo*, or Sthâneswara, in A. D. 634, he found only three Buddhist monasteries containing 700 monks, while the Brahmanical temples amounted to 100, and the Brahmanists of different sects were very numerous. At 4 or 5 *li*, or three-quarters of a mile, to the north-west of the town, there was a brick *stupa* of Asoka, 200 feet in height, which was said to contain a portion of relics of Buddha. The bricks were of a reddish yellow color, and very smooth and glossy. In the position here indicated I found two ruined mounds, of which the larger is known as the *Madrasa*, or "College," and the smaller is covered with Muhammadan tombs. No remains of the Madrasa now exist, but the mound is thickly covered with large broken bricks, like those at *Kurudhwaja*, and of a reddish yellow, or yellowish red colour, exactly like that of a Gosain's freshly-dyed clothes. But they were all mouldering away under the action of saltpetre, and I could not find even a single fragment of glossy or shining brick to verify my identification of this mound with the stupa of Hwen Thsang. It is about 400 feet long and 300 feet broad at base, with a height of from 20 to 25 feet. The smaller mound to the north-east is about 150 feet in diameter by 15 feet in height. It is probable that this smaller mound may be the remains of the stupa from which all the larger pieces of brick have been carried away, and the larger mound may be the ruins of an extensive monastery. It is certain at least that the three monasteries, containing 700 monks, must have been of large size, as the usual number of monks in a monastery would appear to have been only about 100. As I propose to make a further examination of this mound, and of the other ruins at Thânesar during the ensuing cold season of 1865-1866, I will reserve all further remarks for a future report.

The only Muhammadan remains at Thânesar that are worthy of notice are two masjids, one madrasa, and one tomb. The two masjids are known as the *Patharia* or "stone masjid," and the *Chini*, or "glazed-tile masjid." The former is in the old fort to the west of the madrasa. It is a small building, being only 37 feet long by 11½ feet broad inside, but it is remarkable for its minars which are attached to the ends of the *back* wall instead of the front wall, as is usual. These minars are fluted below with alternately round angular flutes like the Kuth Minar, and as they have a great slope, I think that the building may be assigned with some probability to the time of Firuz Tughlak, or towards the end of the 14th century. The *Chini Masjid* is situated in the city near the north-east angle of the fort. It has two short stout minars, which, as well as the walls of the mosque, have once been covered with glazed tiles. Most of the tiles are now gone, but as the remaining tiles are of small size, and each piece of one uniform color, I believe that the building may be assigned with much probability to the reign of Aurangzib.

The *madrasa* and tomb stand together in a lofty position at the north-east corner of the fort. The *madrasa* is a stone building 174 feet square outside, with a deep arcade of nine openings on each side, forming an interior court-yard of 120 feet on each face. The main entrance is on the east side by a steep flight of steps from the main road between the city and fort; but there is a smaller doorway in the south-west corner towards the *Pathariya Masjid*. The building is formed entirely of the spoils of Hindu temples, the arcades being supported on plain Hindu pillars. In the court-yard, however, I found a portion of an ornamented pillar 2 feet square, with the corners recessed, and with the remains of Hindu figures on its faces. I found also a round stone, 19½ inches in diameter and 11 inches thick, with a hole pierced through the middle. This is well known as the *Tusbih-ke-dánâ*, or "rosary berry;" but from its shape and size I have no doubt that it once formed part of the pinnacle of a Hindu temple. Nothing is known of the date of the *madrasa*, but from its evident connexion with the tomb, I infer that it must have been built at the same time as a part of the religious establishment of the saint's shrine.

The tomb is an octagonal building of white marble, 18 feet on each side, and 44 feet in diameter, crowned by a marble dome, and surrounded by a court-yard 174 feet square, paved with marble. From its lofty position, the floor of the court-yard being 41 feet above the ground, the white marble dome of this shrine forms a most conspicuous object for many miles all round. There is nothing particularly curious in the building itself; but the white marble and the noble position combined, make it one of the most striking and picturesque monuments in North India. Its pear-shaped dome and flowered marble lattice declare it to be of modern date, which is supported by the belief of the people, who universally attribute the shrine to the *Pir*, or spiritual adviser, of Dârâ Shekoh. There is a difference, however, about the name of the Pir, some calling him *Abd-ur-rahim*, some *Abd-ul-karim*, and others *Abd-ul-Razâk*. But he is more familiarly known by the name or title of *Shekh Chilli*, or *Shekh Tilli*, and he is said to have been the author of a book entitled "Lives of the *Walis*," or Muhammadan Saints. I have failed in tracing this saint in any of the books to which I have had access, but from the style of the tomb itself, I have little doubt that the people are right in assigning it to the time of Dârâ Shekoh, or about A. D. 1650. The tomb was turned into a temple for reading the *Granth* by the Sikhs, who are said to have carried off portions of the marble lattice-work to Kaithal.

XXVII. AMIN.

Five miles to the S. S. E. of Thânesar there is a large and lofty mound called *Amin*, which is said by the Brahmans to be a contraction of *Abhimanyu Khera*, or the mound of Abhimanyu, the son of Arjun. The place is also named *Chakra-bhyu*, or the "arrayed army," because the Pandus here assembled their troops before their last battle with the Kauravas. Here Abhimanyu was killed by Jayadratha, who was himself killed the next day by Arjun. Here Aditi is said to have seated herself in ascetic abstraction to obtain a son, and here accordingly she gave birth to *Suryya*, or the sun. The mound is about 2,000 feet in length from north to south, and 800 feet in breadth, with a height of from 25 to 30 feet. On the top there is a small village called Amin, inhabited by Gaur Brahmans, with a

temple to *Aditi*, and a *Suryya Kund* on the east, and a temple to *Suryya* to the west. The *Suryya Kund* is said to represent the spot where the sun was born, and accordingly all women who wish for male children pay their devotions at the temple of Aditi on Sunday, and afterwards bathe in the *Suraj Kund*.

XXVIII. PEHOA, OR PRITHUDAKA.

The old town of *Pehoa* is situated on the south bank of the Sarsuti, 14 miles to the west of Thânesar. The place derives its name from the famous *Prithu Chakra-vartti*, who is said to have been the first person that obtained the title of Raja. At his birth, according to the Vishnu Purâna, "all living creatures rejoiced," because he was born to put an end to the anarchy which then prevailed over the whole earth.* The story of the cure of Raja Vena's leprosy, by bathing in the Saraswati, has already been told. On his death, his son Prithu performed the usual *Srâddha*, or funeral ceremonies, and for twelve days after the cremation he sat on the bank of the Saraswati offering water to all comers. The place was therefore named *Prithudaka*, or Prithu's pool, from *daka* or *udaka* water, and the city which he afterwards built on the spot was called by the same name. The shrine of *Prithudaka* has a place in Kurukshetra Mahâtmya, and is still visited.

The town of Pehoa is built partly upon the low ground, and partly on an old mound as lofty as that of Thânesar, or from 30 to 40 feet high. Its antiquity is proved by the large size of its old bricks which are 18 by 12 by 2½ and 3 inches. In the lower part of the western portion of the city there is a modern temple of *Gharîbnâth*, who is said to have been the disciple of *Gorakhnâth*. In the wall of this temple is fixed an inscription in 16 lines of Raja Bhoja Deva, the son of Râma Bhadra Deva, dated in *Samvat* 276, both in words and in figures. This date, as I have already made known, most probably refers to the era of Sri Harsha, which began in A. D. 607. The date of the inscription will, therefore, be A. D. 882, at which time, as we know from the

* Wilson's Vishnu Purana, p. 183.

Gwalior inscription of S. 933, or A. D. 876, there was reigning a powerful king of the same name, who is most probably the Raja Bhoja that was contemporary with Sânkara Varmma of Kashmir, between A. D. 883 and 901. In the midst of the bazar in the south-east quarter of the city there is a second inscription of 21 lines fixed in the wall of a dwelling house called *Sidhgir-ka-Haveli.* This inscription is imperfect on the left hand, and is not dated; but as it would appear to have been executed by Deva Raja, the sixth in descent from Mahendra Pâla Deva, who was the son of Bhoja Deva, it may with much probability be assigned to the end of the 11th century. As these inscriptions are now in the hands of Babu Rajendra Mittrâ, we may confidently expect before long to have the contents of both records satisfactorily elucidated.

The position of the *Gharibnâth* temple, to which the first inscription is now attached, is close to the much frequented shrine of *Brahmâ-Yoni,* which has a place in the list of the *Kurukshetra Mahâtmya.* Near it there is a long subterranean passage, which is said to extend for 2 *kos,* or nearly three miles, but at present it cannot be traced beyond 50 feet. Some people, however, assert that it is 24 *kos* in length, and that it has been actually explored for 2 *kos;* but the more general opinion is, that the 2 *kos* refer to the actual length of the passage. On the same side of the town, and also on the bank of the Sarsuti, there is another famous shrine called *Pâpântaka,* or the "sin-destroyer," from *pâpa,* sin, and *antaka,* the ender, which is one of the well known titles of *Yama,* or death. But in the present instance the name refers to the purifying and sin-cleansing properties of the waters of the Saraswati. To the south-west of the town is the shrine of *Madhu-Sravas,* or the "wine dripper," which is mentioned in the *Mahâtmya.* Beside it are the shrines of *Dughda-Sravas,* or the "milk-dripper," and of *Ghrita-Sravas,* or the "clarified-butter dripper." Inside the town to the south is a famous shrine of *Prithwiswara Mahâdeva,* which is said to be very old. Near it an annual fair is held for five days, from the 5th to the 9th of the waning moon of Kârtik. To the east of the town there is a tank about one mile in circuit, on the bank of which stands the shrine of *Kripâvana* or *Kampâvana,* which is said to have been erected in honor of Kripa, the brother-in-law of Drona, the

In closing this account of the holy places of Thânesar and Pehoa, I may remark that all the existing shrines which I visited appeared to me to be of very modern date. Many of them were no doubt built on ancient sites, and with the actual ruins of the original temples; but their present appearance is undoubtedly modern. I think, however, that a more minute and extensive search amongst the holy places of Kurukshetra, which I propose to make during the ensuing cold season, may be rewarded by the discovery of inscriptions and other relics that have escaped the destructive hands of Muhammadan bigotry.

XXIX. SUGH, OR SRUGHNA.

On leaving *Sthâneswara* Hwen Thsang at first proceeded to the south for about 100 *li*, or 16⅔ miles, to the *Gokantha* monastery, where there was a great number of pavilions and of towers of many storeys. On this name M. Julien remarks that Hwen Thsang must have been ignorant of its exact orthography, as he has left it without translation. It seems almost certain, therefore, that the name has been imperfectly recorded;* but even with this knowledge I am unable to identify any place of somewhat similar name that corresponds with the given distance and direction. The village of *Gunâna* between Vyasthali and Nisang, and 17 miles to the south south-west of Thanesar, appears to agree very well with the recorded position. I refer to this monastery because it is the starting point from which Hwen Thsang measures his next distance of 400 *li*, or 66⅔ miles, to *Su-lo-kin-na*, or *Srughna*. In speaking of this place in my last year's report, I stated my opinion that it ought to be looked for somewhere in the neighbourhood of *Khâlsi* on the west bank of the Jumna, where the great rock inscription of Asoka has lately been discovered. But during my stay at Thânesar it occurred to me that Hwen Thsang's distance of 67 miles should rather be measured from the *Gokantha* monastery than from Thanesar itself. Following up this clue I at once referred to the map, where I found a village named *Sugh*, that corresponded very well with the position indicated and which, from its admirable situation in a bend of the old

---

* Julien's Hwen Thsang, II., 215. M. Julien at first read the name of the monastery as *Kiu-min-cha*, or *Gominda*, which he afterwards corrected to *Kin-hoen-cha* or *Gokantha*.— See Hwen Thsang, III., p. 569, Errata.

Jumna which surrounded it on three sides, I felt sure must be the site of the ancient city of *Srughna.* The name is precisely the same, as *Sugh*, or *Sughan*, is the spoken form of the Sanskrit *Srughna*, and the place always has been, and still is, on the high road from the Gangetic Doab to the westward. On enquiry I found that the place was well known as it lies on the route of the pilgrims from Thânesar to Haridwâr, and that there were numerous mounds and old bricks in its immediate vicinity.

From Thânesar to Sugh the distance is only 38 miles, to which we may add 17 miles, thus making up a total of 55 miles from the *Gominda* monastery. This is 12 miles short of the distance recorded by Hwen Thsang, but I am so thoroughly satisfied of the correctness of my identification of *Sugh* with the ancient *Srughna*, that I would assign the discrepancy to the complete uncertainty regarding the position of the Gorninda monastery. The kingdom of *Srughna* is described by Hwen Thsang as extending to the mountains on the north, and to the Ganges on the east, with the *Yamuna* or Jumna flowing through the midst of it. The capital was situated on the west bank of the Jumna, and was 20 *li*, or 3⅓ miles, in circuit. The greater part was in ruins, but the foundations still remained. It possessed five monasteries containing 1,000 monks, who discussed clearly and ably the most profound and abstract questions. It possessed also 100 temples of the Brahmans, whose followers were extremely numerous. Outside the east gate, towards the river, and to the south-east of the city, there was a *stupa* built by Asoka on the spot where Buddha had preached his doctrine. Beside it there was a second *stupa* containing some hair and nails of Buddha; and; all around, to the right and to the left, there were many dozens of *stupas* containing the hair and nails of different holy men, such as *Sâri-putra* and *Maudgalyâyana*, &c.

The village of *Sugh* occupies one of the most remarkable positions that I have seen during the whole course of my researches.* It is situated on a projecting triangular spur of high land, and is surrounded on three sides by the bed of the old Jumna, which is now the Western Jumna Canal. On the north and west faces it is further protected

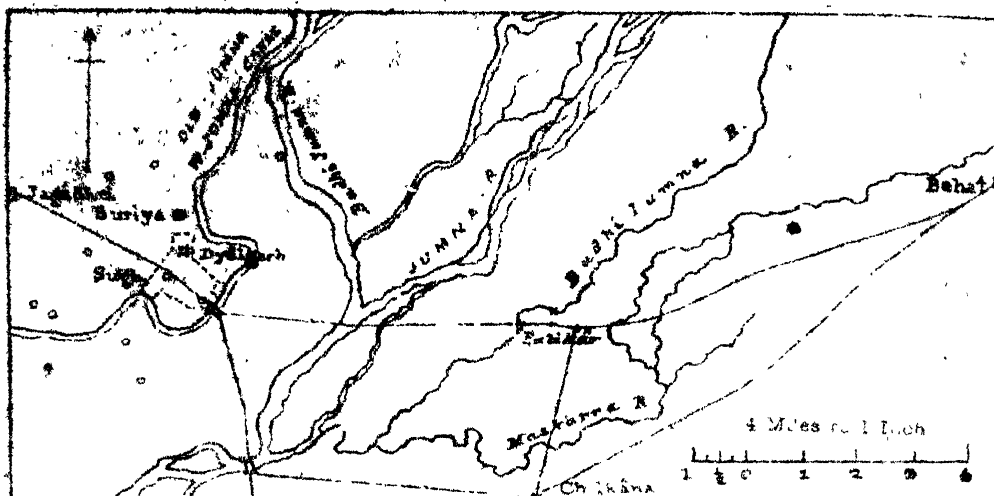
* See Plate LXXII. for two maps showing the position and ruins of Sugh.

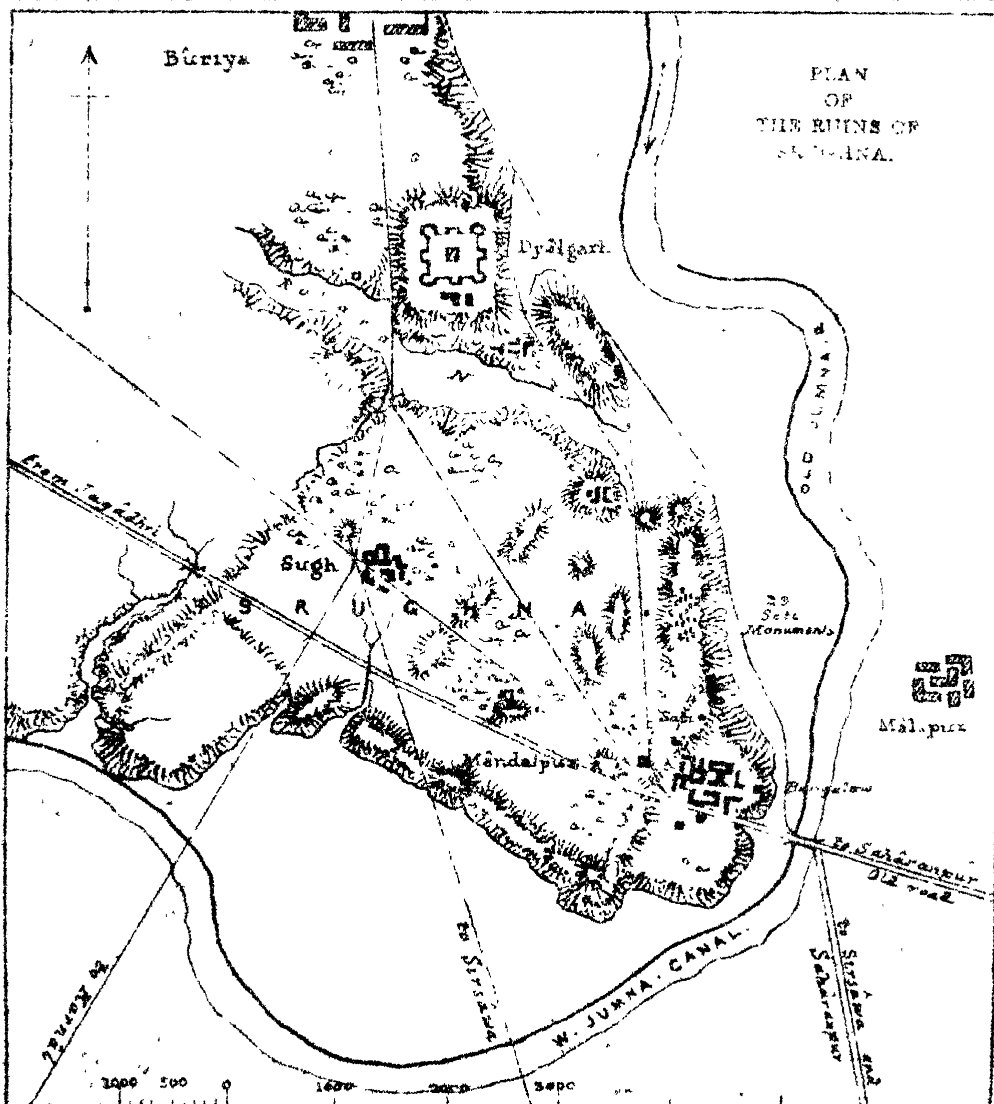
by two deep ravines, so that the position is a ready-made stronghold, which is covered on all sides, except the west, by natural defences. In shape it is almost triangular, with a large projecting fort or citadel at each of the angles. The site of the north fort is now occupied by the castle and village of Dyâlgarh. The village of Mândalpur stands on the site of the south-east fort, and that of the south-west is unoccupied. Each of these forts is 1,500 feet long, and 1,000 feet broad, and each face of the triangle which connects them together is upwards of half a mile in length, that to the east being 4,000, and those to the north-west and south-west 3,000 feet each. The whole circuit of the position is therefore 22,000 feet, or upwards of 4 miles, which is considerably more than the 3½ miles of Hwen Thsang's measurement. But as the north fort is separated from the main position by a deep sandy ravine, called the *Rohara Nala*, it is possible that it may have been unoccupied at the time of the pilgrim's visit. This would reduce the circuit of the position to 19,000 feet, or upwards of 3½ miles, and bring it into accord with the pilgrim's measurement. The small village of Sugh occupied the west side of the position, and the small town of Buriya lies immediately to the north of Dyâlgarh. The occupied houses, at the time of my visit, were as follows: Mândalpur 100, Sugh 125, Dyâlgarh 150, and Buriya 3,500, or altogether 3,875 houses, containing a population of about 20,000 souls.

Of *Sugh* itself the people have no special traditions, but there is a ruined mound to the north-west of the village, and several foundations made of large bricks inside the village. *Mándar* or *Mândalpur* is said to have been founded by Raja Mándhâta, but this is completely disproved by the spelling of the name, which I obtained from several of the villagers, and which refers unmistakeably to the presence of a remarkable *mandar*, or temple, at some former period. Between *Sugh* and *Mândalpur* there is a square tank called the *Surajkund*, which is probably old, but the temple on its bank is a modern one. On the east and south-east faces the earthen ramparts still form huge mounds on the crest of the high bank. A line of similar mounds extends from N. N. E. to S. S. W. nearly across the middle of the position, and towards the east there are several isolated mounds. But on none of these could I find any ancient remains, excepting

SRUGHNA OR SUGH.

Plate LXXI.





A Cunningham del

Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta.

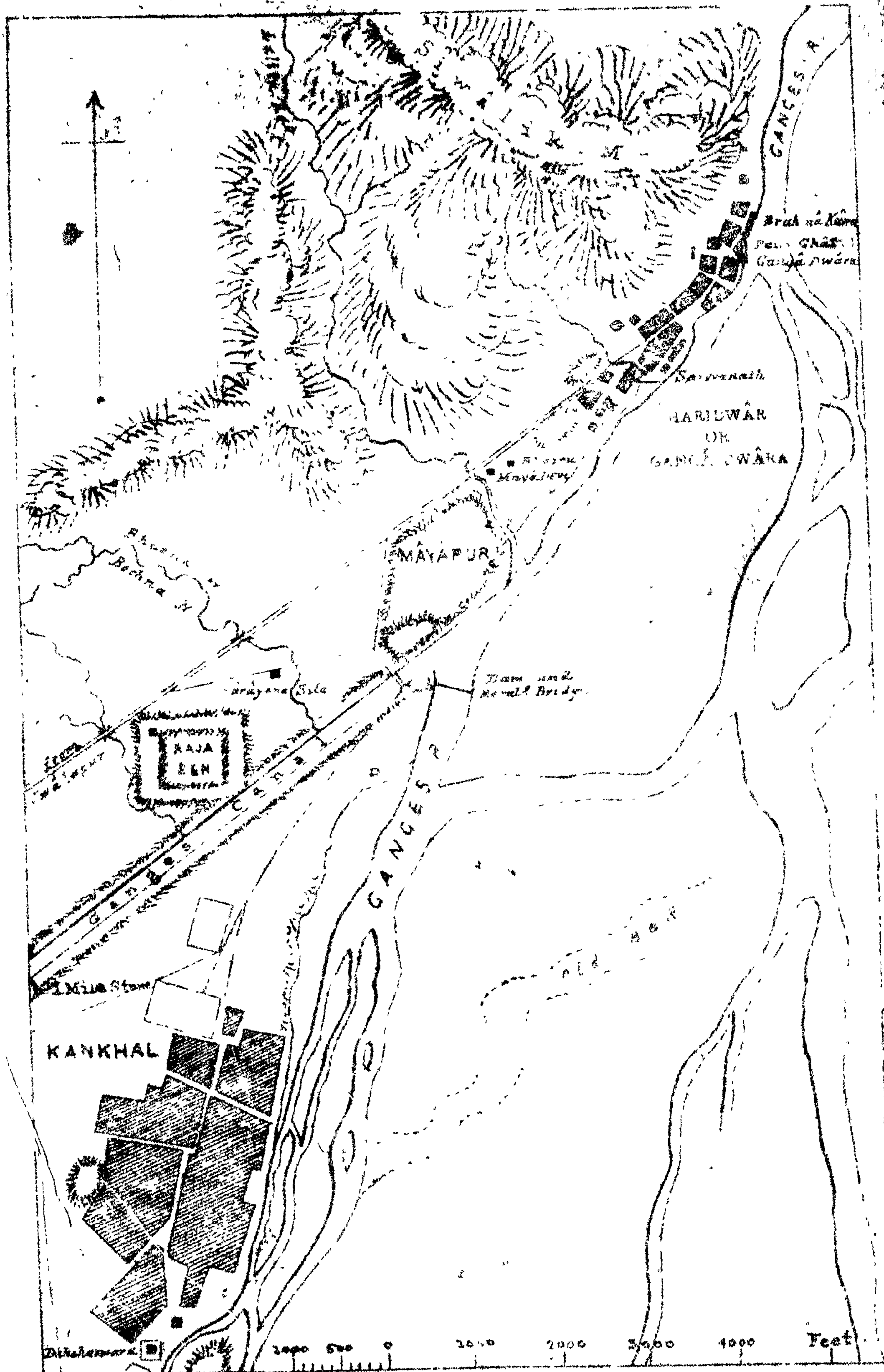
broken bricks of large size from 9½ to 10½ inches broad, and 2¼ to 3¼ inches in thickness. These large bricks are unmistakeable evidences of antiquity; but the great number of ancient coins that are found all over the place affords evidence equally certain and much more interesting. The place was said to have been visited only six weeks before by Lieutenant Pullan's coin collector; but so plentiful is the yield that I obtained no less than 125 old Hindu coins of all ages, from the small *Dilâl* pieces of the Chohân and Tomar Rajas of Delhi to the square punch-marked pieces of silver and copper, which are certainly as old as the rise of Buddhism, and which were probably the common currency of India as early as 1000 B. C.

With this undoubted evidence in favor of the antiquity of the position, I have no hesitation whatever in identifying *Sugh* with the ancient *Srughna.* According to the traditions of the people the city of *Mandar* or *Mândalpur* formerly covered an extent of 12 *kos,* and included Jagâdhri and Chaneti on the west, with Buriya and Dyâlgarh to the north. As Jagâdhri lies 3 miles to the west, it is not possible that the city could ever have extended so far, but we may reasonably admit that the gardens and summer houses of the wealthier inhabitants may once possibly have extended to that distance. At Chaneti, which lies 2 miles to the north-west, old coins are found in considerable numbers; but it is now entirely separated from Buriya and Dyâlgarh by a long space of open country.

I have already mentioned that *Sugh* stands on the high road leading from the Gangetic Doab *viâ* Mirat, Saharunpur, and Ambâla to the Upper Panjâb. By this route Mahmud of Ghazni returned from his expedition to Kanoj, by this route Timur returned from his plundering campaign at Haridwâr, and by this route Baber advanced to the conquest of Delhi. Abu Rihân gives the distance from Kanoj to *Sharsharhah,* at 50 parasangs, and from thence to Pinjor at 18 parasangs. These distances between Kanoj and Pinjor prove that the intermediate place was *Sirsâwa,* a very ancient town with a ruined mound, on the east side of the Jumna, 10 miles from Sugh. This identification is placed beyond all doubt by the route of Timur from Haridwâr which, according to Sharf-ud-din lay *viâ* Meliapour *trend*

Malhipur) to *Shaesarwana*, from whence he made a short march of 4 miles to *Kendra*, and then crossed the Jumna on his march to the *Siwâlik* Hills. Here it is remarkable that Timur's biographer repeats the apparently redundant initial syllable of Abu Rihan. The place is now called simply *Sirsâwa* or *Sirsapatan*, but it is possible that it may once have been named *Sri-Sirsawa*. I incline, however, to think that the initial syllable is only a mistaken repetition, as I find from M. Reinaud, who is apparently quoting the contemporary historian Othi, that Mahmud on returning from Kanoj took possession of *Sarawa*, then belonging to Chand Ray, or Chandar Ray, but which had previously formed part of the dominions of Trilochan Pâl, Raja of the Panjâb. For *Sarawa* we should probably read Sarsâwa, but it is quite possible that *Sugh* itself may be intended, for as the Muhammadans write *Satrghan* for *Śatrughna*, so they would write *Sarghan* for *Srughna*. But whichever of the two places is intended, it is certain that the high road from the Gangetic Doab to the Upper Panjâb must have crossed the Ghât between them.

From this mention of *Sirsâwa* by Abu Rihân and Sharf-ud-din, it might be supposed that Srughna had been previously deserted; but the discovery of coins of the Tomar and Chohân Rajas of Delhi shows that the place must have been occupied down to the time of the Muhammadan conquest in A. D. 1193. I think also that there is evidence at least of its partial occupation as late as the reign of Firuz Tughlak. In speaking of the canal, which Firuz made from the Jumna towards Hânsi and Hisâr, Ferishta describes it as being drawn from between the hills of *Mandui* and Sarmor, according to Briggs; but the former name is read as *Manduli* by Dow, and as *Mandir* by Sir Henry Elliot. As this canal still exists, we know that it was drawn from the Jumna opposite Faizabad, where the river bursts through the Siwâlik range of hills, which has always formed the boundary of Sarmor to the south, and which we know was the northern boundary of Srughna in the time of Hwen Thsang. I am, therefore, strongly inclined to identify *Mândal* or *Mândalpur* with the *Mandir* or *Manduli* of Ferishta. If this identification be admitted, we have a proof that the ancient name of Srughna had been supplanted by that of Mândal as early as the reign of Firuz Tughlak.



A. Cunningham del.

Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta

I can find no trace of either name in the Ain Akbari, from which I infer that Mandal had already become a small place, and was then a dependency of Khizrabad. *Mandal* is erroneously entered in Sheet No. 48 of the Atlas Map as *Arndul*, under which name it will be found in the map along with *Sugh* at 20 miles to the north-west of Saháranpur, and about the same distance almost due west from the ancient town of Behat.

XXX. HARIDWAR, OR GANGADWARA.

From Srughna the Chinese pilgrim proceeded eastward to the banks of the Ganges in the direction of *Mo-ti-pu-lo* or *Madawar*, which was on the east bank of the river, and which I have already identified with Madáwar or Mandâwar, 9 miles to the north of Bijnor in Rohilkhand. Hwen Thsang does not give any details of the route by which he travelled; but from his subsequent account of the town of *Mo-yu-lo*, or *Máyura*, the present Màyápur, at the head of the Ganges Canal, it would seem that he must have visited Haridwár. In either case the distance from Sugh to the Ganges is at least double the true amount. I marched this road myself *viâ* Sahâranpur and Kankhal, and I found the distance from Sugh to Haridwár exactly 65 miles. If the pilgrim travelled direct to Madâwar by Sahâranpur, Deoband, and the Sukha Tâl Ghât, the distance to the Ganges would be exactly the same. I feel satisfied, therefore, that Hwen Thsang's recorded distance of 800 *li*, or $133\frac{1}{3}$ miles, has by some mistake been doubled, and that we should accordingly read 400 *li*, or $66\frac{2}{3}$ miles, which is the precise distance that he would have travelled by either route.

Hwen Thsang describes the town of *Mo-yu-lo* as situated on the east bank of the Ganges, which is undoubtedly a mistake, as he specially notes that *Gangádwára* was at a short distance from the town.* There is no notice of *Haridwára*, which, indeed, would seem to have risen on the decay of *Mâyâpur*. Both Abu Rihân and Rashid-ud-din mention only Gangadwarâ. Kalidâs also in his Meghaduta says nothing of Haridwâra, although he mentions Kankhal; but as his contemporary Amarasinha gives *Vishnupadi* as one of the synonymes of the Ganges, it is certain that the legend of

* Julien's Hwen's Thsang, II., 230.

its rise from Vishnu's foot is as old as the 5th century. I infer, however, that no temple of the Vishnupada had been erected down to the time of Abu Rihân. The first allusion to it, of which I am aware, is by Sharf-ud-din the historian of Timur, who says, that the Ganges issues from the hills by the pass of *Cou-pele*, which I take to be the same as *Koh-pairi*, or the "hill of the feet" (of Vishnu), as the great bathing ghât at the Gangâdwâra temple is called *Pairi Ghât*, and the hill above it *Pairi Pahâr*. In the time of Akbar, the name of Haridwâr was well known, as Abul Fazl speaks of "Mâyâ, vulgo Haridwâr, on the Ganges," as being considered holy for 18 *kos* in length.* In the next reign the place was visited by Tom Coryat, who informed Chaplain Terry that at "*Haridwâra*, the capital of *Siba*, the Ganges flowed amongst large rocks with a pretty full current."† In 1796 the town was visited by Hardwicke who calls it a small place situated at the base of the hills. In 1808 Raper describes it as very inconsiderable, having only one street, about 15 feet in breadth, and a furlong and-a-half (or three-eighths of a mile) in length. It is now much larger, being fully three-quarters of a mile in length, but there is still only one street.

There is a dispute between the followers of Siva and Vishnu as to which of these deities gave birth to the Ganges. In the Vishnu Purâna‡ it is stated that the Ganges has its rise "in the nail of the great toe of Vishnu's left foot;" and the Vaishnavas point triumphantly to the *Hari-ki-charan*, or *Hari-ki-pairi* (Vishnu's foot-prints) as indisputable evidence of the truth of their belief. On the other hand, the *Saivas* argue that the proper name of the place is *Hara-dwâra*, or "Siva's gate," and not *Hari-dwâra*. It is admitted also in the Vishnu Purâna that the *Alakananda* (or east branch of the Ganges) "was borne by Mahâdeva upon his head." But in spite of these authorities I am inclined to believe that the present names of Haridwâr and Haradwâr are modern, and that the old tow[illegible]r the Gangâdwâra temple was *Mâyâ-pura*. Hwen Th[illegible]g, indeed, calls it *Mo-yu-lo* or *Mâyura*, but the old ruined town between Haridwâr and Kankhal is

* Gladwin's Ain Akbari, II., 516.

† Voyage to East India, p. 88.

‡ Wilson's Translation, p. 228.

still called *Mâyâpur*, and the people point to the old temple of *Mâyâ-Devi* as the true origin of its name. It is quite possible, however, that the town may also have been called *Mayûra-pura*, as the neighbouring woods still swarm with thousands of peacocks (*Mayûra*), whose shrill calls I heard both morning and evening.

Hwen Thsang describes the town as about 20 *li*, or 3⅓ miles in circuit, and very populous. This account corresponds very closely with the extent of the old city of Mâyâpura, as pointed out to me by the people.* These traces extend from the bed of a torrent which enters the Ganges near the modern temple of Sarvvanâth to the old fort of Raja Ben on the bank of the canal, a distance of 7,500 feet. The breadth is irregular, but it could not have been more than 3,000 feet at the south end, and at the north end, where the Siwâlik Hills approach the river, it must have been contracted to 1,000 feet. These dimensions give a circuit of 19,000 feet, or rather more than 3½ miles. Within these limits there are the ruins of an old fort, 750 feet square, attributed to Raja Ben, and several lofty mounds covered with broken bricks, of which the largest and most conspicuous is immediately above the canal bridge. There are also three old temples dedicated to *Nârâyena-sila* to *Mâyâ-Devi*, and to Bhairava. The celebrated ghât, called the *Pairi* or "feet ghât," is altogether outside these limits, being upwards of 2,000 feet to the north-east of the Sarvvanâth temple. The antiquity of the place is undoubted, not only from the extensive foundations of large bricks which are everywhere visible, and the numerous fragments of ancient sculpture accumulated about the temples, but from the great variety of the old coins similar to those of Sugh, which are found here every year.

The temple of *Nârâyana-sila*, or *Nârâyana-bali*, is made of bricks, 9½ inches square and 2½ inches thick, and is plastered on the outside. Collected around it are numerous squared stones and broken sculptures. One of the stones has belonged to the deeply-carved, cusped roof of an older temple. Amongst the broken sculptures I was able to identify only one small figure of Buddha the ascetic, surrounded by smaller figures of ascetic attendants.

---

* See Plate LXXIII. for a Map of Mâyâpura and Haridwâra.

The temple of *Mâyâ-Devi* is built entirely of stone, and, from the remains of an inscription over the entrance doorway, I think it may be as old as the 10th or 11th century. The principal statue, which is called Mâyâ-Devi, is a three-headed and four-armed female in the act of killing a prostrate figure. In one of the hands I recognised the *chakra*, or discus, in another there was an object like a human head, and in a third hand the *trisûl*. This is certainly not the figure of Mâyâ Devi, the mother of Buddha, nor is it exactly that of any goddess with which I am acquainted. It corresponds best with the figures of *Durgâ*, but if the name assigned to it is correct, the figure must be that of the Pauranic *Mâyâ-Devi*, who, according to the Bhagavata, was the "energy of the supreme, and by her, whose name is Mâyâ, the Lord made the universe." But the action of the figure is most decidedly opposed to this identification, and I am therefore inclined to assign the statue to *Durgâ* the consort of Siva, to whom Vishnu gave his discus, and Siva his trident. This attribution is the more probable as there is close beside it a squatted male figure with eight arms, which can only be Siva, and on the outside of the temple there is a *Lingam*, and a statue of the bull Nandi. There is also a fragment of a large female statue, which may possibly have been Mâyâ-Devi, but it was too imperfect for recognition. As there was nothing about the temple to give any clue to its identification, I can only conjecture that the original figure of *Mâyâ-Devi* must have been destroyed by the Muhammadans, and that the vacant temple was afterwards occupied by the votaries of Siva.

Outside the modern temple of Sarvvanâth I found a statue of Buddha seated in abstraction under the Bodhi tree, and accompanied by two standing and two flying figures. On the pedestal there was a wheel with a lion on each side as supporters, and as the figure was apparently naked, I conclude that it represents *Adi Buddha*, the first of the twenty-four Jain Hierarchs.

At the present day the great object of attraction to pilgrims is the small temple of *Gangâdwâra*, or "gate of the Ganges," immediately below the famous bathing ghât called *Hari-ka-Charan*, or *Hari-ka-Pairi*. The original stone with the *charan*, or "foot-marks of Vishnu," is said to have

disappeared under the water some time ago, but a second is now attached to the upper wall of the ghât. Close by in a small temple is a well called *Brahmá-kund*, which is most probably the same that was noticed by Hwen Thsang in A. D. 634, but the "great temple" of his days has long ago disappeared. The ghât itself is a very small one, being only 34 feet wide at top, and 89 feet at bottom, with a flight of 39 steps to the water. The period of annual bathing is the first day of the Hindu sidereal year, when thousands upon thousands of pilgrims rush frantically down this narrow passage to secure the advantages of early immersion. For the convenience of bathers a ghât is said to have been built here by the celebrated Mân Singh, but this had gradually become ruinous, and in the beginning of the present century the descent to the river was so rough and narrow that several persons were killed or drowned every year. In 1819 the rush of pilgrims was so great that no less than 430 people lost their lives, including several of the British sepoy guards who were borne down by the pressure of the crowd. This catastrophe aroused the Government, and in the following year the present ghât was built to prevent a recurrence of such accidents. The work was entrusted to Captain DeBude of the Engineers, whose name is still remembered by the people as *Duré Sáheb.*

The exact time for bathing is the moment when the sun enters the constellation of Aries. But this day no longer corresponds with the vernal solstice, as the Hindu calendar ignores any correction for the precession of the equinoxes. Their new year's day has accordingly gradually receded from the true period, until the difference is now as much as 21 days, the great bathing day having been for many years past on the 11th of April. It is necessary to point this out, as Mr. Thornton, in his Gazetteer, states that the bathing day is a fixed period corresponding with the 10th of April. This was the case in 1808, when Raper was present at the annual fair; but in 1796, when Hardwicke was present, the moment for bathing "fell on the evening of the 8th of April."* A reference to Prinsep's tables shows that in 1796 the *Sankránta*, or period of the sun's entrance into Aries, according to the Hindu reckoning, occurred on

* Asiatic Researches, VI., 312.

Friday, the 8th of April, at 36 *gharis* and 40 *palas*. This is equivalent to 6 *gharis* and 40 *palas*, or 160 minutes after 6 P. M., that is, 8-40 P. M. But as the moment of entry was beyond 30 *gharis*, or half a day, the civil year did not begin until the following day, Saturday, the 9th of April, as is also shown in Prinsep's tables.

Every twelfth year, when the planet Jupiter enters the sign of *Kumbha* or Aquarius, the assemblage of pilgrims is much greater, and the festival is called the *Kumbha-Mela*, or "Fair of Aquarius." One of these greater fairs was visited by Hardwicke in 1796, and a second by Raper in 1808. At these particular periods the merit of bathing is considered much greater, but no one could give me any reason for this belief. The well-known advantages supposed to be derived from bathing in the Ganges are the cleansing from all sins, which are supposed to be washed away by the purifying waters of the holy stream. This belief was as strong in A. D. 634 as it is now. Hwen Thsang states that the Ganges was then called *Mahâbhadrá*, or "the very propitious," and that hundreds of thousands of people assembled to bathe in it for the obtainment of religious merit, and for the effacement of sin. He adds that even a criminal who bathes in it is purified from his sin, and that if the ashes of a dead man are cast into its stream, his next birth will be fortunate. Four centuries later in the time of Mahmud a similar account is given by Otbi, and again four centuries later it is repeated by Sharf-ud-din, the historian of Timur. This belief is fully borne out by the statements of the Purânas, as, for instance, in the Vishnu, which says that "the offences of any man who bathes in this river are immediately expiated."*

Gangâdwâra is also celebrated in the Purânas as the scene of *Daksha's* sacrifice, to which he neglected to invite Siva, the husband of his daughter *Sati*. But the daughter, in spite of Siva's warning, determined to attend the sacrifice, at which she was so much shocked by her father's disrespect that she proceeded to the bank of the Ganges "in deep affliction, and there forsook her body" according to the *Brâhma Vaivarta* Purâna, or "by her own splendour consumed her body" according to the Padma Purana.† Enraged

---

* Wilson's Translation, p. 228.

† Kennedy's Hindu Mythology, p. 331.

by Satis's death Siva immediately determined to spoil Daksha's sacrifice, and accordingly he produced Vira-Bhadra, "the offspring of his wrath," who attacked Daksha and defeated him.* According to the most popular form of the legend, which is given in the *Linga* and *Bhâgavata*, Virabhadra cut off Daksha's head and threw it into the fire. When the fray was over, and Siva had restored the dead to life, the head of Daksha, which had been consumed, was replaced by that of a goat, or ram, with which he is invariably represented in all the sculptures that I have seen. The spot where Daksha is said to have prepared his sacrifice is now marked by the temple of *Daksheswara*, a form of Siva, as Virabhadra, or the "lord of Daksha." It is on the bank of the river at the south end of Kankhal, and 2½ miles below the Pairi Ghât. The temple has originally been domed, but the dome was broken by a decayed Banian tree, which has now disappeared. The construction of the dome, however, shows that the temple is of later date than the Muhammadan conquest. In front of the temple there is a small square building, containing a bell, which was presented by the Raja of Nepâl in *Sake* 1770, or A. D. 1848. Around the Daksheswara temple there is a group of other small fanes, but none of them are of any interest or antiquity.

XXXI. MORADHAJ, OR MAYURADHWAJA.

Moradhaj is a small ruined fort on the edge of the Rohilkhand Tarai, 6 miles to the north-east of Najibabad, and on the east side of the road leading to Kotdwâra. The fort is oblong in shape, being 800 feet from north to south, and 625 feet from east to west. The ramparts and ditch are still traceable with some difficulty, as the whole place is covered with thick tree jangal, and dense grass rising to 4 and 5 feet in height. The entrance, which was near the middle of the east side, is still covered by the remains of an out-work. The ramparts still have a height of from 15 feet above the country, and the ditch still has a depth of about 3 feet. The mass of the interior is raised about 7 or 8 feet above the country. The ditch is 60 feet broad at bottom, and the outer side is covered by a faussebraie, the distance from the main rampart to the outer rampart being 120 feet. Portions

* Wilson's Translation, p. 68.

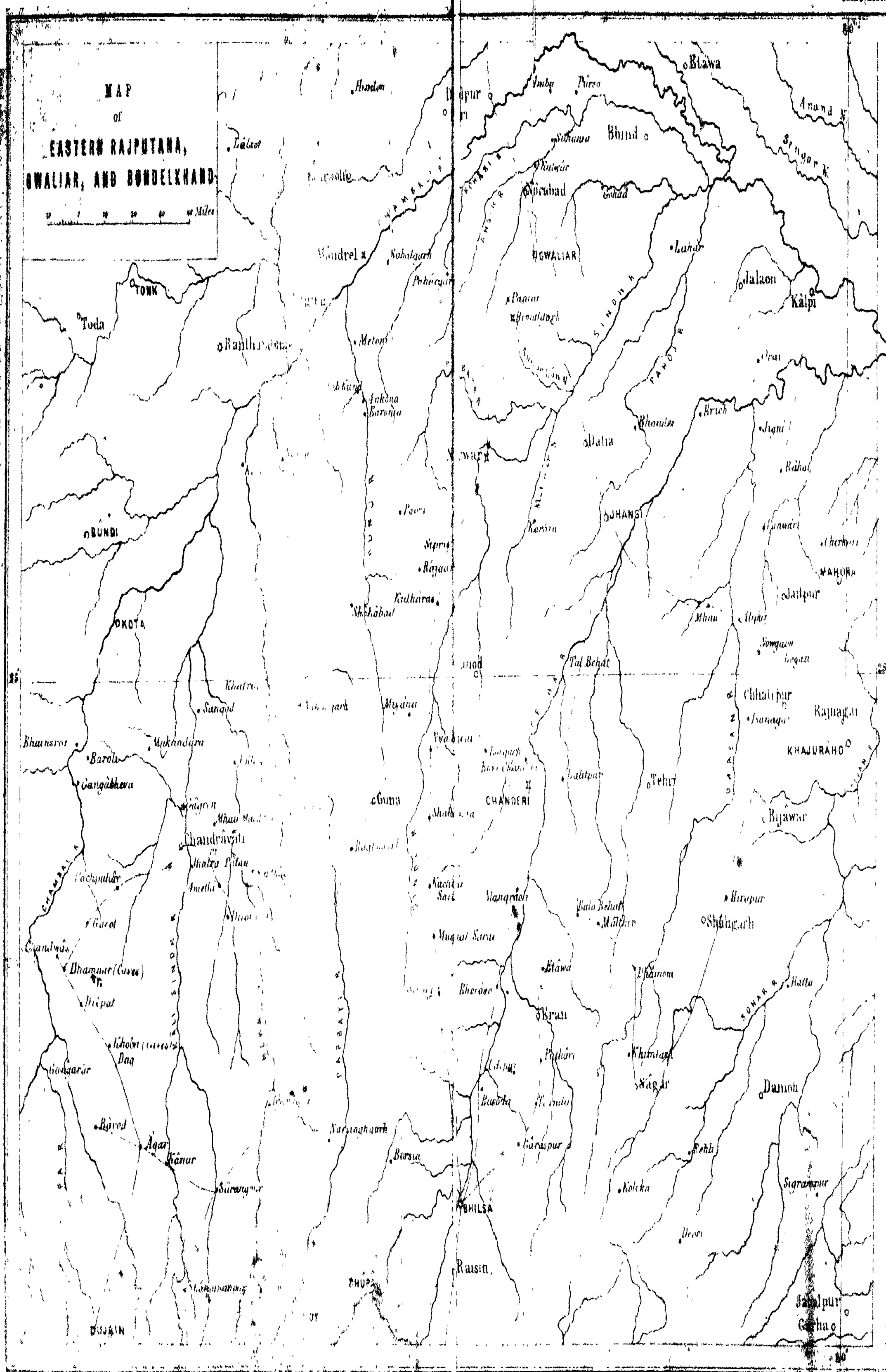
of the brick-walls are still to be traced, although digging has been going on for many years to supply bricks to the neighbouring villages. The bricks are of large size being 13½ by 8½ by 2½ inches. Near the middle of the east side there is a lofty mound called *Shigri*, a name which is said to be a contraction of *Shir-garhi*, or the tiger's house. But this etymology I believe to be of late date, that is since the desertion of the fort and its consequent occupation by tigers. I put up a spotted deer and five jangal fowls in the midst of the grass. The Shigri mound has a height of 35 feet above the interior level, and of 43 feet above the plan. Towards the top, where the bricks are exposed, I counted from 15 to 20 regular courses, but I was unable to discover whether the original shape was square or round. From the solid appearance of the mound at top, I infer that the whole mass is similar, and therefore that the Shigri mound is the ruin of an old Buddhist *stupa* or tope. I found a broken statue in a soft dark grey sandstone much weather-worn. I found also a piece of carved stone, and a number of stone boulders. According to the people, the place formerly abounded in stones of all kinds and sizes, wrought and unwrought, but the whole have been carried away to Pathargarh, which, indeed is, said to derive its name of "the stone fort" from the quantity of the stone used in its construction. The stone figures of gods and goddesses are said to have supplied all the temples in Najibabád.

Of the history of Moradhaj, or Mayuradhwaja, nothing is known. The people believe that he was an ancient Raja, and that his son was Pita-Dhaj, or Pita-Dhwaja, who lived about the time of the Pândus. The name of Moradhaj is well known in the north of Oudh, and there also he is said to have been a contemporary of the Pândus; but a genealogy is given which makes him the fourth predecessor of *Suhridal*, who was the antagonist of Sayid Sâlâr of Baharaich. If the Moradhaj of Rohilkhand is the same person as the Moradhaj of Oudh, the date of his fort cannot possibly be older than the latter half of the ninth century.

XXXII. CHATUR BHUJ.

Chatur Bhuj, or the "four-armed," is the name given by the people to an old fort situated in the very heart of the Tarai, midway between *Rámpur* and Naini Tal, and about

six miles to the east of the high road. The name was imposed by the villagers on the discovery of a four-armed stone figure amongst the ruins of a stone temple. The ruins lie to the east of the villages of Maholi and Dalpur, and between the Jonâr Nadi and the Kakrola Nadi. The jangal is so dense, and the tigers so numerous, that it is both difficult and dangerous to trace these ruins, which extend over several miles. The most prominent portion of them is a ruined fort, about 1,600 feet square, with earthen ramparts 10 or 12 feet high, and from 80 to 100 feet thick. There is an entrance on the west side near which there is a ruined mound of some height, apparently the remains of a stone temple. To the west of the fort there is a group of four mounds from 10 to 18 feet in height, in one of which the Chatur Bhuj statue was found. Still further to the west towards the villages of Maholi and Dalpur there are other mounds, with several tanks and walls and the traces of numerous foundations. The bricks scattered about the plain are of large size, 12 by 9 by 2 inches. Nothing whatever is known about these ruins, but I will take an early opportunity of exploring them, as they promise to be of much interest.


MAP
of
EASTERN RAJPUTANA,
GWALIAR, AND BUNDELKHAND
Miles
Etawa
Bhind
Gwaliar
Jalaon
Kalpi
Tonk
Toda
Bundi
Kota
Jhansi
Datia
Chhatrpur
Khajuraho
Chanderi
Guna
Bijawar
Chandravati
Damoh
Bhilsa
Raisin
Ujjain
Jabalpur
Garha
Mahoba
Lalitpur
Eran
Sohawa
Gohad
Narwar
Sabalgarh
Sipri
Shahabad
Kanauj
Rajnagar
Jaitpur
Mandrel
Ranthambhor

Report of the Archæological Surveyor to the Government of India during season 1864-65.

DURING the past three years my researches have extended over the various districts of Northern India, from the Gandak on the east to the Indus on the west, embracing the ancient provinces of *Magadha* or Bihâr, *Mithila* or Tirhut, *Ayodhya* or Oudh, *Panchâla* or Rohilkhand, *Antarbeda* or the Gangetic Doab, and *Kurukshetra* or Thânesar, all lying to the east of the Satlaj, and the two great provinces of *Madra-desa* and *Sindhu-Sauvira* lying between the Satlaj and Indus, which form the present Panjâb. During the season of 1864-65 my researches were confined to the districts lying between the Jumna and the Narbada, which formed part of the ancient *Madhya-desa*, or "middle country," which is now commonly known as Central India. Within these limits my enquiries have been very successful in throwing light on the interesting histories of the Chohâns of Ajmer and Khichiwâra, the Kachhwâhas of Narwar, Gwalior and Jaypur, and the Chândels of Khajurâho and Mahoba. The different cities and other places of interest are described in the following order, beginning at *Bairât* on the north-west and closing with Mahoba on the north-east:

I. Bairât, or Vairâta.
II. Amber.
III. Dhundhar, or Jaypur.
IV. Ajmer, or Ajayamera.
V. Chandrâvati, or Jhâlra Pâtan.
VI. Dhamnâr.
VII. Kholvi.
VIII. Sârangpur.
IX. Mhau Maidân.
X. Jharkon, or Bajrang-garh.
XI. Mâyana, or Mâyapura.
XII. Kulhâras.
XIII. Ranod, or Narod.
XIV. Nalapura, or Narwar.
XV. Himatgarh.
XVI. Gwâliâr, or Gwalior.

XVII. Nurâbâd.
XVIII. Kutwâr, or Kumantalpuri.
XIX. Suhaniya.
XX. Buri-Chânderi.
XXI. Chânderi.
XXII. Khajurâho, or Khajurâya.
XXIII. Mahoba, or Mahotsava-nagara.

I. BAIRAT, OR VAIRAT.

In his account of the geography of Northern India the celebrated Abu Rihân makes the city of *Narain* the starting point of three different itineraries to the south, the south-west and the west. This place has not been identified by M. Reinaud, the learned historian of ancient India, but its true locality has been accurately assigned to the neighbourhood of Jaypur. Its position also puzzled Sir Henry Elliot, who says, however, that with one exception, "Narwar satisfies all the requisite conditions."* But this position is quite untenable, as will be seen by the proofs which I am now about to bring forward in support of its identification with *Nárâyan*, the capital of Bairât or Matsya.

According to the Chinese pilgrim, Hwen Thsang, the capital of the kingdom of *Po-li-ye-to-lo*, which M. Reinaud has identified with *Pâryâtra* or *Bairât*, was situated at 500 *li*, or 83⅓ miles, to the west of Mathura, and about 800 *li*, or 133⅓ miles, to the south-west (read south-east) of the kingdom of *She-to-tu-lo*, that is, of *Satadru*, or the Satlaj.† The bearing and distance from Mathura point unequivocally to *Bairât*, the ancient capital of *Matsya*, as the city of Hwen Thsang's narrative, although it is upwards of 100 miles farther to the south of Kullu than is recorded by the pilgrim.‡

Abu Rihân, the contemporary of Mahmud, places *Narâna*, the capital of *Karzât*, at 28 parasangs to the west of Mathura,§ which, taking the parasang at 3½ miles, would make the distance 98 miles, or 14 miles in excess of the

* Muhammadan Historians, by Dowson, I., 59,—note.

† Julien's Hwen Thsang, II., 206-207.

‡ See my Ancient Geography of India, p. 144.

§ Reinaud, Fragments Arabes et Persans, p. 107. The translator gives *Badâno*, but it has been corrected by Sir H. Elliot to Narâna.

measurement of Hwen Thsang. But as the narratives of the different Muhammadan historians leave no doubt of the identity of *Narâna*, the capital of *Karzât*, with *Narâyana*, the capital of *Bairât*, this difference in the recorded distance from Mathura is of little moment. According to Abu Rihân, *Narâna* or *Bazâna* was called *Nârâyan* by the Musalmâns, a name which still exists in *Nârâyanpur*, a town situated at 10 miles to the north-east of Bairât itself. From Kanoj to Narâna Abu Rihân gives two distinct routes, the first direct *viâ* Mathura, being 56 parasangs or 196 miles, and the other to the south of the Jumna being 88 parasangs or 308 miles.* The intermediate stages of the latter route are, 1*st*, *Asi*, 18 parasangs or 63 miles; 2*nd*, *Sakina*, 17 parasangs or $59\frac{1}{2}$ miles; 3*rd*, *Jandara*, 18 parasangs or 63 miles; 4*th*, *Rajauri*, either 15 or 17 parasangs, 51 or $59\frac{1}{2}$ miles, and, 5*th*, *Bazâna* or *Narâna*, 20 parasangs or 70 miles. As the direction of the first stage is specially recorded to have been to the south-west of Kanoj, it may be at once identified with the *Assai Ghât* on the Jumna, 6 miles to the south of Etawa, and about 60 miles to the south-west of Kanoj. The name of the second stage is written *Sahina*, for which, by the simple shifting of the diacritical points, I propose to read *Suhania*, which is the name of a very large and famous ruined town situated 25 miles to the north of Gwalior, of which some account will be given in the present report. Its distance from the Assai Ghât is about 56 miles. The third stage, named *Jandara* by M. Reinaud, and Chandra by Sir Henry Elliot, I take to be *Hindon*. Its distance from *Suhania* by the Khetri Ghât on the Chambal River is about 70 miles. The fourth stage, named Rajori, still exists under the same name, 12 miles to the south-west of *Mâcheri*, and about 50 miles to the north-west of Hindon. From thence to Narainpur and Bairât the road lies altogether through the hills of Alwar or Mâcheri, which makes it difficult to ascertain the exact distance. By measurements on the lithographed map of eight miles to the inch, I make the distance to be about 60 miles, which is sufficiently near the 20 parasangs or 70 miles of Abu Rihân's account.

According to the other itineraries of Abu Rihân, *Narâna* was 25 parasangs to the north of Chitor in Mewar, 50

* Reinaud, Fragments, &c., p. 106. Dowson's edition of Sir H. Elliot, I., 58.

parasangs to the east of Multan and 60 parasangs to the north-east of Anhalwâra.* The bearings of these places from Bairât are all sufficiently exact, but the measurements are more than one-half too short. For the first distance of 25 parasangs to Chitor, I would propose to read 65 parasangs or 227 miles, the actual distance by the measured routes of the Quarter Master General being 217¾ miles. As the distance of Chitor is omitted in the extract from Abu Rihân, which is given by Rashid-ud-din, it is probable that there may have been some omission or confusion in the original of the Târikh-i-Hind, from which he copied. The erroneous measurement of 50 parasangs to Multan is, perhaps, excusable on the ground that the direct route through the desert being quite impassable for an army, the distance must have been estimated. The error in the distance of Anhalwâra I would explain by referring the measurement of 60 *parasangs* to Chitor, which lies about midway between Bairât and Anhalwâra. From a comparison of all these different itineraries I have no hesitation whatever in identifying *Bazâna* or *Narâna*, the capital of *Karzât* or *Guzrât*, with *Nârâyanapur*, the capital of *Bairât* or *Vairâta*. In Ferishta the latter name is written either *Kibrât* as in Dow, or *Kairât* as in Briggs, both of which names are an easy misreading of *Wairât* or *Virât*, as it would have been written by the Muhammadans.

Virât, the capital of *Matsya*, is celebrated in Hindu legends as the abode of Raja Virâta, where the five Pandus spent their exile of 12 years from Dilli or Indraprastha. The country was also famous for the valour of its people, as Manu directs that the van of an army should be composed of "men born in Kurukshetra near Indraprastha, in *Matsya* or *Virâta*, in Panchâla or Kanya-Kubja, and in Surasena of the district of Mathura."† The residence of Bhim Pandu is still shown on the top of a long low rocky hill about one mile to the north of the town. The hill is formed of enormous blocks of coarse gritty quartz, which are much weather-worn and rounded on all the exposed sides. Some of these blocks have a single straight face sloping inwards, the result of a natural split, of which advantage

* Reinaud, Fragments, &c., pp. 108, 112.

† Haughton's Translation, VII., 193.

has been taken to form small dwellings by the addition of rough stone walls plastered with mud. Such is the *Bhim-gupha* or Bhim's cave, which is formed by rough walls added to the overhanging face of a huge rock about 60 feet in diameter and 15 feet in height. Similar rooms, but of smaller size, are said to have been the dwellings of Bhim's brothers. The place is still occupied by a few Brahmans, who profess to derive only a scanty subsistence from the offerings of pilgrims, a statement which is rather belied by their flourishing appearance. Just below Bhim's cave a wall has been built across a small hollow to retain the rain water, and the fragments of rock have been removed from a fissure to form a tank, about 15 feet long by 5 feet broad and 10 feet deep; but at the time of my visit, on the 10th of November, it was quite dry.

The present town of Bairât is situated in the midst of a circular valley surrounded by low bare red hills, which have long been famous for their copper mines. It is 105 miles to the south of Delhi and 41 miles to the north of Jaypur.* The main entrance to the valley is on the north-west, along the bank of a small stream which drains the basin and forms one of the principal feeders of the *Bân Gangâ*. The valley is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles in diameter, and from $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 8 miles in circuit. The soil is generally good, and the trees, and more especially the tamarinds, are very fine and abundant. Bairât is situated on a mound of ruins, about one mile in length by half a mile in breadth, or upwards of $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles in circuit, of which the present town does not occupy more than one-fourth. The surrounding fields are covered with broken pottery and fragments of slag from the ancient coppery works, and the general aspect of the valley is of a copper red colour. The old city called *Bairâtnagar*, is said to have been quite deserted for several centuries until it was re-peopled about 300 years ago, most probably during the long and prosperous reign of Akbar. The town was certainly in existence in Akbar's time, as it is mentioned by Abul Fazl in the Ain-Akbari, as possessing very profitable copper mines. A number of large mounds, about half a mile to the east and immediately under the hill, are said to have formed part of the old city; but, both from their position and

* See Plate LIII., map of the country to the south of the Jumna, for the position of Bairât.

appearance, I am inclined to think that they must be the remains of some large religious establishment. At present the surface remains consist of rough stone foundations only, as the whole of the squared stones have been used in building the houses of the modern town. The number of houses in Bairât is popularly reckoned at 1,400, of which 600 are said to belong to Gaur Brahmans, 400 to Agarwâl Baniyas, 200 to Mînas, and the remaining 200 to various other races. Allowing the usual average of five persons to each house the population of Bairât will amount to 7,000 persons.

The earliest historical notice of Bairât is that of the Chinese pilgrim, Hwen Thsang, in A. D. 634.* According to him, the capital was 14 or 15 *li*, or just 2½ miles, in circuit, which corresponds almost exactly with the size of the ancient mound on which the present town is built. The people were brave and bold, and their king, who was of the race of *Fei-she*, either a *Vaisya* or a *Bais* Rajput, was famous for his courage and skill in war. The place still possessed eight Buddhist monasteries, but they were much ruined, and the number of monks was small. The Brahmans of different sects, about 1,000 in number, possessed 12 temples, but their followers were numerous, as the bulk of the population is described as heretical. Judging from the size of the town as noted by Hwen Thsang, the population could not have been less than four times the present number, or about 30,000, of whom the followers of Buddha may have amounted to one-fourth. I have deduced this number from the fact that the Buddhist monasteries would appear to have held about 100 monks each, and, as those of Bairât are said to have been much ruined, the number of monks in Hwen Thsang's time could not have exceeded 50 per monastery, or 400 altogether. As each Buddhist monk begged his bread, the number of Buddhist families could not have been less than 1,200, allowing three families for the support of each monk, or altogether about 6,000 lay Buddhists in addition to the 400 monks.

The next historical notice of Bairât occurs during the reign of Mahmud of Ghazni, who invaded the country in A. H. 400 or A. D. 1009, when the Raja submitted. But his

* Julien's Hwen Thsang, II., 206.

submission was of little avail, as his country was again invaded in the spring A. H. 404 or A. D. 1014, when the Hindus were defeated after a bloody conflict. According to Abu Rihân the town was destroyed and the people retired far into the interior.* By Ferishta this invasion is assigned to the year A. H. 413 or A. D. 1022, when the king, hearing that the inhabitants of two hilly tracts, named *Kairât* and *Nârdin (or Bairât* and *Nârâyan)*, still continued the worship of idols (or lions in some manuscripts), resolved to compel them to embrace the Muhammadan faith.† The place was taken and plundered by Amir-Ali, who found an ancient stone inscription at Nârâyan, which was said to record that the temple of Nârâyan had been built 40,000 years previously. As this inscription is also mentioned by the contemporary historian, Otbi, we may accept the fact of the discovery of a stone record in characters so ancient that the Brahmans of that day were unable to read them. I think it highly probable that this is the famous inscription of Asoka that was afterwards discovered by Major Burt on the top of a hill at Bairât, and which now graces the museum of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta.

The hill on which the inscription was found forms a conspicuous object about one mile to the south-west of the town. It is about 200 feet high, and is still known by the name of *Bijak-Pahâr*, or "Inscription Hill," and the paved pass immediately beneath it, which leads towards Jaypur, is called Bijak Ghât. The mass of the hill is composed of enormous blocks of grey granite intersected with thick veins and smaller blocks of reddish or salmon-colored granite. The ruins on the top of the hill consist of two contiguous level platforms each 160 feet square, which are thickly covered with broken bricks and the remains of brick walls. The bricks are of large size, $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad and from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 inches thick. The western or upper platform is 30 feet higher than the eastern or lower one. In the centre of the upper platform there is a large mass of rocks which is said to have been dug into by the Mahârâja of Jaypur without any discovery being made. On examining this mass it appeared to me that it must have been the

* Sir H. Elliot's Muhammadan Historians by Dowson, I., 59.

† Briggs' Ferishta, 1, 64.

core around which a brick stupa had been constructed, and that the relic chamber would have been formed in a crevice or excavation of the rock. The approach to this platform was on the south side, where I traced the remains of a large entrance with a flight of stone steps. On all four sides there are ruins of brick walls which once formed the chambers of the resident monks of this large monastery.

In the middle of the lower platform there is a square chamber which was laid open by the Mahâraja's excavations. From its size I judged it to be the interior of a temple. Close beside it, on the east, there is a gigantic mass of rock, 73 feet in length, which is familarly known amongst the people by the name of *Tóp*, or "the Cannon," to which at a distance it bears some resemblance. This rock slopes gently backwards, and as the upper end projects considerably beyond the base, its appearance is not unlike that of the muzzle of a great gun, somewhat elevated and thrust forward beyond the wheels of its carriage. Under this part of the rock a small room has been formed by the addition of rough stone walls after the fashion of the chamber on the opposite hill called *Bhim gupha*, or "Bhim's Cave." On all four sides of the platform there are the remains of brick walls which once formed the cells of the resident monks.

These ruins on the *Bijak* hill I take to be the remains of two of the eight Buddhist monasteries, which were still in existence at the time of Hwen Thsang's visit in A. D 634. Their Buddhist origin is undoubted, as the famous inscription which was found on the lower platform distinctly records the belief of the donor in the ancient Buddhist Triäd of *Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha.** These two monasteries, therefore, must have been in existence at least as early as the time of Asoka in 250 B. C., when the inscription was engraved. As the proclamation is specially addressed to the Buddhist assembly of Magadha, we must suppose, as Burnouf has suggested, that copies were sent to all the greater Buddhist fraternities for the purpose of recording the enduring firmness of the king's faith in the law of Buddha. The inscription must have been engraved on the spot, as the stone

* Burnouf Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi, pp. 724—725; H. H. Wilson, Royal Asiatic Society's Journal, XVI., 359—369.

is a piece of the same salmon-coloured granite, which forms so large a part of the Bijak hill.

The great antiquity of the site of Bairât is farther proved by the numbers of coins of a very early date that are found every year amongst the ruins after the annual rains. During my stay I obtained specimens of cast copper coins without inscriptions, which, in my opinion, are certainly anterior to the time of Alexander the Great. I obtained also a single specimen of one of the early *Mitra* coins, besides a number of Indo-Scythian copper coins, all of which are as early as the first century of the Christian era. As I procured only one Muhammadan coin of Bahlol, dated in A. H. 868, or A. D. 1463-64, I am inclined to believe in the Native tradition that Bairât was deserted for several centuries after its destruction by Mahmud in A. D. 1014.

A tradition preserved by Tod ascribes the re-building of *Bairât* under the name of *Vijaypur* to *Vijay Gahlot*, the fourth in descent from Kanaksen. But this is the mere assertion of a Rajput bard, which was evidently suggested by the name.* The people of Bairât know nothing whatever of Vijay Gahlot, and neither history nor tradition place the Gahlot race so far to the north. In a Persian manuscript which I obtained at Chanderi, the celebrated Prithi Raj Chohân is said to have ruled over *Wilâyat Birâth* previous to ascending the throne of Delhi, which was no doubt quite true, as Bairât lies about midway between Ajmer, the early country of the Chohâns, and Dilli which had lately been conquered by his grandfather, Visala Deva.† We know from Hwen Thsang that Bairât had a king of its own in the beginning of the 7th century, and as the Muhammadans found a king reigning there in A. D. 1014, it seems probable that Bairât may have formed an independent kingdom during the whole of the intervening period of four centuries. Of its earlier state we have no records whatever, but I am inclined to hazard a guess that the *Cesi* of Pliny, who inhabited part of the hilly country between the Jumna and the Indus, may, perhaps, be the same name as the *Fei-she* of Hwen Thsang, which was the caste of the king at the time of his visit, and which may be identified either with the trading *Vaisya*, or with the Rajput *Bais*.

* Rajasthan, I., 83.

† Chand also in his Prithi Râj Râyas calls him "Lord of Vairât."

II. AMBER.

The name of Amber is said by Tod to be derived from "Ambikeswar," a title of Siva, whose symbol is in the middle of a tank, or *kund*, in the midst of the old town. The water covers half the *lingam*, and a prophecy prevails "that when it is entirely submerged, the State of Amber will perish.* The tank of *Ambarikheswara* or *Ambikheswar* still exists, and so does the State of Amber, although no *lingam* is now to be seen! Indeed, the Brahmans of Amber denied that any *lingam* had ever existed in the tank, and they derived the name from *Ambarisha*, or *Ambarikha*, as pronounced in the north-west, the son of Mândhâta, and King of Ayodhya, and not from *Ambikeswara* or Siva. The name of the town also is attributed to the same prince, who founded it at the same time with the tank. Its full name is said to have been *Ambarikhanera*, which was gradually contracted to *Ambiner* or *Amber*.

The term *Mer* or *Ner*, which is found attached to so many names in Rajputana, is stated by Tod to mean "a hill," but this meaning is certainly erroneous, as at least one-half of the places so named stand in the open plain. I can instance the celebrated fortress of *Bhatner* in Hariâna, the large walled town of *Sánganer*, 8 miles to the south of Jaypur, and the well known city of *Ajmer*, all of the which I have myself seen, and which are undoubtedly built on the level plain; indeed, Tod himself furnishes the best proof of the erroneousness of his own derivation when he states that *Ajmer* is also called Ajidurg, for *durg* means "fort" and not a "hill," although it must be admitted that it is usually applied to a "hill-fort." But the fort of *Ajaymer* or *Ajmer* is called *Tárágarh* and *Bitali-ki-kot*, and the name of Ajmer is restricted to the town. Out of twenty-eight places with names ending in *ner*, *mer*, or *ber*, I find that every one, without a single exception, refers to a walled town or fort, from which I conclude that such must be the true meaning of the term. Tod was no doubt misled partly by the name of the sacred mountain of *Meru*, which he adopted as the generic name for a hill, and partly by the fact that many of the places so named are actually situated

* Rajasthan, II. 488.

on hills. Thus *Kumbhomer* in Rajputana is a hill fortress, but *Kumbhomer* or *Kumbher*, near Bharatpur, is simply a mud fort built on the open plain.

III. DHUNDHAR, OR JAYPUR.

The Rajput State of Jaypur derives its name from the modern city, which was founded by Siwai-Jay Sinh in the beginning of the 18th century. The old name of the country was *Dhundhâr*, which Tod derives from "a once celebrated sacrificial mound (or *dhund*) at Jobner," where the Chohân king, Visala Deva, is said to have performed penance.* Here Tod is doubly wrong, both in his etymology and his information, as the term for a mound is not *dhundh*, but *dhondha*, and there is no mound of the kind at Jobner. In one of the funeral inscriptions near Jaypur, I found the name of the country written *Dhundahar*, and, according to the local Brahmans, *Dhundhu* was a demon-king, who was slain by Satrughna, the brother of Rama. But this is a mistake, as it was Lavana, the demon-chief of Mathura, who was killed by Satrughna. Dhundhu's cave still exists in the neighbouring hill at Galta, 1½ *kos* or about 3 miles to the east of Jaypur. It is a natural fissure near the top of the hill. The stream immediately below the hill was called after him, the *Dhundhu* River, and the country on its banks was afterwards known as *Dhundhuwâra* or *Dhundhâr*. In the Purânas, the Asura Dhundhu is said have been slain by Kuvalâyâswa of the Solar race, who thereby obtained his well known title of *Dhundhu-mâra*, or "slayer of Dhundhu." The demon hid himself beneath a sea of sand, which was dug up by Kuvalâyâswa and his 21 sons, in spite of the fiery breath of the monster which consumed 18 of them.† H. H. Wilson has suggested that the legend probably originated "in the occurrence of some physical phenomenon, as an earthquake or volcano;" but I am rather inclined to attribute it to the vast sandy plains along both banks of the Dhundhu River, from which the wind raises clouds of smoke-like dust. Bishop Heber describes this part of the country as resembling a "large estuary, but studded with rocky islands, whose sands were

* Rajasthan, II., 346.

† Wilson's Translation, pp. 361, 362, – note.

left here by the receding tide."* In another place he speaks of it as a "desolate plain of deep sand." Of the western tract, Sir Erskine Perry says that he never "travelled over 80 miles of more waste ground which seemed irreclaimable from the nature of the soil, a deep sand."†

As the *Kachhwâhas* of Jaypur are emigrants from Gwalior and Narwar, their genealogy will be discussed when I come to describe these places in the latter part of this report. The Kachhwâhas lost Gwalior in the beginning of the 12th century, and before the end of it they were firmly established in Dhundhâr.

IV. AJMER, OR AJAYMER.

The celebrated city of *Ajmer* is situated at the northern foot of the lofty hill-fort of Târâgarh, two hundred and thirty miles to the south-west of Delhi, and forty-eight miles to the south-west of Jaypur. It is enclosed by a well-built stone wall with the usual battlements, and five lofty gates in the modern style of Indian architecture. The population is estimated at about 25,000 persons, but from the crowded appearance of the houses I think that it must be greater, perhaps not less than 30,000. A very good view of the city and fort will be found in Tod's Rajasthan. The situation is strikingly beautiful. To the north lies the great lake of *Ana-Sâgar*, entirely surrounded by hills; to the left, in the midst of the open valley, the large oblong lake of *Bisal-Deo*, both of which are fed by the head waters of the Loni River. To the west rises the lofty fortress of Târâgarh, backed in the distance by the blue hills of Ajaypâl, which overlook the holy lake of *Pushkar* or *Brahmâ-kâ-Sthân*.

The foundation of *Ajmer*, or *Ajaymer*, is universally attributed to the Chohan Prince Ajaypâl, who is gravely said to have reigned before the time of the Mahâbhârata. Tod also ascribes to him the erection of the fort of Târâgarh, or *Bitali-Kot;* but, according to *Mukji*, the famous bard of the Khichi Chohâns, both the fort and the lake were the work of Anoji, one of the sons of Vîsala Deva.‡ Of the descendants

* Travels, II., 389.

† Bird's-eye view of India, p. 142.

‡ Rajasthan, II. 443. My information was obtained from Mukji's own books, through his sons.

of Ajaypâl nothing is known until *Mânik Ray*, whose date is fixed by a well known memorial verse to the Samvat year 741 or 747, but of what era is uncertain. Tod of course adopts the Samvat of Vikrama, and brings the Chohân Prince into collision with the early Muhammadans some twenty years before the invasion of Sindh by Muhammad Bin Kâsim. If any dependence is to be placed in the genealogy of the Chohâns, which is given by Chand in the *Prithi Raj Râyas*, then Mânik Ray must have reigned about A. D. 800, allowing 15 years to each reign; and if the date of the memorial verse be referred to the Sake era, Mânik Ray's accession must be placed in A. D. 819 or 825. I am inclined, therefore, to accept this late date, and to assign Mânik Ray, who would appear to have been the real founder of the Chohan power, to the beginning of the ninth century. Mánik Ray had 24 sons, who became the progenitors of the 24 branches of the Chohân race, of whom the most famous are the *Khichi*, the *Bhâdoria*, the *Hâra*, the *Deora*, the *Sonagaria*, and the *Chohân* proper. In his time the dominion of the Chohân kings was extended to the great salt lake of *Sâkambhari* or *Sâmbhar*, from which they derived their title of Sâmbhari Rao, and which remained in their possession until the conquest of the country by the Muhammadans. The acquisition of Sâmbhar cannot, I think, be placed later than A. D. 800, as we learn from the Shekhâwati inscription that Sinha Raja, who was reigning in A. D. 961 to 973, was the 5th in descent from the *Châhumân* Prince Guvaka. If we allow 25 years to each generation, the date of Guvaka will be fixed in A. D. 825, at which time this branch of the Chohâns would appear to have established their dominion over all the country to the north of the Sâmbhar Lake.

According to the Rajput bards, the Chohân, or *Châhumân*, is one of the four *Agnikula*, or "fire-sprung" tribes, who were created by the gods in the *Anal-Kund* or "fountain of fire" on mount Abu, to fight against the *Asuras* or demons. But this claim must be of comparatively modern date, as the common *Gotrâchârya* of all the Chohân tribes declares them to be of the race of *Vatsa*, through five famous ancestors (*Bach-Gotra panch pravara*). Now in Fell's inscription of Jaya Chandra of Kanoj, we have a record of a grant of land made in A. D. 1177 to a Kshatriya, named Rau Râshtradhara Varmma, who is said to be of the Vatsa *Gotra* with the five *pravaras* of Bhârgava, Chyavana, Apnavana,

Aurva, Jamadagnya. From this document, therefore, we learn that the Chohâns, even so late as the reign of Prithi Raj, laid no claim to be sprung from fire, but were content to be considered as descendants of the holy sage, Bhrigu, through Jamadagnya Vatsa. Similarly, amongst all the numerous inscriptions that we possess of the Châlukya or Solanki family, there is not one that makes any allusion to the fable of their origin from fire. On the contrary the Châlukyas in their inscriptions claim to be descended from the holy sage, Manu, through Harita (*Mânavasya-gotranam Hâriti-putrânam)*. What, then, was the origin of the legend of the *Agnikulas* or "fire-spfirung races?" On this point I will venture to hazard a conjecture that the fable may have originated in the suggestiveness of a name. According to tradition the famous city of *Analpur* or *Analwâra-patan*, the capital of the Solankis, was said to have been founded by Vana Raja Solanki, who named it after *Anala*, a Chohân cowherd, who had pointed out the spot to him. According to another version the place was originally established by *Anala* Chohân himself. As the date of the event was unknown, and was certainly remote, *Anala* was placed at the head of all the Chohân genealogies as the progenitor of the race. Then as *anala* means "fire," it naturally followed that the cowherd was dropped, and the element of fire adopted as the originator of the race.

Now, if this suggestion has any foundation in truth, we must expect to find in the original legend that it is the Chohâns alone who were fabled to have sprung from fire. Such I believe to be the meaning of the following extract, which I copied from the books of *Mulji*, the bard of the Khichi Chohâns:

Brahmâ-ji-ka ans SOLANKHI *paidâ hua,*
Brahmâ CHALUK RAO *kur-hua:*
Siva-ka ans-ka PUWAR *paidâ hua,*
Devi-ka ans-ka PARIYARA *paidâ hua,*
Anal-kund su upana, alsar pheriyân
Abu taj Abhârhgarh, châho-bans Châhuwân.

From Brahmâ's essence the *Solankhi* was born,
Brahmâ named him *Châluk-Rao*:
From Siva's essence the *Puwâr* was born,
From Devi's essence the *Pariyâr* was born;
From the fount of fire sprang up, and wandered forth
Leaving Abu for Abhârh, of chosen race, the *Châhuwân*.

Here we see that at some former period it was the Chohân alone who was fabled to have been produced from the fount of fire on Abu, and that the other three races were then said to have sprung from the essence of three different gods. Here also there is no trace of the modern spelling of *Chaturmán* derived from *chatur* "four," which must have been adopted after the invention of the later fable of the *four* fire-sprung races. On the contrary the name is written *Cháhuwán* in agreement with the *Cháhumán* of the old Shekhawati inscription of A. D. 961, and is pointedly derived from the Hindi *cháh*, "desire or choice," which is an abbreviation of the Sanskrit *ichchha*.

In the more modern version of the legend, as related by Tod, the creation of the four *Agnikula* races is ascribed to the powerful incantations of the Brahmans who dug a pit, and kindling the sacred fire prayed for aid to Mahâdeva.* First issued the *Parihára*, then the *Pramára*, and next the *Chálukya* or *Solanki*, each of whom failed to overcome the demons. Last of all arose a lofty figure with four arms (*Chaturbhuja*), who was therefore styled the Chohan. He prevailed against the demons and restored the ascendancy of the Brahmans. But this version of the Rajput bards differs somewhat from the account which is given in the Prithi Raj Rasas of Chand, according to whom an incantation was commenced by the whole body of Rishis or holy sages on Mount Abu under the leadership of Vasishtha. The ceremony was interrupted by the demons (*Rákshasas*), when at the prayer of Vasishtha, there appeared the *Ráthor*, the *Chátuk*, and the *Pramár*, who encountered the demons but were unable to overcome them. Then the *Rishi* prayed again, and instantly there appeared a fourth warrior, the *Cháhuwán* (*chatur-Vir-Cháhuwán*, who defeated and slew the demons, and the ceremony was successfully concluded by the assembled Rishis. I have two copies of this part of Chand's poem, both of which agree in substituting the name of *Ráthor* for the *Parihár* of Tod's account. But I presume that it must be a mistake, as the *Parihár* is universally admitted to have been one of the four Agnikulas.

The earliest historical notice of Ajmer is by Ferishta, who states that in the year A. H. 63, or A. D. 682, the Rai

* Rajasthan, I., 94.

of Ajmer was related to the Raja of Lahor. But the relationship must have been only a connexion by marriage, as even tradition does not venture to assign any part of the Punjâb to the dominion of the Chohâns. It is true that Tod has placed Khichi Chohâns in the Sindh Sâgar Doab at Khichipur Pâtan, which he has identified with the Kechkot of Bâbar. But Khichipur Pâtan is a well known town in Umatwâra close to the southern border of the present district of Khichiwâra, which is universally admitted to have been the ancient seat of the Khichi Chohâns. After the conquest of the country by the Khilji Kings of Malwa, the name of the town was slightly altered to *Khiljipur Pâtan*, and under this appellation it will be found on Tod's own map lying between the Kâli Sindh and the Betwa, the two rivers which he has identified with the Sindh and Behat of the Punjâb.

The next notice of Ajmer is in the year A. H. 377, or A. D. 987, when the Raja is said to have sent aid to Jaypâl, Raja of Lahor and Kabul, against the Ghazni King Sabuktugin. Again in A. H. 399, or A. D. 1008, the Raja of Ajmer joined the great confederacy of Hindu chiefs under Anand Pâl to oppose Mahmud. In neither of these instances is the name of the Raja given by Ferishta, and unfortunately the bardic annals of the Chohâns are too meagre and confused to be of any real historical use. Unfortunately also Tod's attempts at explanation have only added to the confusion, as he ignores the twice recorded date of S. 1220, or A. D. 1163, of Vîsala Deva on the Delhi pillar, to make him an opponent of Mahmud in the beginning of the 11th century. In one place he gives to Hars Raj, whom the Hâra bard assigns to the year S. 827, or A. D. 770, the honor of conquering Sabuktugin with the title of *S[illegible]-graha*, which in another place he gives to his successor Dujgan Deo.* I have compared the lists of the Hâra and Khichi bards with the genealogy given by Chand in two different copies of the Prithi Raj Râyas, which has resulted in the conviction that the chief cause of error in Tod, as well as in the bards, has originated in the mistaken identification of two different princes of the same name as one person. In Chand's list I find that *Vîsala Deva*, the grandfather of Prithi Raj, is the fifth in succession from

* Compare Rajasthan, II., 44[illegible] & 451.

Vira Visala, the son of *Dharmadhi Rai*. The last prince is, no doubt, the same as Tod's *Dharma Gaj*, who was the father of Visala Deva. Tod's early date of S. 1066, or A. D. 1009, must therefore apply to Vira Visala, while the date of the Delhi pillar will apply to the later Visala Deva. The accuracy of Chand's genealogy, which makes Visala Deva the grandfather of Prithi Raj, is confirmed by an inscription, quoted by Tod himself,* which makes Tejsi of Chitor, the contemporary of Visala Deva; for, as Tejsi was the grandfather of Samarsi, who was the ally of Prithi Raj, it follows that Tejsi's ally, Visala Deva, was most probably the grandfather of Prithi Raj. The earlier prince, *Vira Visala*, will thus naturally become the contemporary of Mahmud of Ghazni, and his father, *Dharmâdhi* or *Dharmgaj*, the contemporary of Sabuktugin. With this explanation I think it highly probable that Dharmâdhi was the Raja of Ajmer, who sent succour to Jaypâl in A. D. 987, and that his son, Vira Visala, was the next Raja of Ajmer, who joined the great confederacy of Hindu princes under Anand Pál against Mahmud.

According to Ferishta, Mahmud reached Multân in Ramzân of A. H. 415, about 1st December A. D. 1024, from whence he crossed the desert to Ajmer. "Here, finding that the Raja and inhabitants had abandoned the city rather than submit to him, Mahmud ordered it to be sacked, and the adjacent country to be laid waste;" and judging that the siege of the fort (of Târâgarh) would occupy too much time, he left it unmolested, and proceeded on his march to Narhwâla, the capital of Gujarât.† At the close of the campaign in A. H. 417, Mahmud was obliged to return to Ghazni by the route of Sindh, as Brahma Deva of Gujarât with the Raja of Ajmer and others had collected a great army to oppose him in the desert. The "others" who joined in this confederacy against Mahmud are detailed by Chand in the extract which Tod has given from the Prithi Raj Râyas, but as nearly all the names are those of tribes and not of kings, they are of no use in determining the date of the event.‡

Ajmer is not mentioned again until the time of Muhammad Ghori, who in A. H. 587, or A. D. 1191, took possession

* Rajasthan, II., 149,—note.

† Briggs' Translation, I., 68.

‡ Rajasthan, II., 448.

of Bitanda, but was defeated on his return by Prithi Raj, whose territory he had thus invaded. Two years later the Ghorian king again invaded India, and having defeated Prithi Raj on the fatal field of Narâna, near Tiraori on the Chitang River, proceeded "in person to Ajmer, of which he also took possession, after having put some thousands of the inhabitants who opposed him to the sword, reserving the rest for slavery.* Afterwards, on the promise of punctual payment of a large tribute, he delivered over the country of Ajmer to Gola Rai, a natural son of Prithi Raj. In the following year A. H. 590, or A. D. 1194, Gola Rai was driven out by Hemrâj, a relative of Prithi Raj; but the expelled prince having sought the assistance of Kutb-ud-din Aibeg, the Viceroy of Muhammad Ghori, the country was again invaded in A. D. 1195, when Hemrâj was defeated and killed, and the territory of Ajmer was permanently annexed to the Muhammadan empire of Delhi.

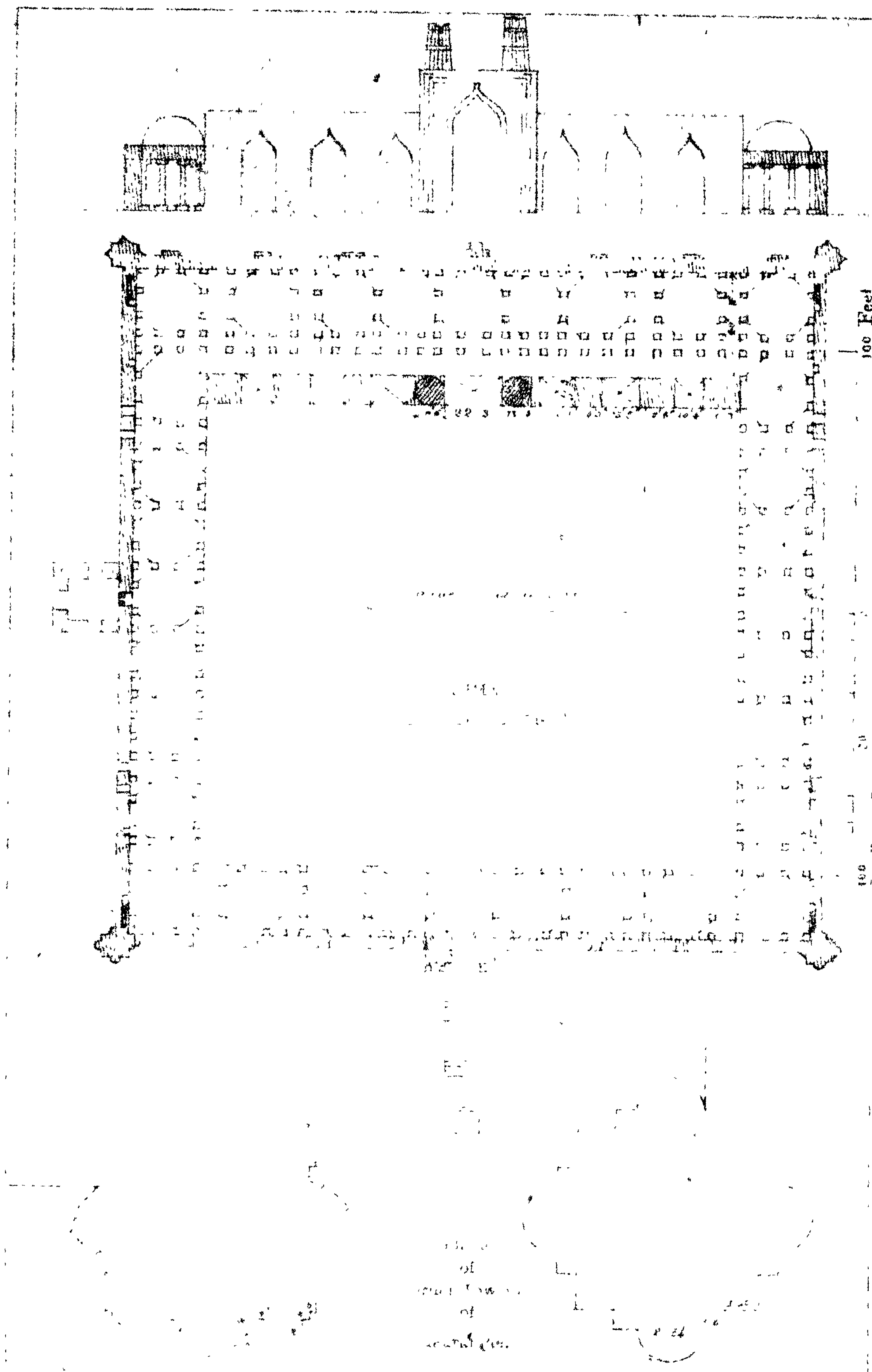
In A. H. 592, or A. D. 1196, the Raja of Gujarât, with the assistance of the *Mers*, determined on the re-capture of Ajmer. Aibeg instantly marched from Delhi to encounter the *Mers* before the junction of the Gujarât troops, but he was signally defeated by them, and was obliged to take refuge in Ajmer. Here he was beleaguered by the Hindus for nearly a year until the arrival of reinforcements from Ghazni, when the siege was raised and the enemy retreated. Aibeg followed the retiring army, and, having defeated them with great slaughter near Sirohi, advanced to Nahrwâla which he captured, and then returned to Delhi by way of Ajmer.

The enthusiastic annalist of the Rajputs has remarked that "Ajmer has been too long the haunt of Mogals and Pathans, the Goths and Vandals of Rajasthan, to afford much scope to the antiquary."† It can, however, boast of one building, the great mosque, which is one of the earliest and finest monuments of the Muhammadan power in India. Like the great Kutb Masjid at Delhi, the Ajmer mosque was built of the spoils of many Hindu temples, which were thrown down by the bigotry of the conquerors. Its very name of *Adhai-din-ka-jhopra*, or the "shed of 2½ days," which is the only appellation by which it is now known,

---

* Briggs' Ferishta, I., 177.

† Tod's Rajasthan, I., 778.



November

would seem to point directly to the astonishing rapidity of its erection, and as this could only have been effected by the free use of the ready dressed materials of prostrated Hindu temples, I accept the popular name as confirmatory proof of the actual origin of the masjid, which is amply attested by an inspection of the edifice itself. Tod supposed that the whole of this magnificent building was originally a single Jain temple, to which the conquerors had only added the noble screen wall, with its seven pointed arches, which forms the front of the mosque. It is true that the signs of re-arrangement in the pillars are not so striking and apparent as in those of the great Kutb Mosque at Delhi, but they are equally numerous and conclusive. One decisive instance of this kind, which is frequently repeated, will be sufficient to prove this point. Thus in the left hand row of pillars in Tod's engraving, there will be observed a square projecting block with the angles recessed, which is interposed between a lower octagonal shaft and an upper square shaft. On examining these projecting blocks I found that they must originally have been surmounted by shafts of the same shape as themselves, as their upper surfaces are all rough, and many of them still show empty cramp holes on the top, by which they were once secured to the stones above them. It is equally certain that they are not Jain pillars, as I found many four-armed figures sculptured on them, besides a single figure of the fierce goddess *Kali*.

The great mosque of Ajmer consists of a quadrangle cloistered on all four sides, with a lofty screen wall of seven pointed arches forming a magnificent front to the western side. The side cloisters are mostly ruined, but the whole of the seven noble arches of the screen wall, as well as the grand pillared cloisters behind them, are still standing. Altogether it is the finest and largest specimen of the early Muhammadan mosque that now exists.* It is of the same

* See Plate LXXIV for a plan of the Ajmer Masjid. My measurements give the outside dimensions as 272 feet [illegible] north to south, and 264 feet [illegible] from east to west. In one of the [illegible] gateway [illegible] two [illegible] measurements recorded thus, [illegible] 167, [illegible]. The [illegible] 264·17 [illegible] than one quarter of [illegible] different [illegible] breadth [illegible]. The two [illegible] give an average length of 13·9088 inches [illegible] the [illegible] of Ajmer. I [illegible] to ascribe these measurements to [illegible] who has [illegible] similar characters in the same place. See No. [illegible] Plate LXXV, [illegible] I read *Samvat* 1462, *Varsha, Jeth badi* 8, *Sutradhâra Dhar*[illegible] "In the year 1462 (or A. D. 1405) on the 8th of the Waning Moon of Jyesth, by the mason Dhara[illegible]" — See Nos. 8 and 9 inscriptions in Plate LXXV.

age as the Kutb Mosque at Delhi, but it is considerably larger, and in very much better preservation. I found it difficult to follow some parts of the plan of the Delhi mosque, but nearly every part of the plan of the Ajmer mosque is still traceable, so that the original design of the architect can be restored without much difficulty. Externally it is a square of 259 feet each side, with four peculiar star-shaped towers at the corners. There are only two entrances,—one to the east, and the other to the south,—the north side being built against the scarped rock of the hill. The interior consists of a quadrangle 200 feet by 175 feet, surrounded on all four sides by cloisters of Hindu pillars. The mosque itself, which forms the western side of the quadrangle, is 259 feet long by 57¾ feet broad, including the great screen wall, which is no less than 11½ feet thick and 56 feet high. The vast size of the Ajmer mosque will be best appreciated by a comparison of its dimensions with those of the great Kutb Mosque at Delhi, which was built in the same reign, but just seven years earlier than the other. I am therefore inclined to believe that the two mosques must have been designed by the same architect, and that even the same masons may possibly have been employed in the decoration of each.

	Delhi.		Ajmer.	
Exterior dimensions ...	147½ × 47	feet.	259 × 57¾	feet.
Interior " ...	135 × 32	"	218¼ × 10¾	"
Front of screen wall ...	135	"	200	"
Thickness of do. ...	8	"	11½	"

In further confirmation of my suggestion that the two mosques must have been the work of the same architect, I may cite the close agreement in the size and proportions of their arches. I may cite also the very striking accordance in the general design of the two mosques, as well as the almost literal conformity in the decorations of the screen walls.

In the Kutb Mosque at Delhi, the *Mázinah*, or Muazzin's tower, for calling the faithful to prayer, is a distinct and separate building known as the celebrated Kutb Minar. But in the Ajmer Mosque we have the earliest example of a pair of Muazzin's towers in two small minars which are placed on the top of the screen wall over the great centre arch. This arrangement was impracticable in the Delhi mosque, as the

INSCRIPTIONS

Arhai [illegible]

1. On two bands of North Minaret

[illegible]

[illegible]

2. On S[illegible] Masjid.

[illegible]

3. On [illegible] Stones

[illegible]

Nágari Inscriptions on the Pillars

4
कक्षव

5
श्री सिहल

6
दावत्र

7
मह्ड[illegible]

Nágari Inscriptions in Niche of Eastern Gateway

9
पैक १६१
आक १७१

8
संवत् १२६२ वुषे
ज्येठवदी [illegible]
घा मा वुंदी को

Cunningham del. Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta

screen wall is only eight feet thick; but in the Ajmer mosque, with its massive screen wall 11½ feet thick, the architect found it possible to erect two small minars, 10½ feet in diameter, for the use of the Muazzin. The tops of both of these minars are now ruined, but enough still remains to show that they were sloping hollow towers, with 24 faces or flutes alternately angular and circular, just like those of the Kutb minar. Like their great prototype also, they were divided into separate stages or storeys by horizontal belts of writing, of which two belts of the north minar still remain partly legible.

In the lower belt of writing I was able to read *Sultán-us Sulátin-us-Shark* * * * *Abu-ul-Muzafar Altamish us Sultáne Náser Amir-ul Múminín*.* This is sufficient to show that the mosque must have been completed during the reign of Altamish, or between A. D. 1211 and 1236. But in the back wall of the mosque, and immediately under the roof of the second dome from the centre towards the right or north, I discovered another inscription in two lines of Kufic characters, which records the erection of the masjid in the month of Zi-Hijjah A. H. 596, or in September A. D. 1200. This inscription, which is incomplete at the beginning, has been restored and translated for me by the kindness of Colonel W. Nassau Lees:†

"(This Masjid was built) during the guardianship of Akbar, the son of Ahmad (by the help of God), the Creator, the Everlasting, in the month of Zi-Hijjah, five hundred and ninety-six."

As this inscription is a record of the building of the mosque which was intended to be read, it is evident that it is not in its original position, for the present situation is so dark that the stone has hitherto escaped notice. Indeed, the fact of the incompleteness of the record shows that the stone must have been cut on the right hand to make it fit into its present position. I infer that this inscription must have belonged to the present mosque from the fact that the contemporary mosque at Delhi still bears inscriptions of different dates. It has, however, struck me that it might possibly

* See Plate LXXV, No. 1, for this [illegible]

† Ibid — No. 2.

refer to some small mosque, which had originally occupied the same site, and which might actually have been built in the short period of "two days and a half," that is alluded to in the popular name of the present mosque.

On entering the mosque by the centre arch, we see a vast pillared hall, 248 feet long and 40 feet wide, covered by a flat recessed roof, which is divided into nine octagonal compartments, corresponding with the seven arches of the screen wall and the two corners of the cloisters. In this hall there are five rows of columns, of which one row is placed against the back wall. In the side cloisters there were only four rows of columns of which little now remains, save a few stumps which still cling to the walls. In the masjid proper, or western side, there were 124 pillars, in the eastern cloister there were 92, and in each of the side cloisters, 64 pillars. Altogether there were 344 pillars, but as each of these represented at least two of the original pillars, the actual number of Hindu columns could not have been less than 700, which is equivalent to the spoils of from 20 to 30 temples. I examined all these pillars most minutely, in search of inscriptions, or mason's marks that would throw some light on the probable date of the despoiled temples. The search was not altogether unsuccessful, as I found several short records and single letters, which would appear to have been contemporary mason's marks. I found the names of *Kesava Sri Sihala*, and *Dilbara*, on different pillars in characters of the 11th or 12th century, and on a pillar at the north end I found a longer record of about the same age which reads *Mahoda * Panaghara 5½.* From these scanty records I infer, but with some hesitation, that most of the temples which furnished materials for the building of the great mosque must have been erected during the 11th and 12th centuries.

In his account of the Ajmer mosque, Tod mentions a small frieze over the apex of the centre arch, which he thought "contained an inscription in Sanskrit, with which Arabic has been commingled, both being unintelligible."† I looked in vain for this inscription, and I am inclined to believe that Tod may have mistaken some of the square

* See Plate LXXV, Nos. 4, 5, 6, and 7 for this inscription.

† Rajasthan, I., 779.

Kufic writing for ancient Sanskrit. It is, indeed, possible that the square Kufic inscription, which records the building of the mosque in A. H. 596, may once have occupied the position described by Tod over the apex of the centre arch, as portions of some of the courses of stone are now missing in that position. Each arch is surrounded by three lines of writing, which are divided from each other by two bands of rich arabesque ornament. The two inner lines of writing are Arabic, but the outer line is square Tughra or Kufic. The whole of the ornament is deeply and boldly cut in a hard yellow lime-stone, and although somewhat discoloured by the weather, it still retains all its original sharpness of outline. Tod happily describes it as "a superb screen" of "Saracenic architecture;" but I am inclined to think that the two great mosques of Delhi and Ajmer belong to a higher and nobler style of art than the Saracenic architects ever reached. In boldness of design, and grandeur of conception, which are perhaps due to the genius of the Islamite architect, these two splendid mosques of the first Indian Muhammadans are only surpassed by the soaring sublimity of the Christian Cathedrals. But in gorgeous prodigality of ornament, in beautiful richness of tracery, and endless variety of detail, in delicate sharpness of finish, and laborious accuracy of workmanship, all of which are due to the Hindu masons, I think that these two grand Indian mosques may justly vie with the noblest buildings which the world has yet produced. In attributing the design to the Musalman architect, and all the constructive details to the Hindu, I am chiefly influenced by the fact that the arch has never formed part of Hindu structural architecture, although it is found in many specimens of their rock-hewn temples. The design, therefore, I take to be Muhammadan, but as the arches of the Ajmer mosque are formed by overlapping stones, I conclude that the actual construction was the work of Hindu masons, who were ignorant of the art of forming an arch by radiating voussoirs.

V. JHALRA PATAN, OR CHANDRAVATI.

The beautiful temple of Chandrâvati has been more fortunate than the great mosque of Ajmer, as it has been described by the able and critical Fergusson, as well as by

the enthusiastic Tod.* But as their accounts of Chandrâvati are confined to this one beautiful temple, which is the principal ruin of the place, I think that a general description of all the existing remains of this old city will not be without interest.

The ruins of Chandrâvati are situated on both banks of the Chandra-bhâga Nadi, a small stream which flows from south-west to north-east, and falls into the Kâli Sindh, a few miles above Gâgron. To the north lies the modern city of Jhâlra Pâtan, the walls of which would appear to have been almost entirely built of the red stone supplied by the ruins of Chandrâvati, which still cover a space of more than a mile from east to west, and of about a mile from north to south. The principal ruins are all clustered together on the north bank of the Chandra-bhâga rivulet, which here flows from west to east over a stony bed with a clear rippling stream, about 20 yards broad.† The banks of the stream are studded with the remains of ghâts and flights of steps, on which are collected a large number of broken statues and fragments of sculpture. The principal ghât is flanked by two modern Vaishnava temples, dedicated to *Chaturbhuj* and *Lakshmi Nârâyan*. Here the women of the city bathe and comb out their hair standing naked to the waist in the midst of the numerous Brahmans.

The building of the old city is popularly attributed to Raja Chandra Sena, of Malwa, who, according to Abul Fazl, was the immediate successor of the famous Vikramâditya. Of its antiquity there can be no doubt, as I obtained several specimens of old cast copper coins without legends, besides a few of the still more ancient square pieces of silver which probably range as high as from 500 to 1000 B. C. These coins are, perhaps, sufficient to show that the place was occupied long before the time of Chandra Sena; but as none of the existing ruins would appear to be older than the 6th or 7th century A. D., it is not improbable that the city may have been re-founded by Chandra Sena, and named after himself Chandrâvati. I think it nearly certain that it must have been the capital of Ptolemy's district of *Sandrabatis*; and, if so, the tradition which assigns its foundation to the

* Fergusson, Illustrations of Indian Architecture, p. 33; Tod's Rajasthan, II, 732.

† See Plate LXXVI. for a map of Jhâlra Pâtan.

beginning of the Christian era would seem to be correct. Tod discovered an inscription dated in S. 748, or A. D. 691, which I was unable to find, and unfortunately his account of it, which mixes up *Mahâdeva* with an *avatâr* of Buddha, does not appear to me to be entitled to much confidence. In the large temple marked D in the plan, I found the fragment of a square pillar inscribed on three faces with the names of pilgrims who had paid their devotions at the shrine of Siva in the Samvat year 1153, or A. D. 1096. This pillar will be again referred to in my account of the temple. The old roofs of all the temples are gone.

The temple nearest the ghât, marked A on the plan, is a modern structure enshrining several ancient statues. On the outside to the west is a figure of Vishnu, and to the south a figure of *Nara-Sinha*. In the inside there is a three-headed and ten-armed statue of Vishnu, $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height, with a female figure, four feet in height, on each side, with face turned towards him, and hands clasped in adoration. The male figure has ornamented boots or buskins, and is partially clad, but the females are quite naked, except a cloth round the loins. I think that the group represents Vishnu and his two wives, Lakshmi and Satyavâma. The figures are well executed, and the attitudes are easy and natural.

The second temple marked B is also a modern building, containing an ancient statue with the name of *Jiva* inscribed on the pedestal in characters of the 10th or 11th century. The figure is four-armed, and is seated on a lotus, with two hands resting on the lap. *Jiva* is the name of *Vrishaspati*, the preceptor of the gods, who is the same as the planet Jupiter, and who is usually represented with four arms. But as *Jiva* means "life, or breath," I have a suspicion that the figure is intended for Brahmâ, the creator. The head, which is separate, is a modern one of coarse workmanship.

The third temple marked C is also a new building enshrining an ancient group of Siva and Pârvati seated on the bull Nandi. These two Saiva temples, B and C, are placed together to the north of the Vaishnava temple A.

The fourth temple marked D is the beautiful pillared shrine which has been described by Tod and Fergusson. As

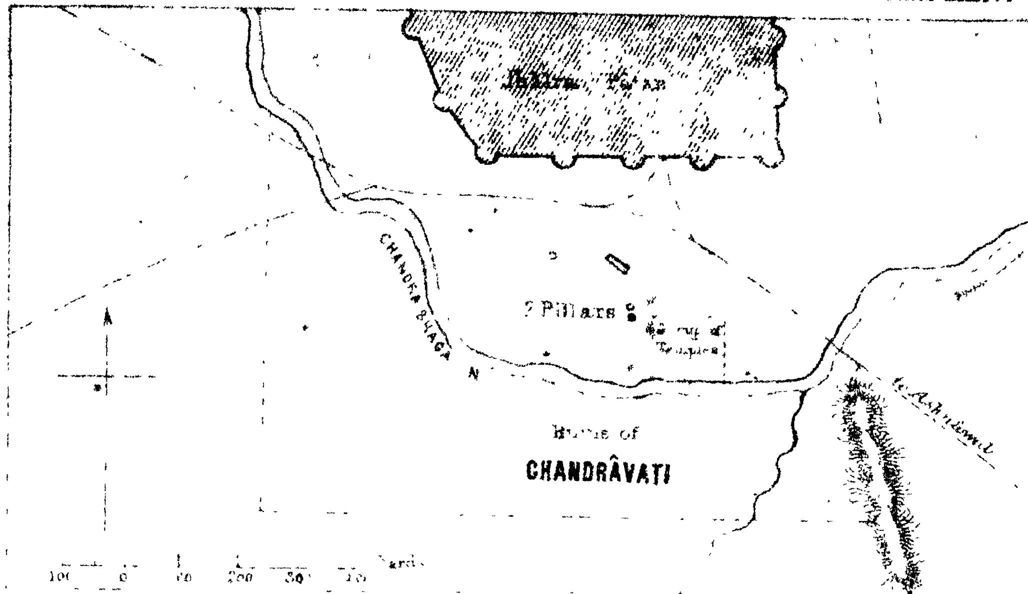
It at present stands, this temple consists of an open porch, or *mandapa*, 31 feet by 28 feet, supported on 26 round columns of great beauty. Beyond this is the ante-chamber, or *antarâla*, which once contained an inscription in a framed recess on the left hand, four feet five inches long by two feet one inch broad, which is said to have been removed by some *Sahib*. But as the inscription is not mentioned by Tod, who was the first European to visit this shrine, the Brahman's story of its removal is certainly untrue. I have a suspicion that Tod's inscription, dated in A. D. 691, which has already been referred to, may have belonged to this temple.* This point may, perhaps, be determined by a reference to Tod's papers in the museum of the Royal Asiatic Society. As Tod admits that he carried off a cart load of statues to Udaypur, I think it probable that the inscription may have been removed at the same time, as I searched for it in vain amongst the ruins of Chandrâvati.

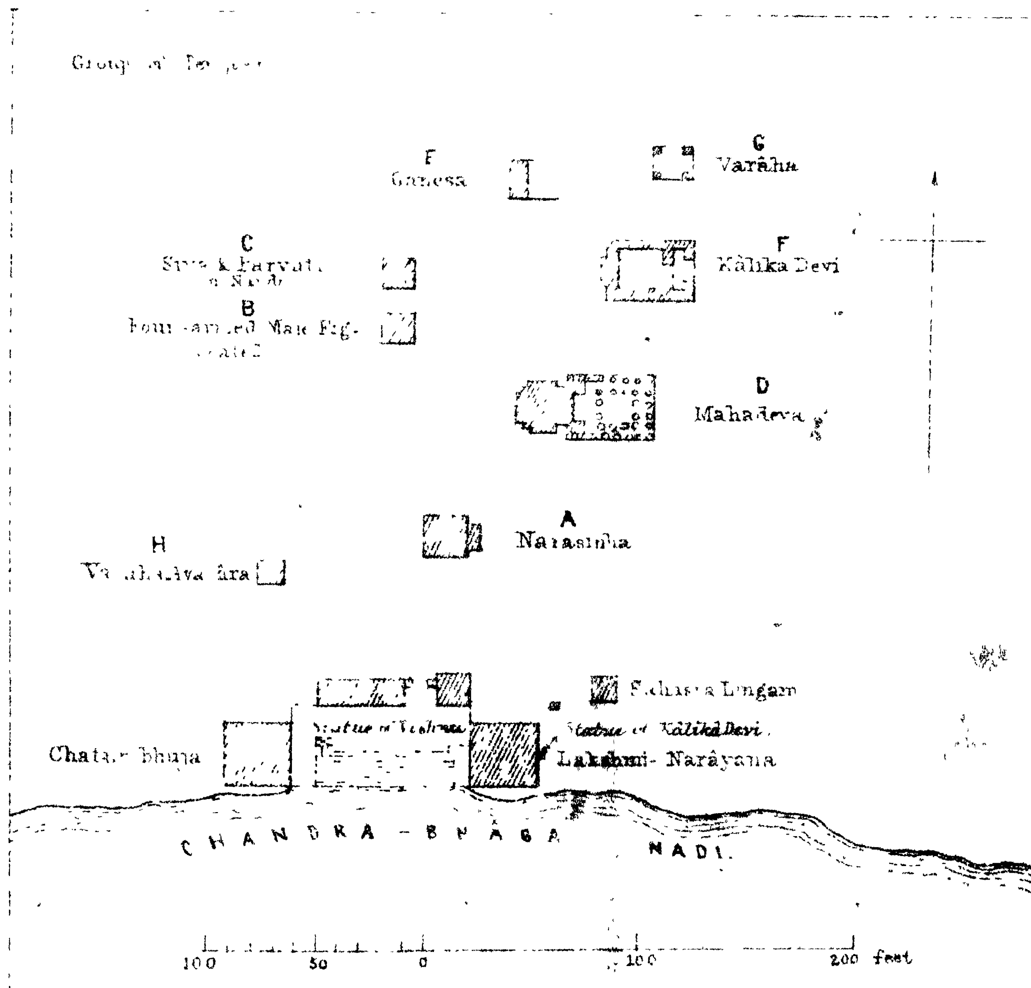
Beyond the ante-chamber is the *garbha-griha*, or sanctum, intended for the enshrinement of the statue of the god to whom the temple was dedicated. At present the shrine is devoted to the worship of Siva, whose *lingam* occupies the centre of the sanctum. Immediately behind is a statue of Pârvati, and behind this, against the back-wall, there is a group of Siva and his wife, as *Hara-Gauri*, seated on the bull Nandi. On the outside of the temple also, in a niche facing the north, there is a figure of Durgâ killing the *Mahesâsur*, or buffalo-demon, and in two other niches on the same face there are two small four-armed figures of Vishnu and Siva. But in spite of the accumulated evidence in favour of the *Saiva* origin of this temple, I am satisfied that it was originally dedicated to Vishnu. This would have been highly probable from the antiquity of the temple alone, but it is rendered quite certain by the position of the figure of Vishnu as *Gadâdhar*, or the "mace-bearer," which is placed immediately over the centre of the entrance to the sanctum. Mr. Fergusson had already come to the same conclusion, and he points to two instances of a similar conversion in the Mori temple at Chitor and the Brahmanical rock-cut temple

* As the Samvat of Vikramâditya does not appear to have been in use at this early period, the true date of the inscription, referred to the Saka era, will be 135 years later, or A. D. 826.

CHANDRÂVATI.

Plate LXXV.

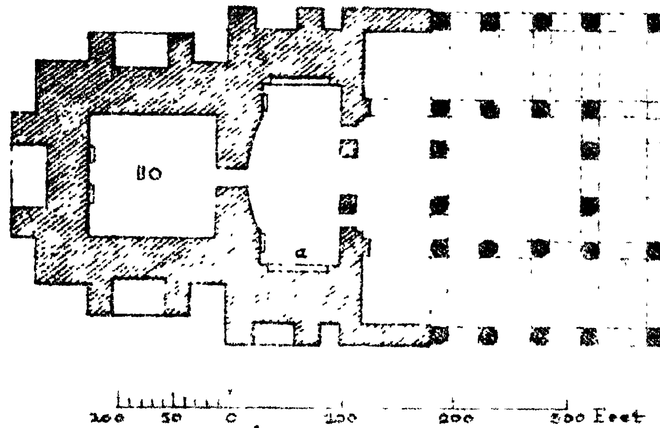




A Cunningham del: Litho. at the Survr. Genl's. Office Cal. November 1871

CHANDRÂVATI.

Temple of Mahâdeva.



a. Position of Removed Inscription
In Sculptured Wall of

Inscription on Pedestal of Boar
Temple of Varâha

A. Cunningham del.

Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta

at Dhamnàr.* To these I may add the lofty temple called *Teli-mandar* in the Fort of Gwalior, and the rock-cut temple in the Udayagiri Hill near Bhilsa.

Mr. Fergusson has described the Chandrávati temple as "the most elegant specimen of columnar architecture" that he had seen in Upper India. In this opinion I fully concur, as it is certainly the most beautiful specimen that I have met with. In the cloisters of the Kutb Mosque at Delhi there are many pillars equally beautiful, and, perhaps, even more elaborately decorated; but their beauty is marred by their present incongruous arrangement, which has jumbled together in close juxtaposition columns of all shapes and sizes that have no harmony with each other. In the Chandrávati temple, on the contrary, the whole range of columns is in happy keeping, and though the details of ornamentation are different, yet they are all of one general design, so that there is no single pillar of strange appearance to distract the eye and spoil the architectural unity of the building. But elegant as these pillars are, I agree with Mr. Fergusson in opinion that the roof must have been even more beautiful. Only two of the smaller compartments of the roof now remain.† These are on the north side, each 7 feet by 3 feet: but small as they are, their ornamentation is of striking elegance, as may be seen in Tod's engraving, although much of the original richness of the designs is lost for want of shading.

The age of this beautiful temple has already been referred by Mr Fergusson, on architectural grounds alone, to the end of the 7th century—a date which I am fully disposed to allow, as I think it highly probable that Tod's inscription, which is dated in A. D 691, must have been taken from it. But even without this evidence, the date of the temple may, I think, be referred to almost the same period by the age of one of the shorter records of the pilgrims who recorded their visits to the shrine. On the wall, to the right hand of the entrance to the sanctum, I found a pilgrim's record in nail-headed characters of the 7th or 8th century, exactly similar to those of the inscription which I extracted from the Sárnáth Tope near Benares. The fourth character is of

* Illustrations of Indian Architecture, p. [illegible]

† See Plate LXXVII. for a plan of this temple.

unusual form, and is therefore somewhat doubtful, but the rest of the inscription is distinct and easily legible.* It is in two lines—

Sri Drashtakai Dhanda Sri Malaya Mânikyah
Hima Kedâra.

On the pillars there are numerous short inscriptions of the pilgrims who have paid their devotions at the shrine, but the only records of any value are those which I have already noticed as recording the names of several pilgrims who paid their devotions to Siva in the Samvat year 1153, or A. D. 1096, from which we learn that the temple had probably been converted into a Linga shrine before the close of the 11th century.†

To the north of the great temple, there is a small modern building, containing a large figure of Ganesa, but without inscription or any marks that would serve to fix its age.

Between D and E there is a small ruined temple marked F, which is dedicated to *Kâlikâ-Devi*. It consists of two rooms,—the *antarâla*, or ante-chamber, and the sanctum. It has been repaired on the outside, and the roof is modern; but the sculptured entrance to the sanctum shows that the temple was an old one, and also that it was originally dedicated to Vishnu, whose four-armed figure holding a shell occupies the centre niche over the doorway. To his right is Mahâdeva with his trident, and to his left Brahmâ with his goose. But the temple is now devoted to the worship of the skeleton goddess Kâlikâ-Devi, whose statue occupies the

* A copy of this inscription is given in Plate LXXVII., No. 1.

† I say *probably*, because the broken pillar on which these inscriptions are recorded is not *in situ*, and perhaps may not have belonged to this temple. On the four faces are, 1, a figure of Ganesa; 2, a standing male figure; 3, a standing female figure holding a garland; and 4, a bearded male figure holding a garland, and beside him a female with joined hands in adoration. Three faces of the base are inscribed; and, as the inscriptions are brief, as well as curious, I will give the substance of them.

No. 1 records that on Tuesday, the 8th of the Waxing Moon of Jyeshta, in the Samvat year 1153 (A. D. 1096), one named Harsha Deva, son of Mahasona, of the Baniya caste, *(Vanikânvaye)*, paid his adorations to Siva.

No. 2 records that on Monday, the [illegible] of the Waning Moon of Ashârh, in Samvat 1153, Vikrama Sri, son of Lakhman, of the Baniya caste, paid his adorations to Siva.

No. 3 records that on Friday, the 10th of the Waning Moon of Ashârh, in Samvat 1153, the Sreshti Madhusudana, of the Baniya caste, and the son of his religious preceptor Malhaka, named Sâvitri, paid their adorations to Siva.

central position against the back wall. The statue is $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height with ten arms and a scorpion figured on the stomach. To her right and left are two stark naked statues, also with ten arms each. On the left side of the chamber there are two other skeleton figures of Kâlikâ-Devi, with two draped female figures, and two stark naked females, one of which has two arms, and the other ten arms. On the right side of the chamber there is another skeleton figure of Kâlikâ in the centre, with a stark naked ten-armed female figure on each side of her, one of which wears a chaplet of skulls. In the ante-chamber there are four statues: that against the left wall being another ten-armed skeleton figure of Kâlikâ, and that against the right wall a twenty-armed figure of Mahâdeva. To the left of the door there is a half-draped ten-armed female, and to the right an eight-armed figure of Ganesa. Altogether in this one temple there are assembled no less than fourteen statues of the terrific goddess Kâlikâ-Devi, which must have been collected from all parts of the ruins at some late period, as the shrine was originally dedicated to Vishnu. At the ghât I found another ten-armed figure of this goddess, $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height, and stark naked. The great number of these statues shows that her worship must have been highly popular shortly before the period of the Muhammadan invasion, which put an effectual check on the further building of Hindu fanes.

To the north of the last temple there is a small shrine marked G. in the plan, which is dedicated to the *Varâha Avatâra*, or boar incarnation of Vishnu. It is an open temple, only 9 feet square, with four pillars supporting a canopy, under which is enshrined the statue of a boar, 3 feet long, and 3 feet high to the tip of the snout. The animal is represented in the usual manner rescuing *Prithvi*, or the earth personified as a female figure, from the *Nâgas* of the sea, who are sculptured with human bodies, and serpent tails twined together at the bottom of the ocean. The principal *Nâga* has three heads. The boar is covered with rows of small figures like those at Eran, Khajurâho, and Pathâri; and on the pedestal, beneath the animal's tail, there is an inscription of three lines, in characters of the 9th or 10th century, which has not yet been translated.* It is, however, sufficient to show the early age of this Vaishnava temple.

* See Plate LXXVII., No. 2.

To the north of the temple, marked A, there is another figure of the boar incarnation enshrined under a modern brick dome. Amongst the figures collected at the ghât there is also a fine eight-armed statue of Vishnu, with three heads of a man, a boar, and a lion. In the four left hands are placed a quoit, a bow, a lotus, and a shell; and in the three unbroken right hands there are, a sword, a club, and some arrows. The nose and lips are slightly injured, but the figure is otherwise in good preservation. It is remarkable that amongst all the numerous statues still remaining at Chandrâvati, there is no trace either of Râma, Hanumân, or Krishna. I noticed the same peculiarity at Gwalior and at Khajurâho, from which I am led to suspect that the separate worship of these two incarnations did not most probably become general until after the Muhammadan conquest of Delhi. According to tradition, there were 108 temples at Chandrâvati, a number which is fully borne out by the numerous existing statues, and other sculptured remains. The ancient town had dwindled to a small size before the close of the last century, when it was re-founded by Jhâlam Sinh, the regent of Kota, and re-named *Jhâlra Pâtan*, or the "town of springs," which abound in the bed of the Chandrabhâga rivulet. I think, however, that it must refer to the name of the regent, *Jhâlam*, as *ra* is a not uncommon variation of the possessive suffix *ka*.

VI. DHAMNAR.

The excavated caves in the hill of Dhamnâr were first made known by Tod, and they have since been visited by Mr. Fergusson, who has described them at some length.* Dhamnâr is a small village, two miles to the east of Chandwâs, and about 50 miles to the south-west of Jhâlra Pâtan. The principal caves are situated in a hollow or bay in the southern face of a hill, at rather less than a quarter of a mile to the north of the village.† The hill, which is composed of a coarse laterite, is flat on the top, with a slight inclination towards the north, and a steep cliff from 20 to 30 feet high towards the south, from which a talus of debris slopes gently towards the plain. In this cliff there are numerous

* Rock-cut Temples of India, p. 40.

† See Plate LXXVIII. for a map of the Dhamnâr Hill.

Buddhist caves which I will now proceed to describe, beginning from the south-west end, or left hand, as they appear when viewed in front. I have numbered the caves from west to east, but I have also preserved the Native names for more ready comparison with the descriptions of Tod and Fergusson.*

No. 1 cave consists of an open porch or verandah, 20 feet in length, with a couple of rooms in rear, each 8 by 7 feet. To the east there is a rough flight of steps hewn in the rock, which lead up to the flat top of the hill. No. 2 is a similar excavation of a portico, $17\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, and 10 feet broad, leading to two rooms behind, each 9 by $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and to a third room on the left or west, 9 by 6 feet. No. 3 is a single flat-roofed chamber 12 feet square, containing a small tope, $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter. No. 4 is another small tope chamber or Chaitya cave, $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad in front, and 20 feet in length; but the end of the chamber is rounded, and the roof is vaulted. To the right for about 60 feet in length, the roofs of the caves have fallen down in large masses, and the rooms are quite inaccessible. No. 5 is another portico, 16 by 10 feet, opening into a single room 16 by 8 feet, with a small room, or sleeping chamber to the left. Outside on the west, a half tope is sculptured on the face of the rock.

No. 6 is a large cave known to the people as the *Bara Kacheri*, or "great court house."† This excavation consists of a central flat-roofed hall, 20 feet square, supported on four pillars, with three rooms, 7 feet square on each side, a portico in front, and a *Chaitya* cave in rear. The hall is well lighted from the front by the door and two small windows, but the side chambers are dark and close. The front of the portico consists of two square pillars, and two half pillars, or pilasters, crowned with massive capitals, which support a bold and massive entablature. The architrave is plain, but the freeze is decorated with a *stupa* in the centre, and three graceful ornaments on each side, which are peculiar to the earlier Indian architecture. The two side openings of the portico are closed by a solid railing excavated from

* See Plate LXXIX for a general plan of this group of caves. The other groups to the north and west are of no interest.

† See Plate LXXX. for a view of this cave.

the rock in imitation of a wooden railing with upright bars. The left-hand cave in Tod's view is intended to represent this excavation, but it gives only a very poor and incorrect idea of the massive character of this really bold design.

No. 7 is a small room, 8 feet by 7, with a porch of rather larger dimensions in front. This is altogether omitted in Tod's plate, although it stands between the two caves shown in his sketch, which are intended for the *Bara Kacheri*, and *Chhota Kacheri* of the Natives, or Nos. 6 and 8 of my plan.

No. 8, which is named the *Chhota Kacheri*, or "small court house," consists of an oblong Chaitya cave, 23½ by 15 feet, containing a small tope 9½ feet square at base, and 16½ feet high, with a portico in front similar to that of the great kacheri, but without the decorated frieze. The roof is domed and ribbed in imitation of a wooden structure. There are only two small cells attached to this cave, of which one of semi-circular shape appeared to me to be unfinished. A poor and unsatisfactory view of the excavation may be seen on the right hand of Tod's sketch.

No. 9 consists of four cells, and a half tope sculptured against the face of the rock. Three of the cells are small, only 8 feet by 6, but the fourth is 11 feet in length, and has a bed on the west side hewn in the solid rock, with a rock pillow at each end for the greater convenience of the occupant.

No. 10 is the cave called *Rájlok* by Tod's guides, and *Râni-ki-makân* by mine. Both names mean the queen's apartments. It is also known by a third name as the *Kamaniya-mahal*, or "beautiful palace." This excavation is exactly similar in arrangement to the *Bara Kacheri*, but somewhat larger, the inner hall being 25 feet by 23. The roof is supported on four square pillars with pilasters on two sides against the walls. The portico in front need not be described, as it is similar to that of No. 6.

No. 11, called "Bhim's Bazar," is the most extensive of all the excavations at Dhamnâr. It consists of a long *Chaitya* cave, with a portico in front, and an open passage all round it. On three sides of the passage there is a pillared cloister with ranges of cells behind, of which two have been converted into small *Chaitya* caves. This combination of a

Chaitya cave with a *Vihára*, which is found also in the great kacheri, is peculiar to Dhamnâr, as Mr. Fergusson had not seen it before. The extreme dimensions of the excavation are 115 feet by 80, but the domed roof of the front room of the *Chaitya* cave has fallen in, by which the actual length is reduced to about 90 feet. In front of the entrance to the cave there are two small isolated rock-hewn topes, each 5 feet in diameter, which would appear to have been mere ornaments; and to the same class I would assign the six half topes which are sculptured on the walls of the porch or ante-chamber of the Chaitya cave. The tope chamber itself is domed and ribbed with 11 rafters hewn out of the rock, but it is of small dimensions, being only 35 feet by 13½. The passage outside varies from 4 feet in width on the east, to 6 and 7 feet on the west and north sides. On the west side there are 9 pillars, which would appear not to have been completed, as they are square and rough, and only 3 feet in height, while the pillars on the north and west sides are eight feet in height with octagonal shafts, square bases, and bracketted capitals. The verandah is 8 feet in clear width all round. On the west side it ends in a small tope chamber, but on the east it is apparently unfinished, as there are only three openings with three rooms behind them. But as there is a long flight of steps cut in the rock on this side, it is probable that the excavation was discontinued for the sake of safety. Most of the cells are 7½ feet square, but the middle chamber on the north, which may have been the residence of the head monk, is 17 feet by 13, and that on the east, which is a small *Chaitya* cave, is 16½ feet by 10½ and 12 feet high. In front of the Chaitya there is a seated figure of Buddha, but the coarse laterite, in which it is executed, is, perhaps, the worst possible material for sculpture, although it is well adapted for easy excavation. The façade is similar in its style of ornament to that of the great kacheri, but the square pillars have their angles cut off.*

No. 12 is a simple *Chaitya* cave, in which the tope is placed so as to support the roof. From its plain appearance this tope is known as the *Háthi-ka-mekh*, or "elephant's peg," and consequently the cave is called the *Háthi-bandhi*, or the "elephant's stable," a title which is supported by

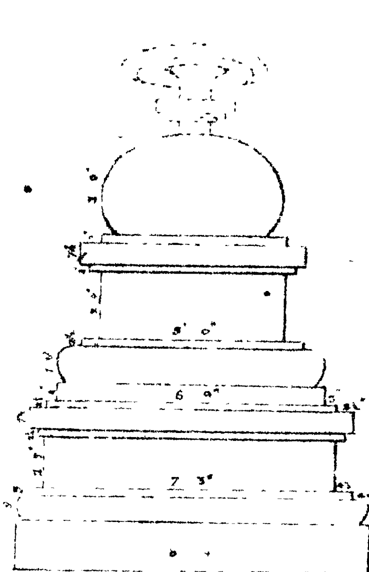
---

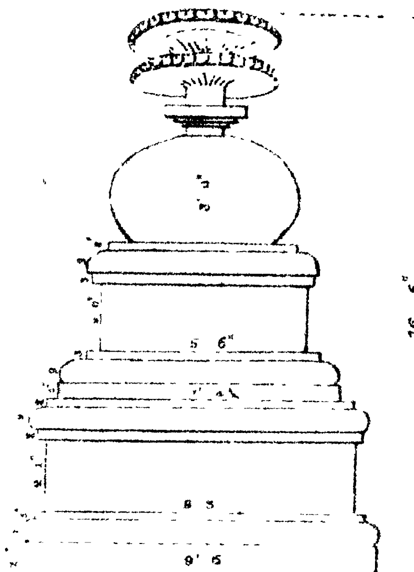
* *See* Plate LXXXI. for the façade of Bhim's Bazar.

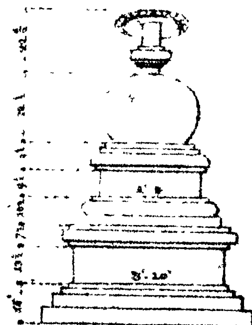
the great height of the door-way, 16½ feet. The chamber is 25 feet broad, and 27 in length. The roof is flat, and is apparently supported on a stone beam which crosses the chamber, resting on the tope in the centre, and on two plain stone pilasters at the sides. In front there is an open space 25 feet in width, from which the staircase previously mentioned leads up to the flat top of the hill.

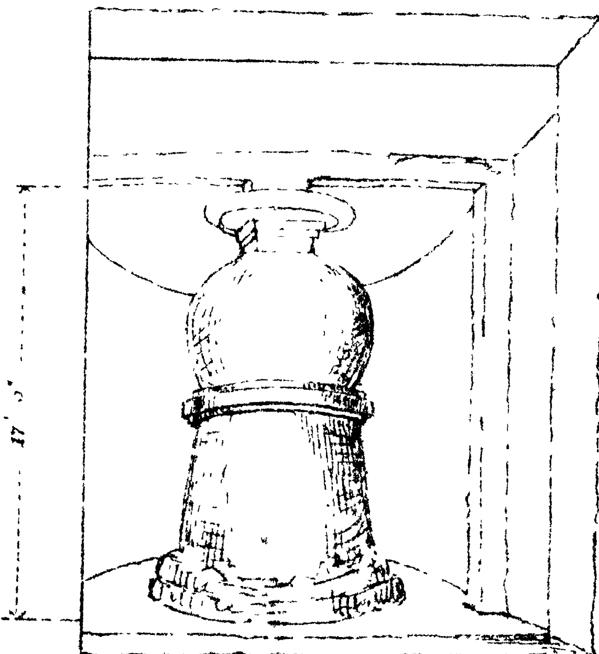
No. 13 is called the *Chhota Bazar*, or "small bazar;" but it is also known as the "child's cave," from a rude recumbent figure of the dying Buddha, which is popularly termed "Bhim's baby." Although small in size, it is, perhaps, the most important of the Dhamnár series, as it contains no less than 15 Buddhist statues, which, in the absence of inscriptions, form the best evidence that we could desire for determining the origin of the caves. The front room or porch of this excavation has fallen in, but enough still remains to show that it was a double chamber, 15 feet square, the roof of which was supported in the centre by a massive pillar and two pilasters. Beyond this there is an open court, 15 feet square, containing a small tope or *Chaitya*. To the left there is a single small chamber with a second tope, and to the right there are three small chambers, of which the middle one holds a third tope. To the north there is a large chamber, 15 feet square, with a small temple or sanctuary, 10 feet square, enshrining a colossal seated figure of Buddha, the teacher, 8 feet in height, which is known to the people as *Bhima*. On each side of the door-way there is a colossal figure, 10 feet in height, standing on a lotus. These are popularly known as the *darwáns*, or porters of the temple. On the wall of the temple, immediately behind, there are three seated figures of Buddha,—two with the left hand raised in the act of teaching, and the third with both hands lying in the lap in the conventional position of meditation. These three figures are known as *Pandu*, and his two sons *Arjuna* and *Nakula*. Between these statues there are two standing figures without name. On the wall to the left of the temple there are four statues, of which three are standing, and one sitting. Two of these are called *Sahadeva* and *Yudhisthira*; but the others are still nameless. To the right of the temple, in a recess of the wall, lies a colossal reclining figure of Buddha obtaining *Nirvána*, 15 feet in length, which has been already mentioned. Lastly, in the

Cave Topes.






In great Kacheri


Elephant's Peg

A. Cunningham, del.

Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta

two chambers to the right and left of the small eastern tope, there are two seated figures of Buddha, making altogether fifteen statutes arranged round the walls of this small cave. Tod refers these statues to the Jaina hierarchs, on the authority of his Jain Guru; but I was unable to find the peculiar symbols on the pedestals, by which alone the different hierarchs are known; and as there are no inscriptions, the true assignation of these statues can be determined only by their attitudes. But as these are unmistakeably characteristic of the three great events in Buddha's life, namely, his meditative abstraction under the Bodhi tree, his teaching of the law of Buddha, and his *Nirvâna* or death, all of which are here represented in the usual conventional positions of the Buddhist sculptures, we can have as little hesitation in rejecting the plausible identifications of the Jain Guru as in discarding the unfounded assertions of the Brahmanical peasantry.

No. 14, which is the last cave on this side of the hill, consists of a simple porch opening into two small chambers similar to Nos. 1 and 2. There are some other caves in three different places on the north side of the hill, but they are both small and few in number, and are of no interest whatever. Tod mentions that he counted altogether 171,* a number which Mr. Fergusson justly disputes. "Counting," he says, "those only commenced, and even the mere scratchings in the rock, there may be from sixty to seventy caves altogether." Many of these excavations are so small, mere scratchings, as Mr. Fergusson accurately describes them, that they cannot well be called caves. Some have fallen in, and others may have escaped notice; but even making a liberal allowance for each of these deductions and reckoning each cell as a separate excavation, I agree with Mr. Fergusson in fixing the number of caves at not more than seventy.

The age of these excavations it is very difficult to determine, which is chiefly owing to the total absence of inscriptions, and partly to the present rudeness of all the sculptures and architectural ornaments. It is certain that the whole of the walls and figures were once covered with plaster, as suggested by Mr. Fergusson, for I found masses of plaster still

* Rajasthan II, 721.

adhering to the rock in all the small and more sheltered parts of the mouldings, and under the arms of the statues, and in other nooks which had been protected from the weather. I conclude therefore that the inscriptions which recorded the various donations made to this large monastic establishment must have been either painted or simply written upon the plastered walls, and that they have long ago disappeared together with the plaster upon which they were recorded. The age of the child's cave, or small bazar (No. 13), which Mr. Fergusson considers to be the latest of the series, is fixed by him in the 7th century on account of its similarity of style with No. 27 of Ajanta. The age of the others he would make only a little older on account of the "want of that simplicity and majesty which distinguishes the earliest Buddhist works."* I agree with Mr. Fergusson in thinking that the Dhamnâr caves are most probably of late date. I base my opinion chiefly on the lofty form of the topes or Chaityas,† which is similar to that of the great stupa at *Sârnâth* near Banâras, from which I extracted an inscription in characters of the 6th or 7th century. Such also would appear to have been the form of No. 10 tope at Hidda, in which were deposited some gold coins of the Emperors Theodosius, Marcian, and Leo, who ruled from A. D. 408 to 474. On these grounds, therefore, I am inclined to assign the excavation of the Buddhist caves of Dhamnâr to the 5th, 6th, and 7th centuries of our era.

The Brahmanical rock-hewn temples of Dhamnâr are in every way more curious and interesting than those of the Buddhists, chiefly on account of their rarity, but partly also on account of the inferiority of these Buddhist caves to the magnificent excavations of Ajanta and Ellora, and of other places in Southern India. The Buddhist excavations however are true caves, in which the whole design is a simple imitation of a structural interior, with its decorated entrance. But this Brahmanical excavation is a huge open pit, in the midst of which portions of rock have been hewn into the shape of temples, that were intended to be viewed from the outside, but which cannot be so seen on account of their situation.‡ In the Brahmanical rock-hewn temple of

* Rock-cut Temple of India, p. 42.

† *See* Plate LXXXII. for elevations of these topes.

‡ *See* Plate LXXXIII. for a plan of the Brahmanical excavation.

Plate LXXX

PLAN AND SECTION
of the
BRAHMANICAL ROCK-HEWN TEMPLES
in the Hill of
DHAMNAR.

feet 100 — 50 — 0 — 10 feet

60 feet to 1 inch

Ras Mandar

150 feet

133 feet

104

106

Pillars

Remaining letters of Inscription at I

Litho. at the Surv. Genl's Office Cal. September 187

Gwalior this mistake has been partly avoided by selecting a mass of rock on the exterior face of the fort, so that the whole front of the temple is fully seen.

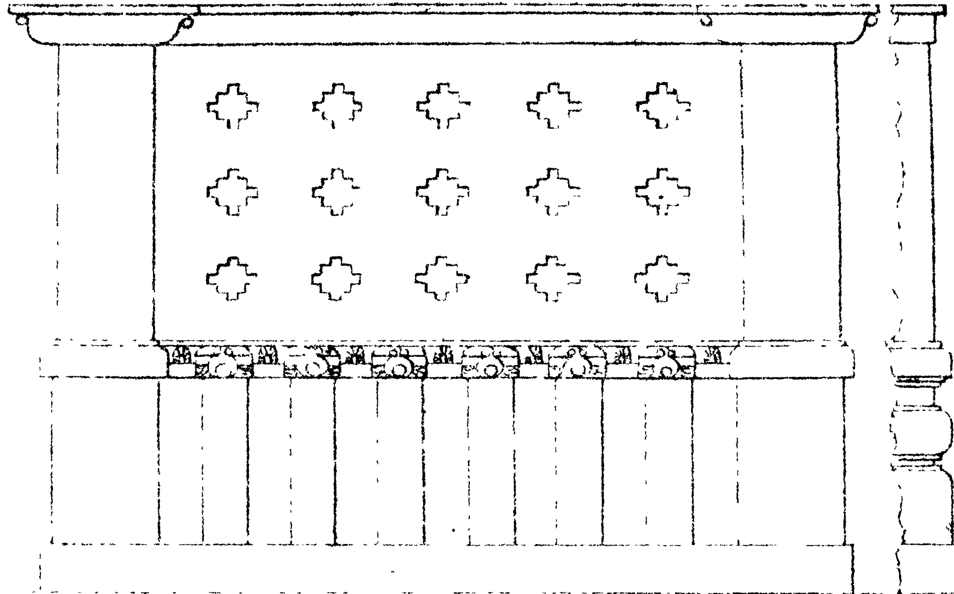
The Brahmanical excavation is situated at 170 feet immediately to the north of the elephant's stable-cave. The pit in which the temples stand is 104 feet long, 67 feet broad, and 30 feet deep at the west end. The direction of its length is 10° to the north of west. On each of the longer sides there are flights of steps which lead from the pit to the top of the hill; but as there was no exit for the rain which fell in this deep hole, it was necessary to excavate a drain to the outside of the hill, and as this could not be made towards the south on account of the numerous Buddhist caves, it was directed towards the cliff on the east on the opposite side of the spur which forms the right horn of the crescent in which the other excavations are situated. This, I presume, may have been the original intention of the long passage that now leads from the outside of the hill to the Brahmanical rock-cut temples which, as it afforded an easier and much more convenient entrance than the flights of steps from the top of the hill, was enlarged to its present dimensions. The whole length of this passage is 282 feet, and its breadth 13 feet, with an extreme depth of 28 feet at the upper end. At three points the rock has been tunnelled so as to leave three bridges across the chasm, which would otherwise have been impassable. Two of these tunnelled passages are 6 feet in width and 17 feet in length, but the third, which is nearest to the temple, is 23 feet in length, and its sides have been further excavated to form a chamber 13 feet square, with two niches for the reception of statues. The figure on the south side is *Bhairava*, and that to the north side is the *Kalki Avatar*. There are traces of an inscription on the pedestal of the latter figure, of which I could only read the three opening letters, *Sri Bhala*, in characters of the 8th or 9th century. Between this bridge and the pit there is a third niche on the north side of the passage containing a figure of Ganesa; but there is no corresponding niche on the south side.

In the middle of the excavation there is a large temple 48 feet by 33, and seven smaller shrines, each 12 feet by 9, of which three are situated on a low platform at the west

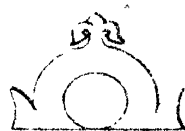
end, two on low platforms at the east end, and one on each side of the *Vimána*, or sanctuary of the central fane. The excavation itself has no special name, but the great temple is known to the people as the shrine of *Chatur-bhuj*, because it contains a large "four-armed" statue of Vishnu in basalt, holding the discus, the club, and the lotus, in three of his hands. The temple consists of a small two-pillared portico, 10 feet by 9⅓, from which the worshipper enters the *mandapa* or vestibule, which is a large square room, 21 feet each way, with the usual flat recessed roof, supported on four central pillars and eight side pilasters. The side recesses to the north and south are closed with bold latice work, instead of being open as is usual in structural *mandapas*. To the west lies the *antarála* or ante-chamber, of the same size as the portico and side recesses from whence the worshipper enters the *Vimána* or sanctum, which is a small chamber only 10 feet by 7, containing the statue of Vishnu already mentioned. In front of the statue there is a stone *lingam* of Siva, but this must have been a late addition, as not only the temple itself, but the whole of the seven smaller shrines would appear to have been originally dedicated to Vishnu. This "change of masters" is also noticed by Mr. Fergusson, who remarks that he had several times seen the same in this part of the country. I have already referred to it in my account of the temples of Chandrâvati; but I may add here that the temples have originally been dedicated to Vishnu, and that the introduction of the emblem of Siva is invariably a late innovation.

The seven smaller temples are designated in my plan by the letters of the alphabet beginning at the south-east corner. A is empty and without a name, B is called *Indra-ká-lila* and contains a dancing group of one male figure attended by four females, all with halos round their heads; C is empty and nameless, D is called *Seshji Thákur* (or, vulgarly, *Shansi*), because it contains a statue of Vishnu reclining on the serpent *Sesha* or *Ananta*. The figure is four-armed, with the crowned head resting on one of the right hands and the left knee bent. This is a favorite posture with the Hindu sculptors, who almost invariably represent the sleeping Vishnu and the dreaming *Máyá Devi* with one knee bent. The same position would also appear to have been well known to the Romans as suggestive of sleep, as

Elevation of the Mandapa of the Brahmanical Temple.







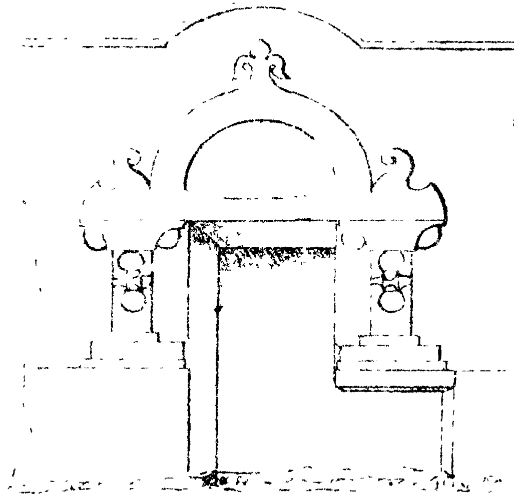
Buddhist

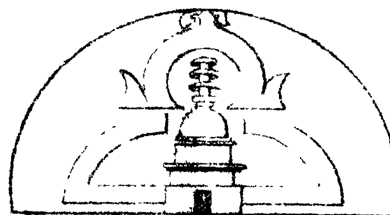


Buddhist



Brahmanical





A. Cunningham, del.

the poet Statius in his ode to the god Somnus, makes special allusion to his bent knee *(suspenso poplite)*. A small figure of Brahmâ is represented in the usual manner as springing from the navel of Vishnu. At the feet of the statue there are two figures actively engaged in assailing a third. These are the Daityas, named *Madhu* and *Kailabhu*, who sprang from the ears of Vishnu, and immediately attacked Brahma, who cried to Vishnu for help. The encounter with the demons lasted 5,000 years, when one of them was killed by the unerring quoit of Vishnu; and from the fat of this *Daitya* the world is said to have been formed. On the pedestal are represented 13 small figures engaged in playing various musical instruments as described by Tod.

The E temple is empty and nameless, but F is called the *No-Avatár*, because it contains a group of the incarnations of Vishnu in nine compartments. The fish and tortoise are supported on lotus flowers, and the others are represented as usual, except the ninth incarnation, which instead of the *Buddh-Avatâr* is the well known figure of Vishnu himself as *Chatur-Bhuja*, or the "four-armed," with the shell, lotus, quoit, and club, in his four hands. This singular deviation from the well known form of this *Avatár* has already been noticed by Mr. Fergusson. The G temple is empty and nameless.

The date of these Brahmanical temples has been assigned by Mr. Fergusson to the 8th or 9th century after Christ, on account of the similarity of their style to that of the temple at Barolli.* This date is confirmed by the three letters of the inscription which I discovered on the pedestal of the *Kálki Avatár* statue, in the temple marked I, which certainly belong to the 8th or 9th century.†

On the top of the hill, 125 feet to the north of this Brahmanical excavation, there stand two rough stone pillars called *Ras Mandir*, 150 feet apart, between which is held an annual fair called *Rás-Mela*. This fair was established in A. D. 1306, as recorded in a short inscription on the W. pillar; *Samvat* 1363, *Nâgánand Rámji-na Râs karâya.*

---

* Rock-cut Temples of India, p. 44.

† See the three letters in Plate LXXXIII.

"In S. 1363 (equal to A. D. 1306), the Nâga Anand-Râm established a Râs (or festival)." The fair is held in the middle of the month of *Phâlgun*, and lasts for three days.

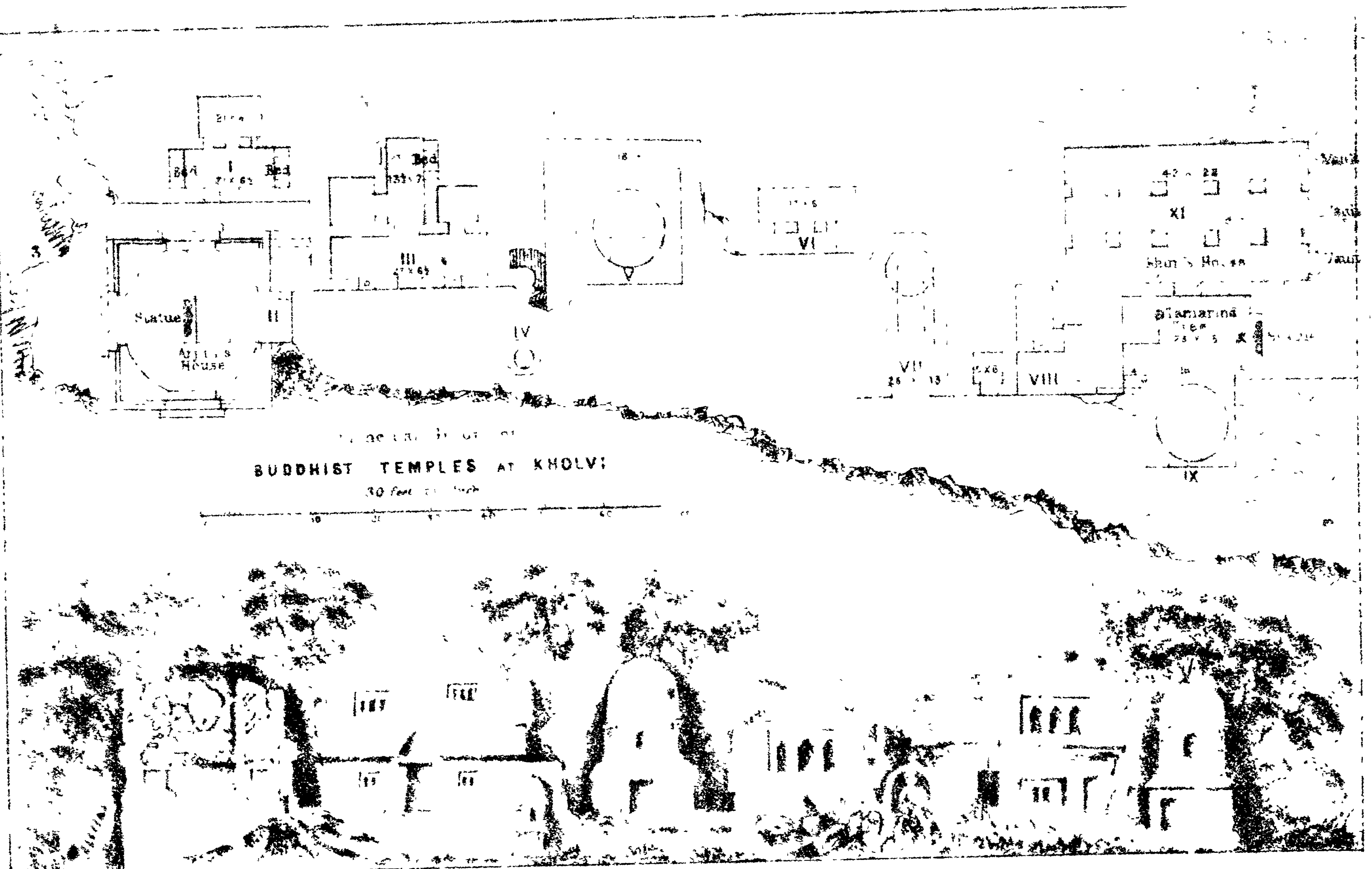
VII. KHOLVI.

The Buddhist caves of *Kholvi* were first visited by Dr. Impey,* who has given a description of them so full and accurate that I should have hesitated about noticing them again, were it not that I differ with him in opinion most widely as to their age, and that I am able to illustrate my account with a ground plan, and view of the principal excavations. As these Kholvi caves were unknown to Tod and Fergusson, we shall lose the valuable guidance of the latter in estimating the age of the excavations. This is the more to be regretted as I shall have only my own unsupported opinion to offer in opposition to that of Dr. Impey.

The village of Kholvi is situated about 30 miles to the north-west of the town of Augar, and about the same distance to the south-east of Chandwâs and the Dhamnâr caves. The hill of Kholvi, which lies to the north-east of the village, rises to a height of from 200 to 300 feet above the plain. It is formed of coarse laterite like that of Dhamnâr. It has also the same flat top, the same precipitous cliff, of from 25 to 30 feet in height, forming its crest, and the same talus or slope of debris at its foot; but the slope at Kholvi is much steeper, and is covered with brushwood. Towards the edge of the cliff the rock is split into large isolated masses, which have been ingeniously hewn into topes that stand out boldly from the face of the hill, and in this respect offer the most striking difference to all other *Chaitya* excavations of the Buddhists. But there is another equally striking peculiarity about these topes in the possession of an excavated chamber for the reception of a statue. These chambers are invariably pierced to the centre of the tope, so that the enshrined statues of Buddha occupy the very same positions in these modern *Chaityas*, which the relics of Buddha filled in the ancient *stupas* of Asoka. They are, in fact, no longer *stupas*, but real temples, which differ only in their form from the common structural shrines of the Buddhists.

* Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal, V., 336.

PLATE LXXXIV.



I will recur to this subject hereafter when I come to discuss the probable age of these rock-cut stupas.

The principal excavations at Kholvi, like those at Dhamnâr, are referred by the ignorant peasantry and their Brahman teachers to the time of the Pândus. Thus we have "Arjun's house" and "Bhim's house," both of which names I have retained in conjunction with the numbers of my plan. As the whole of these excavations have been carefully detailed by Dr. Impey, I propose here to describe only the principal group, which forms the subject of my plate.*

No. 1 is a cave of two chambers, the outer being 21½ feet by 6½ feet, with a rock bed-stead at each end, and the inner 10½ feet by 6, with three narrow openings between the two. It stands at the back of the large tope called Arjun's house, and is therefore not visible in my sketch.

No. 2 is the large tope itself, which stands on a broad base 28 feet square, and from 4 feet in height at the entrance to 14 feet at the back. On this base is raised a square plinth 8 feet high, with a projection in the middle of each side, which on the east is extended into a small portico supported on two square pillars. Above this rises a second or upper plinth of 11 feet, which is circular in form, but with the same projections continued on the four faces. All these projections, as well as the intervening spaces, are decorated with a bold trefoil moulding with a circular recess in the middle, which is peculiar to the mediaeval architecture of India, both Buddhist and Brahmanical, and which I have already noticed in my account of the great kacheri at Dhamnâr.† This is all that now exists of the *stupa*, and it is evident from certain traces and other remains on the top of the rock that the solid portion must originally have stopped at this point, and that the dome or hemisphere must have been constructed in the usual manner with small stones. The solid portion in front is 23 feet in height, and as the circular plinth is 18 feet in diameter, the whole height of the *stupa* to the top of the dome must

* See Plate LXXXV. for a plan of the Kholvi caves.

† See Plate LXXXIII. for several examples of this peculiar ornament. The Dhamnâr Buddhist examples I take to be older than the mass of the Kholvi examples, and considerably older than the Dhamnâr Brahmanical example.

have been 32 feet, and to the top of the umbrella, or other pinnacle, not less than 40 feet. But as the domes of the other topes are elongated hemispheres, with a height equal to three-fourths of the diameter, the full height of this tope must have been 37 feet to the top of the dome, and about 45 feet to the summit of the pinnacle. The interior chamber is $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet long by $5\frac{1}{2}$ broad, and 11 feet high, including the domed-roof. At the back, or west side, there is a colossal figure of Buddha the ascetic, not squatted on the ground in the usual Indian fashion, but seated on a throne, with his hands in his lap, in the conventional posture of abstract meditation. The statue is 5 feet high in its sitting posture, which would give the standing figure a total height of $7\frac{1}{2}$ or 8 feet. It is impossible to judge of its execution, as it is now a mere rude mass of rock. But as the whole was once plastered over, it is probable that the original execution was broad and coarse. The whole stupa must also have been once covered with plaster, as I observed the remains of stucco in many of the sheltered portions of the mouldings. This is the largest of the Kholvi topes, and, considering that it is hewn from an isolated mass of solid rock, its size is very remarkable.

No. 3 is a large double-storied excavation consisting of four rooms in the lower floor, and of two rooms and a passage in the upper floor. Externally, the front view of this excavation is both symmetrical and picturesque. The lower storey has an entrance door in the middle surmounted by a triangular recess, with a small one-llared window on each side. The upper storey is made to project, by cutting away the rock of the lower storey, so as to form a narrow kind of verandah without pillars. There are two windows in the upper storey, each of three openings, divided by square pillars; and as the top of the rock slopes rapidly backwards, the whole mass has a striking resemblance to an ordinary European cottage of two storeys. The lower apartments consist of a long front room, 27 feet by $6\frac{1}{2}$, with three chambers behind, of which the middle one is $13\frac{1}{2}$ feet by 7 feet with a rock-bed on one side, and a recess or niche on the opposite side. Of the two side-rooms one is $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet square, with a doorway leading from the middle chamber, and the other is only $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet by 6, with its doorway opening into the front room. Altogether this suite of apartments

forms the most comfortable and secure of all the rock-hewn dwellings that I have yet seen.

The only entrance to the upper storey is by a rude staircase cut in the outside rock towards the east. The principal apartment, 12½ feet by 6½ feet, is lighted by the left-hand window shewn in the sketch. The roof is domed. The other apartment, which is opposite the right window, is somewhat larger, but it is also much darker as it is separated from the window by the passage which leads to the first chamber.

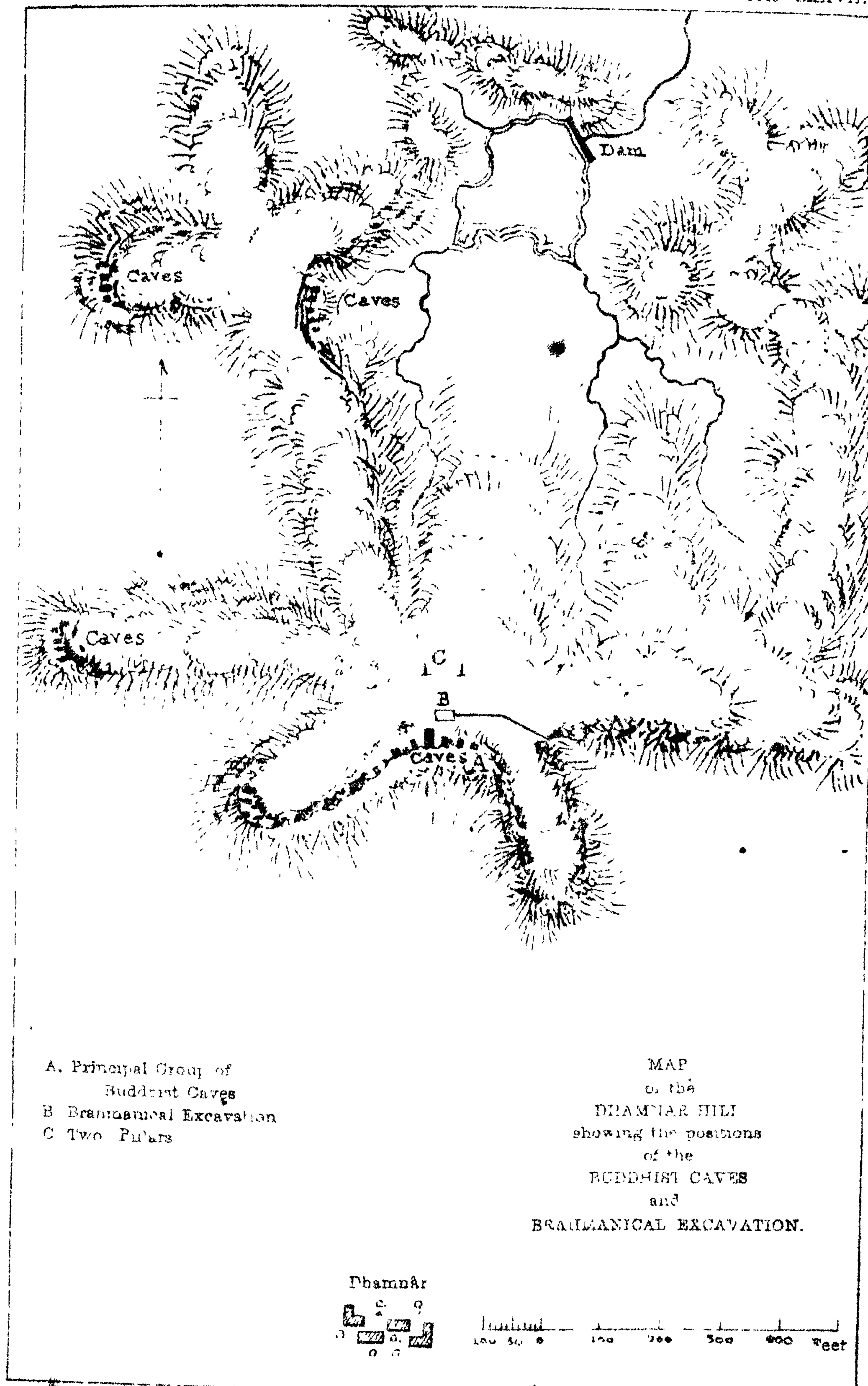
No. 4 is a small isolated *stupa* standing in the middle of the platform on an octagonal base of only 2½ feet each side. Its total height is 12 feet, but with its pinnacle complete, it could not have been less than 15 feet. On the outer face of the circular plinth there is a small niche for the reception of a statue which has long ago disappeared.

No. 5 is another rock-cut *stupa* standing on a base 18 feet square and 9 feet high, above which is a circular plinth 12 feet in diameter and 9 feet high, with several bands of plain mouldings both above and below. The upper moulding is remarkable for a line of dentils which are not unlike those of the later Panjâb topes, and of the mediaeval Kashmirian temples. On the outer face there is an empty round-headed niche. The dome is an elongated hemisphere, its height being equal to three-fourths of its diameter. The whole height of the tope is therefore 27 feet, or exactly one lower diameter and a half. In the square basement a chamber has been excavated, 10½ feet long by 6 feet broad and 9 feet high, including the domed roof. The enshrined statue no longer exists, but the pedestal is still there, and as the height of the chamber from the top of the pedestal is exactly 5 feet, as in Arjun's house (No. 2), I infer that the statue must have been of the same size. It will be observed that the depth of the chamber 10½ feet is exactly 1½ foot in excess of the half diameter of the base, so that the statue would have occupied the exact centre of the stupa.

No. 6 consists of a single apartment, 17 feet by 6, with an open portico in front of 11 feet by 4. The room is well lighted by three openings which are divided by two stout pillars each 2 feet square, with massive bracketted capitals.

No. 7 is a small temple cave of singular arrangement which is peculiar to Kholvi. The main excavation, 26 feet by 18, forms a passage all round the inner chamber or sanctuary, the end of which is externally a simple Chaitya, 8 feet in diameter, with its pinnacle supporting the roof of the outer chamber. The whole of the interior of the Chaitya has been hollowed out to form a shrine 5 feet deep and 5 feet broad for the reception of a colossal seated statue of Buddha the Ascetic, who is represented as usual with both hands in the lap. This inner chamber, however, is not confined to the interior of the tope, but is prolonged to the front by two thin parallel walls covered by a vaulted roof which increases the size of the shrine room to 13 feet by 8. These two walls end in square pillars, which are crowned by small pinnacle topes and decorated in front with panels containing two standing and two sitting figures of Buddha. The greater part of the vault has now fallen in as well as the western wall of the outer chamber, but enough still remains to show the novel arrangement of this curious excavation which I have attempted to describe. As Dr. Impey truly says it is "the most remarkable of the series," but I disagree with him altogether in his suggestion that it is "the original type of the *Chaitya* caves improved on at Dhamnar and brought to perfection in the *Chaitya caves* at Karli and Ajanta." He would rank the Kholvi caves amongst the earliest of the Buddhist excavations, whereas I am fully persuaded that they are amongst the last if not the very latest, of all the Buddhist works. This point will be referred to again when I come to discuss the probable age of the Kholvi caves. The entrance to the outer chamber is decorated in a novel and peculiar manner. In a semi-circular recess over the doorway is placed a lofty tope with three umbrellas and surmounted by the trefoil ornament. It is worthy of remark that an entrance doorway is represented in the base of the tope which shows, in my opinion, that the chambered tope must have been the usual construction of this period.

No. 8 is another two-storeyed excavation, but of much smaller size than No. 5. In the lower storey to the west there is a single isolated room 5 feet square, and to the east two rooms each 9 feet by 6, of which one is placed behind the other. They are separated by a thin wall with a passage round one end leading to the inner chamber. The upper

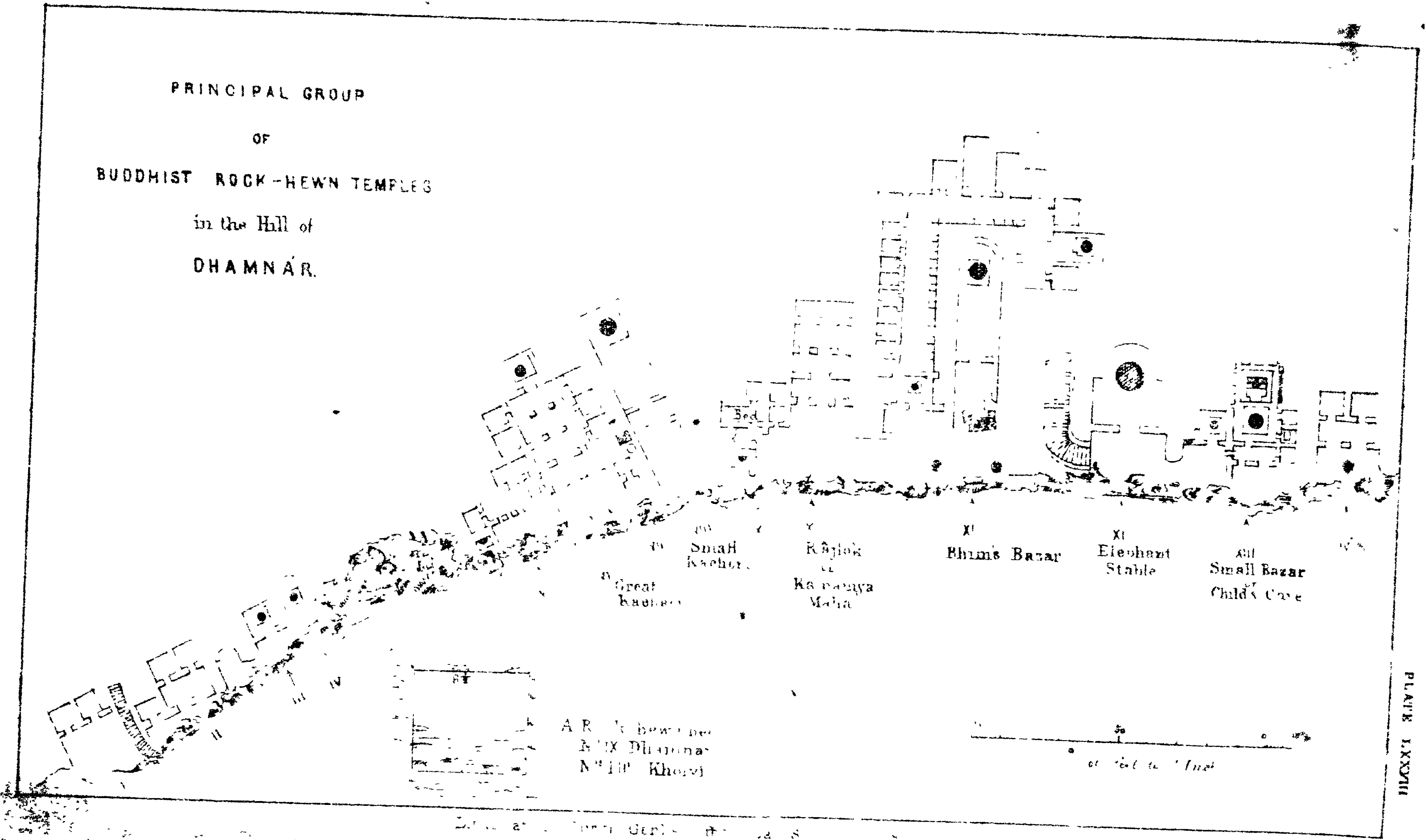


A. Cunningham del.

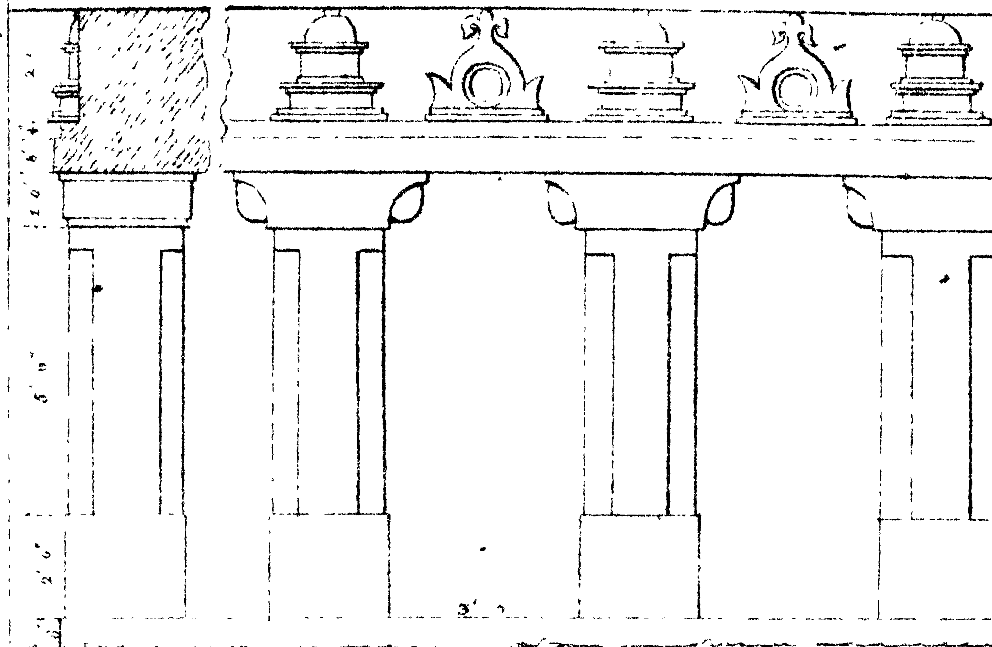
Photozincographed at the Surveyor Generals Office Calcutta



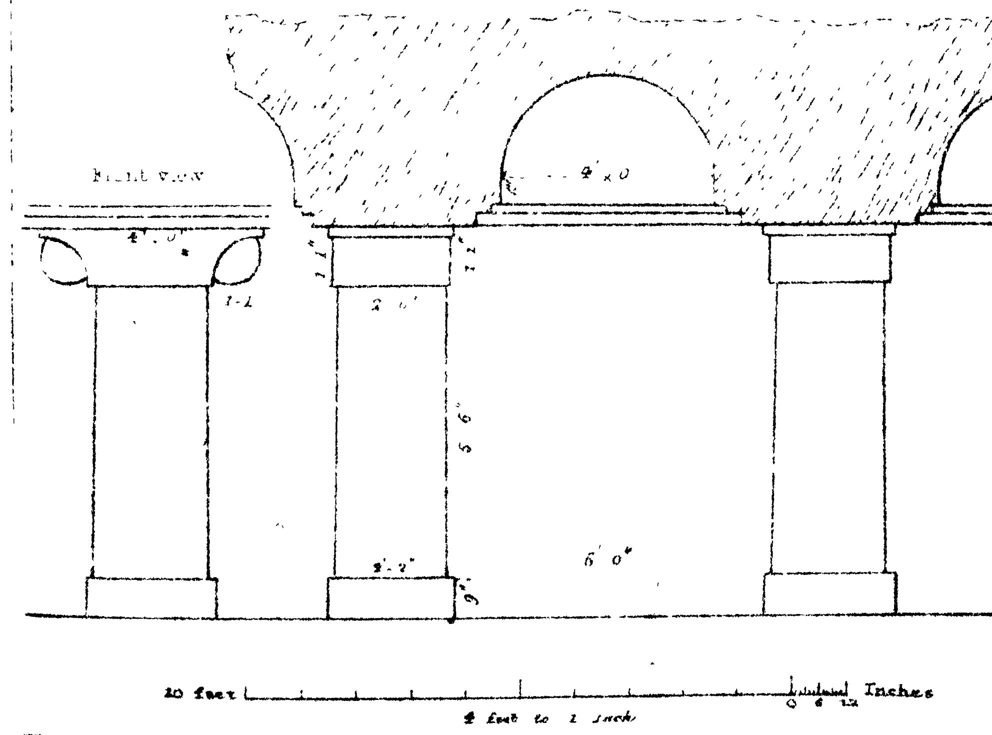
GREAT KACHERY


PRINCIPAL GROUP
OF
BUDDHIST ROCK-HEWN TEMPLES
in the Hill of
DHAMNAR.
Small
Great
Rajlok
Bhim's Bazar
XI
Elephant
Stable
XII
Small Bazar
Child's Cave

Façade of Bhim's Bazar
DHAMNAR



Bhim's House.
KEOLVI.



A. Cunningham, del.

Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta

storey contains one long room lighted by a window of three openings similar to that of No. 6.

No. 9 is another large tope, with a base 15 feet square and 9 feet high, on which stands a circular plinth 12 feet in diameter and 7 feet in height. Above this rises the dome, which is an elongated hemisphere with a height of $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet, or three-fourths of its diameter. The total height is therefore $23\frac{1}{2}$ feet, or rather more than one diameter and a half of the square base. On the outer face of the circular plinth there is a small niche containing a seated figure of Buddha the ascetic, but this is the only external ornament of the tope besides the plain bands of moulding round the plinth and base. The position of the inner chamber or sanctum is different from that of the other topes, as it does not occupy the centre of the basement, but is placed in its west half, with its entrance to one side as shown in my view of these excavations. The enshrined statue has disappeared, but I conclude that it must have been similar to those of the other two topes.

No. 10 is a colossal standing figure of Buddha, the teacher, upwards of 12 feet in height, which is placed in a niche of the east wall of a court-yard 22 feet by 13, at the back of the last tope. The right hand of the figure appears to be holding some part of the dress, or it may be the monk's begging-pot, but the left hand is raised to the breast in the act of teaching, which is in strict accordance with all the conventional representations of this common occurrence in the life of the great Indian reformer.

No. 11, called Bhim's house, is the largest excavation of the Kholvi series. Its entrance is in the north side of the court-yard just described, and exactly in rear of the centre of the tope. This excavation is 42 feet in length by 22 feet in breadth, and from its size I infer that it must have been the assembly hall of all the Kholvi monks on this side of the hill. The roof is vaulted in three rows of semi-circular arches supported on two lines of square pillars 6 feet apart.* Altogether there are eight pillars and four pilasters or half pillars. Externally, the entrance is decorated with the usual trefoil ornament of these excavations, but

* See Plate LXXXI, for a section of Bhim's house, showing the vaulted roof.

in this instance it is supported on each side by a short pilaster, which rests on the basement moulding.

All the caves just described are grouped together on the south face of the hill. There are about as many more on the east face, and a still greater number on the north side. Altogether Dr. Impey has enumerated forty-four excavations, but with two exceptions, the whole of the remaining works are inferior in size, and of little interest. On the east face there is a second assembly hall with an open court in front, similar to Bhim's house (No. 11), but the roof has fallen in, and the interior is inaccessible. On the north face there is a large excavation presenting to the front a central door with three windows on each side. Before the door there was once a broad platform, where the monks no doubt used to take exercise, but the greater part has now fallen down, and the excavation is consequently rather difficult of access. It has two dark inner chambers; but the whole work is rude and coarse, and much inferior to the excavation on the south side which I have selected for illustration.

These Buddhist remains at Kholvi, though comparatively few in number and small in size, are yet of great interest and importance from their peculiar arrangement and novelty of design. Here we see the stupa standing boldly out in the open air, instead of being half hidden in the interior of a dark cave, and here also, for the first time, we see the stupa converted into a temple by the excavation of a sanctuary chamber in its base. This is so arranged that the enshrined figure of Buddha occupies the very centre of the *Chaitya*, that is precisely in the same position in which the relics of Buddha are found in the earlier *stupas*. These Kholvi *Chaityas* are, therefore, not relic towers, like those that are found in other parts of India, but true hollow temples, which were originally designed for enshrining statues of Buddha. On account of this obvious innovation I infer that the Kholvi excavations are most probably of later date than the caves of Dhamnâr and Bâgh in Mâlwa, and of Kârli, Ellora, and other places in Southern India.

I am led to the same conclusion also by the loftier form of the stupas themselves, which I have hitherto found to be an unfailing test of a late date. The earliest topes would appear to have been simple hemispheres, in which the height

was little more than one-half of the diameter, as in the two great stupas of Sânchi and Satdhâra, which are certainly not later than the age of Asoka, and which must be assigned to the first ages of Buddhism, or from 500 to 300 B. C. The topes of the next age, with a height equal to three-fourths of the diameter, may be assigned to the period from 300 B. C. to 100, but I am not able to refer to any undoubted specimens of this kind. I think, however, that the great Mânikyâla tope may, perhaps, be taken as a modern re-construction of a tope of this date. Those of the next age, with a height equal to the base diameter, may be ranged from B. C. 100 to 100 A. D. They may be seen in the sculptured bas reliefs of the Sânchi gateways, which certainly belong to the latter end of the first century of the Christian era, or about A. D. 100. Of about the same age also, or perhaps rather later, is the Kânheri tope described by Mr. West.* The topes of the fourth class, with a height of one-eighth more than the diameter, may be assigned to the period between A. D. 100 and 300. To this class I would assign Dr. Bird's Kânheri tope, which was erected in Samvat 245, that is, either A. D. 188 or 323, according as we refer it to the Vikrama or Sake era. I am not able, however, to test this assignment, as I do not know where to find the dimensions of Dr. Bird's tope. The fifth class, with a height equal to one diameter and a quarter, may be ranged from A. D. 300 to 500. To this period I would assign the Great tope at Sârnâth near Banâras, which is 94 feet in diameter, and 110 feet in height above the present level of the rubbish at its foot, or upwards of 120 feet above the fields. The sixth class, with a height of one diameter and three-eighths, is represented by the rock-hewn *stupas* at Dhamnâr, which may be ranged between 500 and 700 A. D. To this class also belongs a small votive tope discovered at Mathura, which is 13½ inches in diameter, and 18½ inches in height. The seventh and last class, which has a height of one diameter and a half, may be ranged from 700 to 900 A. D., and will include all the rock-cut stupas of Kholvi, which appear to me to belong to the very latest works of the Indian Buddhists. For easier reference I repeat the above results in a tabular form, as I

* Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal, VI., Plate I.

think that they will be found useful in determining the probable dates of Indian topes:

				Approximate Date.	Topes.
1.	Height	= $\frac{1}{2}$	diameter ...	B. C. 500 to 300 ...	Sâñchi, Satdhâra.
2.	"	= $\frac{3}{4}$	" ...	" 300 to 100 ...	Mânikyâla?
3.	"	= 1	" ...	" 100 to 100 A. D. ...	Sâñchi Bas relief.
4.	"	= $1\frac{1}{8}$	" ...	A. D. 100 to 300 ...	Dr. Bird's Kânheri Tope.
5.	"	= $1\frac{1}{4}$	" ...	" 300 to 500 ...	Sârnâth, Banâras.
6.	"	= $1\frac{3}{8}$	" ...	" 500 to 700 ...	Dhamnâr.
7.	"	= $1\frac{1}{2}$	" ..	" 700 to 900 ...	Kholvi.

Admitting that this table gives very nearly the true dates of all the earlier stupas, which have been cited as examples of each class, I think it is impossible to withstand the conclusion that the Kholvi topes must certainly be the latest works of this kind that have yet been found in India, although the approximate date which I have assigned to them may not admit of actual proof.*

VIII. SARANGPUR.

Sârañgpur is an old town on the east bank of the Kâli Sindh River, 34 miles to the east south-east of Augar, and 80 miles in a direct line to the west of Bhilsa. It is called *Sârangpur Khokra* to distinguish it from *Sârangpur Buriya*, which is more commonly known as Sahâranpur. It is popularly believed to have once possessed 180,000 houses, of which 1,400 were inhabited by the Hindu tribe of *Mori*. At present it possesses rather more than 2,000 houses, of which less than one-half are inhabited by Musalmâns. The whole population may be about 12,000, of whom 7,000 are Hindus. There are no Hindu remains, except old coins of a very ancient date which are found in great numbers after the seasonal rains. The oldest are the well known square punch-marked pieces of silver and copper, which may date as high as from 1,000 to 500 B. C. Next to these are the numerous cast coins without inscriptions, especially those of

* On examining the sculptured representations of topes from Amaravati, I find that the average height of the older examples is $1\frac{1}{8}$ diameter, while that of the later examples averages $1\frac{3}{8}$ diameter. Applying to them the test suggested above, the approximate age of the great Amaravati tope will fall between A. D. 100 and 300, and that of the later sculptures between A. D. 500 and 700. This date of the great tope is corroborated by the characters of the inscriptions, which are similar to those in the western caves.

the oldest Ujain types. The annual discovery of these coins is sufficient to show that the place must have been occupied long before the commencement of the Christian era. Its name is frequently mentioned in the history of the Muhammadan kings of Mâlwa, but there are no remains now existing that are attributed to this period. The earliest building is a small tomb, which is said to be the last resting place of Bâz Bahâdur and Rupmati. But the attribution is somewhat doubtful, as there is said to be another tomb at Mându, which is also named after these famous lovers.

Sârangpur is celebrated as the birth-place of Rupmati, the end of whose career is somewhat similar to that of Cleopatra, but her history is more romantic as well as much more moral. She was the beautiful Hindu wife of Bâz Bahadur, a gallant young Prince, who was the last Muhammadan ruler of Mâlwa. He was passionately fond of music, while she was gifted with more than a common share of the poet's power. Her songs are still sung all over Mâlwa, but I have never been able to find any written collection of them. I have, however, obtained a few from the recital of musicians. They are all composed in the Mâlwa dialect of Hindi, of which the following is an example, as well as a favourable specimen of the pleasing and natural style of Rupmati's verse. It is entitled *[illegible] Bhup-kalyán*, that is, the "song of royal happiness or love:"—

Aur dhan [illegible] hai, [illegible] mérí!
[illegible] pat e [illegible] pinje [illegible]
[illegible] ka [illegible] rakho man [illegible],
Ja [illegible] [illegible] hai
[illegible] tâge [illegible],
Apne kar rákhoge [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] sarage,
[illegible] cko [illegible]
Baz Bahádur ke sanch [illegible].
Nishh[illegible] charka [illegible] aur dhan.

In the following version I have endeavoured to adhere as closely as possible to the original, but it is difficult to preserve the spirit as well as the letter in translating into another language, which is so widely different as English:—

Friend! let others boast their treasure,
Mine's a stock of true love's pleasure;
Safely cared for every part,
'Neath that trusty lock, my heart;

Safe from other women's peeping,
For the key's in mine own keeping;
Day by day it grows a little,
Never loses e'en a tittle;
But through life will ever go,
With Bâz Bahâdur, weal or woe.

For seven years this loving pair continued in the enjoyment of uninterrupted happiness. The day was devoted to hawking, and the night to music. But this dream of joy was rudely disturbed by the ambition or cupidtiy of Akbar, who, in A. H. 968, or A. D. 1560, suddenly sent a large force, under the command of Adam Khân Atka, to occupy Mâlwa, and add it once more to the dominion of the Kings of Delhi. Bâz Bahâdur hastily collected his troops in front of Sârangpur, and advanced to oppose the enemy, but his soldiers deserting him, he was obliged to fly, leaving Adam Khân to occupy Sârangpur. Of Rupmati's fate there are several different accounts, but they all agree in the main fact that she put an end to herself to avoid falling into the hands of Adam Khân. According to Ferishta, Adam Khân retained the treasure, the royal ensigns, and the ladies of Bâz Bahâdur's harem, sending only a few elephants to Akbar.* Ferishta makes no mention of Rupmati, but the detention of the ladies of the harem, which he admits, affords the most ample corroboration of the cause of her death, whether we follow the relations of other historians or the common traditions of the people. Elphinstone, on the authority of Khâfi Khân, gives in a note the following brief account of the circumstances that followed Bâz Bahâdur's defeat:—"An affecting incident occurred on this occasion: Bâz Bahâdur had a Hindu mistress, who is said to have been one of the most beautiful women ever seen in India. She was accomplished as she was fair, and was celebrated for her verses in the Hindi language. She fell into the hands of Adam Khân on the flight of Bâz Bahâdur, and finding herself unable to resist his importunities and threatened violence, she appointed an hour to receive him, put on her most splendid dress, on which she sprinkled the richest perfumes, and lay down on her couch with her mantle drawn over her face. Her attendants thought that she had fallen asleep, but, on endeavouring to wake her on the

* Briggs' Ferishta, II., 206.

approach of the Khân, they found she had taken poison and was already dead."*

This narrative of Khâfi Khân agrees so closely with an anonymous account in my possession, that I should strongly suspect my manuscript to be only an extract from Khâfi Khân, were it not for Elphinstone's silence regarding the immolation of many of the women by Bâz Bahâdur's orders, which is given very circumstantially in my manuscript. According to this account the women of the harem were placed by Bâz Bahâdur in the city of Sârangpur with orders that they should be put to death in case of his defeat. Accordingly, after the action, a party of soldiers entered the female apartments with drawn swords and stabbed Rupmati and the other women. This was reported to Adam Khân, who, distrusting the story, sent his own servants to examine the bodies. Rupmati, who was found to be still alive, permitted her wounds to be dressed on receiving a promise that she should be sent back to Bâz Bahâdur. But finding on her recovery that Adam Khân's real intention was to keep her for himself, she feigned compliance with his wishes. The rest of the story is related almost exactly in the same manner as told by Elphinstone.

In a second manuscript in my possession, the death of Rupmati is attributed to the dagger and not to poison. In the days of her early love she had composed a song expressing her grief on the absence of Bâz Bahâdur as follows:—

Pâpi prân rahat hai,
Bhitar kyo chahat sukhraj:
Rupmati piyâ kamne dukhiya,
Kahân gaya piyâ Bahâdur Bâz.

The helpless soul, chained to the body,
Longs for its final home;
And sad Rupmati cries "Ah whither
Doth Bâz Bahâdur roam?"

On discovering Adam Khân's intentions she is said to have stabbed herself while repeating the above verse, with

* History of India, II., 261.

a slight extempore alteration to adapt it to the altered circumstances,—

Tum bin jivra rahat hai,
Mângat hai sukhrâj.
Rupmati dukhiya bhay,
Bina Bahâdur Bâz.

Reft of her love, my eager soul
Longs for its lost repose,
And thus Rupmati ends her grief
For Bâz Bahâdur's loss.

Although this verse is very well known, it is seldom that two persons can be found to repeat it exactly alike. I have given the version of my second manuscript which was obtained at Indor.

After the death of Rupmati, Bâz Bahâdur fled to the hills of Gondwâna, where he managed to maintain himself for ten years. There, says Ferishta, "he sometimes lived in the luxuries of a court, and at others submitted to the privations of a camp." At last, tired of this precarious existence, he proceeded to Delhi and presented himself before Akbar by whom he was graciously received, and nominated to the command of 2,000 cavalry.* This is Ferishta's account; but according to Abdul Fazl his rank was only that of a *mansubdâr*, or commander of one thousand.† It is quite possible, however, that he may have been promoted to the higher grade before his death. I possess a few copper coins of *Bâz Bahâdur*, which are of the usual square form of the Mâlwa mintage. They are of smaller size than the earlier coins, and the legends are therefore generally imperfect. On the obverse I read "*Us Sultân Bâz Bahâdur Shah*," but the reverse I cannot make out, excepting the date, which on one coin is A. H. 965, or A. D. 1558. These coins are so rare that I have only met with six of them during a period of 30 years, in which I have three times visited Sârangpur itself as well as the country around it.

IX. MHAU MAIDAN.

The historian of the Rajputs, on his way towards Gâgron, mentions that "the yet more ancient Mhow, the

* Briggs' Ferishta, IV., 279.
† Gladwin's Ain Akbari, I., 200.

first capital of the Khichis, was pointed out five *kos* to the eastward."* Stimulated by this meagre notice, I made enquiries about the place when I was at Jhâlra Pâtan. I found that it was well known to the people, who gave a glowing account of its former extent, and of the number and size of its ancient buildings. Mhau is situated about 8 miles to the south-east of Gâgron, and 10 miles to the north-east of Jhâlra Pâtan. It stands on the east bank of the *Ujhâr* Nala, at the foot of a low range of hills, which is called the *Kâla Pahâr*, or "black hill," on account of the dark colour of its rocks. This position was apparently chosen for the sake of defence, as it is particularly difficult of access on all sides. On the east and west it is protected by two large rivers, the *Newaj* and the *Kâli-Sindh*, and to the north and south by several ranges of low precipitous hills. I approached the place from the south by the bed of the Ujhâr River, which finds its way through two ranges of hills, named *Hara Pahâr* and *Dhola Pahâr*, or the "green hill," and the "white hill," by narrow gaps, which small bodies of resolute men could easily defend against a large force. From the pass in the white hill the road proceeds for upwards of another mile along the bed of the river to the foot of the *Kâla Pahâr*, or "black hill," where it leaves the stream and crosses the hill by a rough and narrow path to the ruins of the old town. Judging from its position, and the modern appearance of its buildings, I conclude that *Mhau* must have been chosen on account of its defensive position shortly after the first appearance of the Muhammadans, about which time also the ancient city of Chandrâvati would appear to have fallen into ruin. I think it highly probable, therefore, that *Mhau* may have immediately succeeded to *Chandravati* as the capital of all the country on the lower course of the Kâli Sindh, shortly after the beginning of the 13th century.

At the present day *Mhau* is only a large village containing about 200 houses, and from 1,000 to 1,200 inhabitants. The still existing remains of the old city extend for a quarter of mile in length from east to west, and about the same distance from north to south. On the west there is a large ruined palace, which is attributed to the Chohan hero, Prithi Raj; but this assignment is most completely refuted by its

* Tod's Rajasthan, II., 736.

cusped Muhammadan arches, and by a Nâgari inscription over the entrance which gives the date of S. 1768, or A. D. 1711. To the east there is an old baoli, with a broken pillar and some fragments of sculpture, but these are so small and so few that it is quite possible they may have been brought from Chandravati. The only interesting portions of Mhau are the desolate streets running between rows of stone walls and roofless houses, the whole overgrown with a dense jangal of wild custard apple and other trees. I found no one who could give me any information about either the cause or the period of its desertion; but if we may judge from the modern appearance of the walls, and from the date of A. D. 1711, which is inscribed over the entrance of the palace, I think that the final desertion of Mhau was most probably caused by the predatory Mahrattas towards the middle of the last century. The name of Mhau is always coupled with that of Maidân, which the people say was added long ago on account of some great battle having been fought there. But there are so many places of this name that it has always been necessary to distinguish them from one another by the addition of other names as *Mhau-Chatrpur* and *Mhau-Rânipur*, both in Bundelkhand. I presume, therefore, that the present town may, perhaps, have been called *Mhau-maidân*, or "Mhau of the plain," to distinguish it from the other Mhau in Mâlwa, which stands on the crest of the Vindhya Range overlooking the Narbada River.

X. JHARKON, OR BAJRANG-GARH.

On the desertion of Mhau the Khichi Rajas established themselves at Jharkon, an old town six miles to the south of Guna, and about midway on the high road between Agra and Ujain. Their palace, however, was at Râghugarh, 10 miles further to the south. The date of this occupation of Jharkon is not exactly known; but as the earliest of the royal Sati monuments, near the palace at Râghugarh, is attributed to Lâl Sinh, who died about A. D. 1685, I infer that the Khichi Chiefs must have left Mhau Maidan permanently about A. D. 1677, or S. 1734, which is the date assigned for the foundation of Râghugarh. As the Khichi Chohans have been barely noticed by Tod, I will take this opportunity of giving a slight sketch of their history, which is intimately connected with that of the Muhammadan kings of Mâlwa.

The Khichi Chohans claim their origin from *Ajay Rao*, who was one of the 24 sons of *Mânik Rao* of Sâmbhar. The sixth, or more probably the sixteenth, descent from him was Gaya-si, whose sons, *Prasanga Rao* and *Pilpanjar*, are said to have been the contemporaries of Prithi Raj of Delhi, who, in reward for good service, gave them the district of Gâgron in Mâlwa containing 18,000 villages. But the first residence of the Chiefs was at *Khichipur Pâtan* (now *Khilji-pur* in Umatwâra), and from this place the bards usually derive the name of their descendants the Khichi Chohans. The elder brother had no issue, but the younger had a son named *Chur Pâl*, who is said to have reigned in *Mhau Maidân*. His descendants were Sinh Rao, Ratan Sinh, and Malasi. The last Raja had three sons, amongst whom the country was divided into three separate principalities. Jait Sinh, the eldest son, had Gâgron, the second, Adal-ji, had Amal-bado, and the youngest, named Bilâsa, had Râmgarh. As Bilâsa had no issue, his estate reverted to his brothers, and from this time *Khichiwâra* was divided into two principalities until the death of Achaldâs, the fifth in descent from Jait Sinh, when the whole of the district, not occupied by the Muhammadans, fell to the descendants of the second son, Adal-ji.

In Abul Fazl's account of Mâlwa,* it is stated that *Chait-pâl* or *Jaitpâl*, a descendant of Mânik-Deo Chohan, obtained possession of the kingdom by the murder of Kamâl-ud din, the Muhammadan Governor. As the date of this event is placed 131 years after the death of Pithora, or in 1193 + 131 = 1324 A. D., it seems to me almost certain that this *Jaitpâl* must be the same person as the *Khichi* Chief *Jait Sinh*, who was the fifth in descent from the contemporary of Prithi Raj. Allowing the usual Indian average of 25 years to a generation, Jait Sinh must have succeeded to the throne in the year 1193 + 100 or 1293 A. D. It is remarkable also that in both lists this Jaitpâl, or Jait Sinh, has exactly five successors, after whom the kingdom is subdued by the Musalmâns. But as none of the names correspond, it is most probable that this coincidence is purely accidental. The five successors of Jait Sinh are Sâwat Sinh, Rao-Kandwâ, Raja-Pipaji, Mahâraja Dwârkanâth, and

* Gladwin's Ain Akbari, II., 46.

Mahârâja Achaldâs. In the reign of the last prince, Gâgron was captured by the Muhammadans under Ghori Sultân, when Achaldâs retired to Khichipur Pâtan, the original capital of the family. He was afterwards killed in battle in Samvat 1505, or A. D. 1448, fighting against his hereditary enemies, the Musalmâns. The capture of Gâgron by Sultan Hushang Ghori, of Mâlwa, is fixed by Ferishta to the year A. H. 830 or A. D. 1426, which is sufficiently near the date of A. D. 1448 assigned for the death of Achaldâs to warrant our acceptance of the general accuracy of the bardic annals.

The chronology of these petty princes of Gâgron acquires a higher importance when we are able to bring it to bear on the general history of India in fixing the date of the famous Hindu reformer Râmânand.* According to the Bhakta-Mâlâ, one of the twelve disciples of Râmânand was "*Pipa-ji* the Râjput," or "Pipa, Raja of Gangarâon," who is identified by the bards with Raja-Pipa-ji of Gâgron. Now, as the death of his great grand-father, Jait Sinh, took place about A. D. 1310, and the accession of his grandson, Achaldâs, about 1410, his own period must be as nearly as possible between the years 1360 and 1385, which allows exactly 25 years to each generation.

The history of this royal disciple, as briefly related by H. H. Wilson, is both curious and interesting: "Pipa, the Rajput, is called the Raja of Gangarâon. He was originally a worshipper of Devi, but abandoned her service for that of Vishnu, and repaired to Banâras to put himself under the tuition of Râmânand. Having disturbed the sage at an inconvenient season, Râmânand angrily wished that he might fall into the well of his court-yard, on which Pipa in the fervour of his obedience, attempted to cast himself into it to accomplish the desire of the saint. This act was with difficulty prevented by the bystanders, and the attempt so pleased Râmânand that he immediately admitted the Raja amongst his disciples. Pipa after some time abandoned his earthly possessions and accompanied by only one of his wives, name *Sitá*, as ardent a devotee as himself, adopting a life of mendicity, accompanied Râmânand and his disciples to Dwâraka. Here he plunged into the sea to visit the submarine shrine

* See Wilson's Hindu Sects, p. 38.

of Krishna, and was affectionately received by that deity. After spending some days with him, Pipa returned, when the fame of the occurrence spread, and attracted great crowds to see him. Finding them incompatible with his devotions, Pipa left Dwârka privately. On the road some Pathâns carried off his wife, but Râma himself rescued her and slew the ravishers." Wilson adds that the life of this vagrant Raja is narrated at considerable length in the *Bhakta Mâlá*, but as it is made up of the most absurd and silly legends, of which he gives a specimen, it would appear that no further particulars of his real history are known. It may be remarked, however, that the name of his son and successor *Dwârkanâth*, is an additional confirmation of his recorded devotion to Krishna. With Achaldâs, the son of Dwârkanâth, the line of the Khichis of Gâgron became extinct in A. D. 1448.

The younger branch of the Khichis derives its descent from Adal-ji, the brother of Jait Sinh, whose son was *Dhâru-ji*, a name which is still famous amongst all divisions of the Khichi Chohâns. In his time, about A. D. 1300, the great *Alu-ud-din Ghori* (an invariable mistake for *Khilji)* assembled all the Rajas at Delhi and proposed mutual intermarriage · that they should marry his daughters, and that his family should marry their daughters. One of the Sultan's daughters was taken by Lâkhan-Si, or Lakshan Sinh, Sisodiya of Chitor, another by Virama Deva, the Sonigara Chief of Jhâlor, and others by other Rajas *(aur Râja sa hukm karâya)*. The Sultan then said, "now give me your daughters in marriage," when all agreed, excepting only Raja Dhâru-ji, who was immediately attacked by the Muhammadan troops. Here the bard warms with his subject and declares—

Jin ka dh'la râya âgan kar rîs,
Dhika âgal Dhârwâ, te maryo mangîs.

As smoke betrays the fire beneath,
So Dhâru's presence signals death.

But in spite of his valour, the Raja was obliged to submit to the more powerful Pathân, from whom he received a *sanad*, or title deed, establishing him as the tributary chief of 22 districts in Khichiwâra. Dhâru-ji had 12 sons, of whom the eldest, named *Ark-si*, succeeded to the kingdom, while

the others received estates within the boundaries of Khichiwâra, which at this time is said to have embraced Sârangpur and Sujâlpur to the south, and Bhilsa to the east. A similar enlarged dominion is also claimed by the bards' statement that Arh-si reigned over sixty lakhs of Hindus and eighteen lakhs of Musalmâns, or altogether 7,800,000 subjects, who were under the immediate rule of 84 petty chiefs.

During the reigns of the seven succeeding generations nothing whatever is related, but the eighth successor, named *Narain Dâs*, is stated to have gone to the assistance of the Emperor Humâyun, for which he was made a *mansubdâr* or commander of 5,000 men. His son, named *Sâlivâhan*, having acquired the favour of Akbar, received the fort of Asir. He was followed by Dip Sah and Garib Dâs: the latter is said to have acquired Multan for Shahjahân, for which he received 12 additional districts in *jâghir*. As these districts form the principal possessions of the ruling family at the present day, a list of them will be interesting to show at how late a period their territory was acquired:

1. *Kânao*, or Bâla-Bhet, west of Guna.
2. *Guna*, near Jharkon, and Râghugarh.
3. *Bambhori*, 16 miles to north-west of Guna.
4. *Arûn*, 14 miles to east of Râghugarh.
5. *Jhâjûn*.
6. *Jharkon*, now Bajrang-garh.
7. *Mûgâna*, to north of Guna.
8. *Sadora*, 20 miles to east of Guna.
9. *Gugor*, or Pârbati River, to west of Guna.
10. *Chhabâdo*.
11. *Kumrâj*, to west of Râghugarh.
12. *Chachuda*, 20 miles to south-west of Râghugarh.

Garib Dâs left two sons, from whom are descended all the present chiefs of the Khichi Chohâns. The elder, named Lâlji, founded Râghugarh in S. 1734, or A. D. 1677. He was in great favor with Aurangzib, who continued to him the jâghir which had been granted to his father by Shahjahân, and which thus became a permanent part of the family domains. *Lâlji* left three sons, *Dhirat*, *Sujân*, and *Kesri*, of whom the eldest succeeded to the chiefship, while

the others obtained estates at Râmnagar and Garha, which their descendants now hold. Dhirat had two sons, named *Gaj-Sinh* and *Vikramâditya*. The elder succeeded to the throne, but being mixed up with the troubles that followed the death of Aurangzib, he was obliged to abandon his country in favor of his younger brother. As Gaj-Sinh sought refuge with Rana Sangrâm Sinh of Udaypur, who reigned from A. D. 1715 to 1733, his own reign may be assigned with some certainty to the period between 1710 and 1720. Vikramâditya left two sons, *Balbhadra* and *Budh-Sinh*, of whom the former succeeded to the chiefship, while the latter obtained an estate at Isâgarh, which is still held by his descendants. Balbhadra was followed by his son *Balwant Sinh*, and his grandson Jaya Sinh. During the reign of the latter, which lasted from about A. D. 1790 to 1818, the territories of the Kichi Chief were repeatedly invaded by the Mahratta troops. Numerous fights, which are popularly estimated at 52, took place between the Khichis and Mahrattas but without any decisive result, until General Baptiste took the command in 1816 with 18 regiments of foot, 5,000 horse, and a large park of artillery. The town of Jharkon, or Jaynagar, and the citadel of Bajrang-garh were at once occupied by Baptiste, who then pushed on and invested the Raja in his stronghold of Râghugarh. The chief held out for some time with considerable gallantry, but, despairing of success, he escaped from the place at night and took refuge in the jungles of Sopur. Râghugarh was then occupied by Baptiste, and the whole district appeared to be subdued by the death of Jaya Sinh in 1816. But the restless spirit of the Khichis again broke out under Dhokal Sinh, the son of the last Raja, and the country was only finally pacified by the interference of the British authorities in S. 1877, or A. D. 1820, when the Raja obtained a grant of the two districts of Râghugarh and Bâlabhet, yielding an annual income of Rs. 55,000, as a feudatory of the Marhatta ruler of Gwalior.

The ancient territory of Khichiwâra was originally confined to the hilly country lying between Gâgor on the north, Sârangpur on the south, Jhâlra Pâtan on the west, and Kumrâj on the east, of which Khichipur Pâtan occupied as nearly as possible a central position. By the

encroachments of the Muhammadan Pathans, the Khichis were gradually deprived of the southern and western provinces of Sârangpur and Gâgron, and confined to the narrow limits of the north-east districts of Mhau Maidân, Gugor, and Kumrâj. But with the accession of the Mogals, the domains of the Khichis were largely extended on the east by the grant of the two districts of Jharkon and Bahâdurgarh, the former lying to the west, and the latter to the east of the Sindh River. These two districts originally formed part of the ancient Hindu province of Ahirwâra, which extended from Ranod on the Ahirpat River, to Sironj on the south, and from the Pârbati River on the west, to the Betwa on the east. Within these limits the Ahirs still form the mass of the population, and the land is chiefly held by Ahir zamindars. During Jay Sinh's long war with the Mahrattas the Ahirs asserted their independence, and were not subdued until Baptiste was sent against them. Conciliatory measures were tried in vain, and their pacification was at last effected by the establishment of a military cantonment at Bahâdurgarh, which is now known by its new name of Isâgarh, which was imposed upon it by the Christian General.

I will close this account of the Khichi Chohâns with a compendious genealogical table, showing the approximate dates of the more prominent chiefs whose history has already been recorded, and tracing the descent of the four principal families of the present day from Mânik Rao, the common ancestor of all the different tribes of the Chohân race:

Samvat.	A. D.	
741	684	*Mânik Rao*, of Sâmbhar.
...	720	*Ajaya Pala*, one of his 24 sons.
..	...	(5 or 15 Princes.)
...	...	*Gaya Sinha*, of Khichipur Pâtan.
...	1170	*Prasanga Rao* and *Pilpanjar*.
1251	1194	*Char-Pâl*, son of Pilpanjar.
1266	1209	*Sinha Rao*.
...	1235	*Ratna Sinha*.
...	1260	*Mâla Si*, or Mâla Sinha, had two sons, who founded the separate families of Gâgron and Gugor.

A. D.	GAGRON.	A. D.	GUGOR.
1280	*Jait Sinh.*	1280	*Adalji.*
1300	*Sawat Sinh.*	1300	*Dhára-ji*, cot. of Alá-ud-din.
1335	*Rao Kandwa.*	1340	*Ark-si.*
1360	*Raja Pipa-ji*, disciple of Râmânand.	1365	*Sátab-ji.*
1385	Maharaja *Dwârkanâth.*	1390	*Hema-ji.*
1410	Maharaja *Achal Dás.*	1415	*Asel-ji.*
1426	Gârgon taken by Hushang.	1440	*Ranga Málla.*
1448	Death of Achal Dás.	1465	*Rohitás.*
		1490	*Durga Dás.*
		1515	*Hamir Sen.*
		1540	*Nárâyan Dás*, cot. of Humayun.
		1565	*Sâlivâhan*, cot. of Akbar.
		1590	*Dip Sáh*, cot. of Jahangir.
		1620	*Garib Dás*, cot. of Shah Jahan.
		1660	*Lál Sinh* founded Râghugarh.

1685	*Dhirat or Dhiraj*			*Sujân S*	*Kesari*
1720	*Gaj Sinh* and	*Vikramâditya*		*Madan S*	*Basant*
1752		*Balbhadra*		*Devi S*	*Parmeswar.*
1784	(resigned 6 years) *Balwant Sinh*				
				Gulab S	*Juwahir*
1786	*Jaya Sinha*			*Vairi Sal*	*Baktawar*
1818		*Ajit Sing* in *Raghugarh*	1822	*Durjan Sal* in *Ramnagar*	2 sons in *Garha*

The name of the Khichi tribe is popularly derived from the well known dish called *khichri*,—a mixture of yellow pulse and white rice,—because one of their ancestors was directed by the goddess Devi where to find a large treasure of mixed gold and silver pieces. Since that time the whole tribe is said to have abstained from eating khichri. I think it much more probable, however, that the district may have derived its name from its muddy black soil, *khichar* or *khich*, so that *Khichiwâra* would signify "mud-land." This etymology is supported by the name of the neighbouring district of *Harâvati*, or "green land," from which the Hâra Chohans may have taken their name.

XI. MAYANA, OR MAYAPURA.

Mâyâna is a smaller town on the high road from Agra to Indor, about midway between Kulhâras and Râghugarh. It has a brick fort with four round towers at the corners,

and four square towers between them. It could once boast of a carved stone temple, but this is now in ruins, and the only existing antiquity is a stone *baori*, or well, with a flight of steps on one side leading down to the water's edge. This is known as the *Sena-Baori*, and it is said to be so called after the name of its builder, Vikrama Sena. But the inscription on the wall of the baori, which is dated in Samvat 1551 and Sake 1416, or A. D. 1494, attributes the building to Raja *Lakshmana* during the reign of Sultan *Gayâs-ud-din*, and under the governorship of Shir Khân: the former is the well-known King of Mâlwa, and the latter was the Governor of Chânderi. The town is called both *Mâyâpura* and *Mâyâna* in the inscription. From the numerous fragments of statues lying about, the well would appear to have been built with the materials of the great stone temple mentioned above. I recognized a four-armed figure of Vishnu with the shell and lotus, a six-armed figure of Siva with the usual braided hair, and a small figure of Ganesa. I found also in the steps of the *baori* a broken inscription dated in S. 1297, or A. D. 1240, which probably recorded the visit of some pilgrim to the old temple. But the most numerous remains at Mâyâna are the Sati pillars, bearing the names and titles of the Muhammadan Kings of Mâlwa. The oldest is dated in Samvat 1529 and Sake 1394 (or A. D. 1472) in the reign of *Mahârajadhiraja Sri Sultân Gayâsudina*. A second is dated in S. 1561, or A. D. 1504, in the reign of *Mahârajadhiraja Sri Sultân Nasir Sâhi bin Gayâs Sahi*, or Nasir Shah, son of Ghiâs Shah, whose sway is said to extend from the fort of *Mândogarh* to the fort of *Chânderi*. A third is dated two years later. In these records we have the most unequivocal and satisfactory proof of the extended sway of the Muhammadan Kings of Malwa. These inscriptions are found on the rude cenotaphs of the peasantry, set up to preserve the memory of the women who had become Satis, and the mention of their rulers' names is a mere matter of formal respect, which proves the permanent occupation of this part of the country by the Musalmâns of Malwa.

XII. KULHARAS.

Kulhâras is a small town on the high road from Gwalior to Indor, and about midway between Sipri and Mâyâna. It is about half a mile in length by a quarter of a mile in breadth, and is surrounded by a rude wall of rough stones

set in mud mortar. Outside the town, both to the east and west, there are large groves of fine old tamarind trees, with numerous wells and baoris, and the usual Sati monuments, around which the people have grouped all the fragments of sculpture collected from their ruined temples. These magnificent old tamarind trees attracted the notice of our English travellers no less than 250 years ago, when Wm. Finch, on his way from Surat to Agra, halted at "*Qualeres,*" which he describes as "a small pretty town encompassed with tamarind and mango trees." At the present day Kulhâras is chiefly remarkable for the number of its Sati monuments, of which several are of historical importance. The oldest and most interesting of these monuments is a tall pillar, 18 feet in height, called *Magar-dhaj*. The inscription in three lines records that "on Friday the 11th of the Waning Moon of Ashâdh, in the Samvat year 1348 (or A. D. 1291), in the town of Kulhâras, during the reign of (name illegible), son of *Châhada Deva*, the wife of Dhau, Brahman of Verigrâm, named Aryakâ Devi, because a Sati." As *Châhada Deva* is mentioned by Ferishta as the Raja of Narwar in A. D. 1251, the present record serves to show that the neighbouring town of Kulhâras must have belonged to his territory. This subject will be referred to again in my account of the Rajas of Narwar.

A second monument, bearing the name of *Mahârajâdhirâja Sri Sultân Nâsir Sâhi* shows that the dominions of the Muhammadan King of Mâlwa must have extended as far as Kulhâras on the north. Two other monuments dated in Sake 1702 and 1706, or A. D. 1645 and 1649, in the reign of King Vikramâditya, proclaim a further change of rulers when the district about Narwar had been granted by the Mogal Emperors of Delhi to a younger branch of the Kachhwâhas of Jaypur, with whom they had intermarried. A fifth monument dated in Sake 1715, or A. D. 1658, during the reign of Amar Sinh shows that the *Narwar* district still remained in the hands of the same family.

XIII. RANOD, OR NAROD.

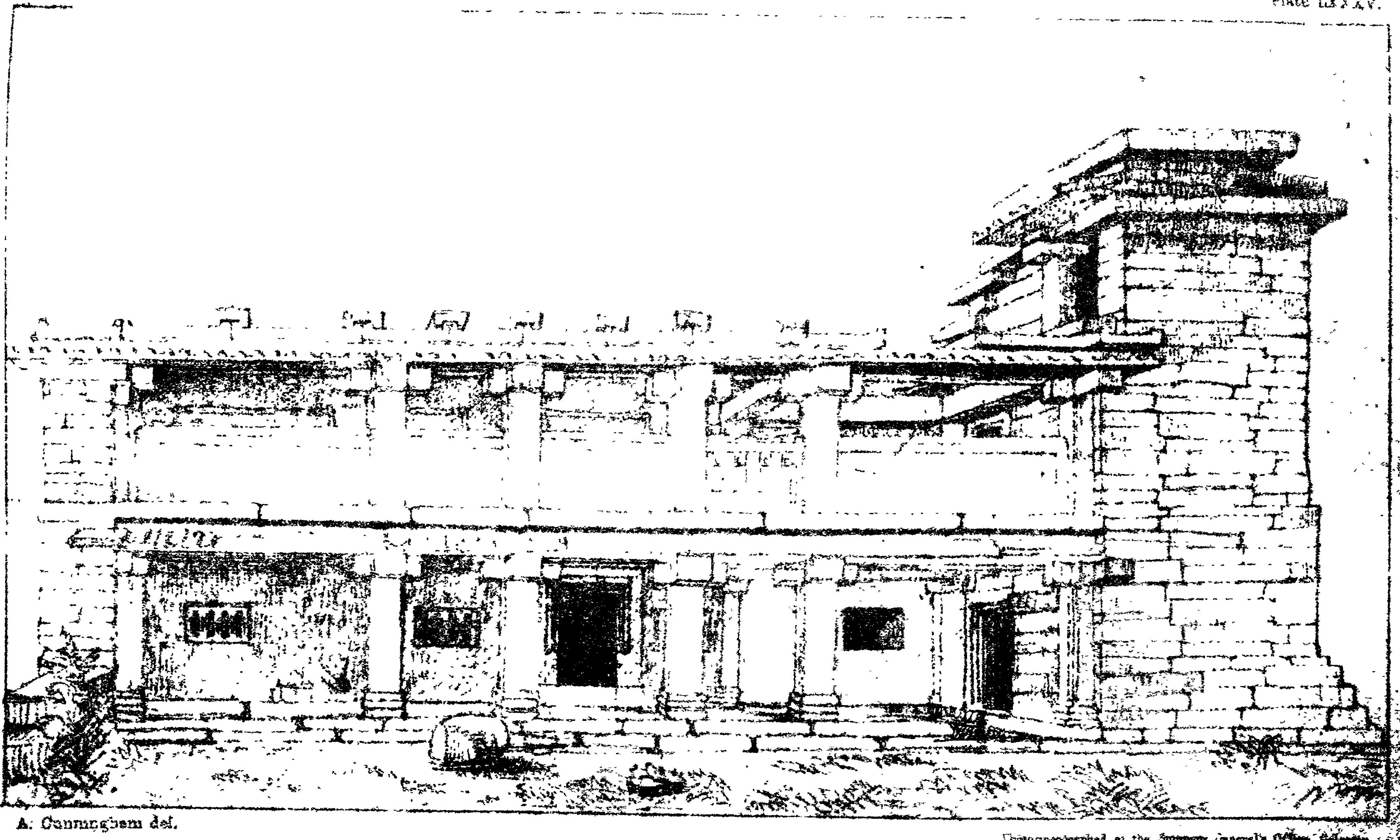
Ranod, or Narod as it is usually called by the peasantry, is an old decayed town of some size about half way between Jhânsi and Guna, and just 40 miles due south of Narwar. It is situated on the west bank of the Airâvati or

Ahirpat Nala, a small running stream which falls into the Sindh River above Narwar. In former days it would appear to have been a place of some consequence, as it can still boast of both Hindu and Muhammadan remains of considerable interest. The town also is still surrounded by magnificent groves of old tamarind, mango, and other trees, and altogether Ranod is one of the prettiest places in this part of the country.

The most remarkable building is an old Hindu palace, two storeys in height, which is built entirely of huge blocks of sand-stone without any mortar. It is called *Kokai-mahal*, or simply *Kokai*, the meaning of which is unknown. The main building is 48 feet long, 34 feet broad, and 21 feet high. The two storeys, which are exactly similar in their arrangement, consist of a long front verandah supported on four stout pillars, with a suite of three narrow rooms in one line at the back, which are dimly lighted by small stone-barred windows. Access to the upper-story, as well as to the roof, is obtained by a staircase in a square tower at the right hand end of the building. The verandah of the upper-storey has a stone railing, $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height, between the pillars, which served the double purpose of protecting the inmates from falling, and of screening them from the gaze of the people outside. But the most curious part of this building is the roof, which is formed of enormous slabs of sand-stone, all of them one foot in thickness, and many of them 12 feet square. The whole of these slabs are formed with raised edges which touch each other, and the joints are covered by long flat stones, $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot broad, after the manner of the sloping marble roofs of the Greeks. The bold projecting eaves are wrought into curved ridges and hollows on the upper surface, and present exactly the same appearance as corrugated-iron. In the back wall of the building there are numerous small openings near the top to give light and air to the upper-storey. The battlements are made of single semi-circular stones, which form a massive and appropriate finish to this singularly solid building.*

In front of the palace there is an open cloister, 123 feet long with a suite of rooms at each end, which together form three sides of a court-yard. The roofs of these cloisters are

* See Plate LXXXVI. for a front view of this remarkable building.



A. Cunningham del.

Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office, Calcutta.

HINDU PALACE AT RANOD

formed of large slabs, which are arranged in a peculiar manner like two broad steps on each side, with a row of large slabs crowning the whole. Beneath each line of steps there are numerous small openings for the admission of light and air. Altogether the arrangement of these roofs is very ingenious and effective. Outside the court-yard, at a distance of 45 feet, there is a deep square tank with steps leading down to the water's edge, and close by there is a second tank. These are known by the names of *Ghási Tál* and *Bhan-ki-Baori*.

In the left end wall of the lower verandah there is a long Sanskrit inscription, 7 feet 4 inches in height, and 3 feet 2 inches in breadth, which is evidently intended to give the whole history of this curious suite of buildings. But unfortunately, as the only rendering of this record that has yet been made public is declared by Babu Rájendra Lal to be "incorrect" both in the reading and in the translation, I am unable to do more than offer a very meagre account of its contents. There is no date, but as the characters are similar to those in the Kutila inscription of Dewal, the Ranod inscription may be assigned approximately to the same period of A. D. 1000, or perhaps a little earlier. The greater part of the record is taken up with the most fulsome praises of Raja *Somesa* or *Someswara*, who re-peopled the deserted city of *Máyápura*, where he built a lofty palace for his own residence, which was surrounded with reservoirs of pure water. Someswara, as his name imports, was a zealous worshipper of Siva, but there is apparently nothing in this long record from which we may discover the name of the king's tribe. From the vicinity of Narwar I should infer that Ranod must always have belonged to the Rajas of that great fortress, and consequently that the builder of the Ranod palace should be found in the list of the Kachhwaha princes of Narwar. Unfortunately, however, we possess no authentic list of these princes, so that our researches are limited to the few names which have been preserved in ancient inscriptions. From one of these we learn that Gagana Sinha, Sarada-Sinha, and Vira-Sinha, ruled over Narwar for three generations, from about A. D. 1050 to 1125.* As these princes are specially noted as belonging to the *Kachchapa-ghâta*, or *Kachhwâha*, race, it might perhaps be inferred that

* Professor Fitzedward Hall in Journal of America Oriental Society.

their predecessors were of a different race. But this inference, however probable, cannot be depended upon as certain, as all the later inscriptions of the Princes of Mahoba begin the Chândel genealogy with Raja Dhanga, and not with Chandra, who is recorded as the progenitor of the race in Dhanga's own inscriptions. We know, indeed, from one of my Gwalior inscriptions that the Kachhwâhas, under Raja Vajra-Dáma, were in possession of the Gwalior territory as early as S. 1034, or A. D. 977; and as the Kachhwâhas of Gwalior are universally admitted to have been masters of Narwar also, we may conclude with much probability that Raja Somesa of the Ranod inscription must have been anterior to Vajra-Dáma; I would therefore fix his date approximately to the first half of the 10th century, which is in full accord with the period already assigned to him from the style of characters used in his inscriptions.

On the side of the road between the palace and the town I found a short pillar, which was shaped like an ordinary *lingam*, but with a pair of feet sculptured on the flat top. It is called *Mahádeo-ka-charan*, or "Mahadeo's foot-prints." On one side of it there is a short inscription with the date of S. 1234, or A. D. 1177. Apparently it must have belonged to a temple, but there are no traces of any building in its immediate vicinity.

The Muhammadan buildings are of small size and of late date, but some of them are both curious and interesting from the grace and novelty of their designs. The *Zanziri*, or *Janjiri*, Masjid, is so called from the peculiar "chain-like" appearance of its surrounding railing, which is singularly graceful in the flowing outline of its battlements. The masjid itself is a small ordinary building of the time of Aurangzib. A second smaller masjid also attracted my attention from its striking resemblance to a rude Greek temple. In front it has a portico of four pillars which support the pediment of a very low sloping roof, just such as we may imagine must have been one of the earliest forms of the common Greek temple. Amongst the tombs I observed a Sarcophagus in the novel shape of a bedstead, with the usual round side-rails, and the four feet standing out prominently at the corners. Such a design might, perhaps, have been appropriate for a mediæval Christian monument, where the figure of the dead is represented lying at full

length in his last sleep; but in the present instance, where the bedstead is placed over the dead, like a large cover, the design appears to me to be singularly inappropriate.

XIV. NALAPURA, OR NARWAR.

The great fortress of *Narwar*, or classically *Nalapura*, is said to owe its name to Raja Nala, a descendant of Kusa, the son of Râma, from whom the bards of the present day derive the patronimic of *Kuswâha*, which they erroneously consider to be the same as *Kachhwâha*. In my account of the ancient coinage of Narwar I brought forward several strong reasons in favor of the indentification of Narwar with the great city of *Padmâvati*, which is the scene of Bhavabhuti's drama of *Mâlati* and *Mâdhava*. As this identification is a point of the greatest importance in the ancient history of Narwar, I will here repeat the principal heads of my argument.

In the Vishnu Purana it is stated that "the nine Nâgas will reign in *Padmâvati*, *Kântipuri*, and *Mathura*, and the Guptas of Magadha along the Ganges to Prayága."* This statement is corroborated by the Vâyu Purána, which however gives a second dynasty of Nâgas. "The nine Nâka kings will possess the city of *Champâvati*, and the seven Nâkas the pleasant city of Mathura. Princes of the Gupta race will possess all these countries,—the banks of the Ganges to Prayâga and Saketa and Magadha."† Padmâvati was at first identified by H. H. Wilson with some unknown city in Berar, far to the south of the Narbada, and afterwards with Bhagulpur on the Ganges; ‡ but the mention of Mathura utterly precludes the possibility of either of those places having belonged to the Nâgas. Both Kântipuri and Padmavati should no doubt be looked for within some moderate distance of Mathura. Now the scene of Bhavabhuti's drama of *Mâlati* and *Mâdhava* is laid in the city of Padmâvati amidst the Vindhyan mountains. As his description

* Wilson's Translation, p. 479.

† Ibid p. 479, note 70.

‡ See Hindu Theatre, Malati and Madhava; and Vishnu Purâna, p. 480,—note.

of the locality is a favorable specimen of Hindu poetry, I will not curtail it :*

"How wide the prospect spreads—mountain and rock,
"Towns, villages, and woods, and glittering streams,
"There where the *Pârâ* and the *Sindhu* wind,
"The towers, and temples, pinnacles, and gates,
"And spires of *Padmâvati*, like a city
"Precipitated from the skies, appear
"Inverted in the pure translucent wave!
"There flows *Lavana's* frolic stream, &c."

The *Sindhu* of this passage is, I think, the *Sindh* River on which the city of Narwar is situated; the *Pârâ* is the *Pârbati*, or *Pârâ* River, which flows only five miles to the north of the Sindh; and the *Lavana* is the *Lûn* or *Nûn Nadi*, which rises near Paniâr, and falls into the Sindh at Chând-pur-Sonâri. In another place Bavabhuti says—

"Where meet the *Sindhu* and the *Madhumati*,
"The holy fane of *Swarna-vindu* rises."

The *Madhumati* must be the *Mohwâr* or *Madhuwâr*, which rises near Ranod, and, after passing Karâra falls into the Sindhu about 8 miles above Sonâri. These identifications of the four rivers in the immediate neighbourhood of Narwar with the four rivers of Bhavabhuti's drama, seem to me amply sufficient to warrant the conclusion that Narwar itself is the modern representative of the ancient city of Padmâvati. Narwar also is in the midst of the Vindhyan mountains, and at a moderate distance, about 160 miles, from Mathura, so that there are no geographical difficulties in the way of the proposed identification. With regard to the third city, named Kântipuri, I agree with Wilford in identifying it with the ancient *Kotwâl*, or *Kutwâr*, on the Ahsin River, 20 miles to the north of Gwalior. The kingdom of the Nâgas, therefore, would have included the greater part of the present territories of Bharatpur, Dholpur, Gwalior, and Bundelkhand, and perhaps also some portions of Malwa, as Ujain, Bhilsa, and Sâgar. It would thus have embraced nearly the whole of the country lying between the Jumna and the upper course of the Narbada, from the Chambal on the west to the *Kayân*, or Kane River, on the east,—

* Hindu Theatre, by Wilson, II., 95.

an extent of about 800 square miles, in which Narwar occupies a centrical and most commanding position.

If I am right in this identification of Narwar with the Padmâvati of the Purânas, we obtain one of the most interesting and important facts in ancient Indian history in fixing the actual locality of the kingdom of the nine Nâgas. The identification is strongly corroborated by the numerous coins of various Nâga kings which have been found at Narwar, Gwalior, and Mathura, all of which have been described by me in the Journal of the Asiatic Society. It is further supported by a passage in the 18th line of the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudra Gupta, in which the king boasts of the extent of his dominions, and enumerates the different princes and countries which had become subject to his power. Amongst the former he mentions *Ganapati-Nâga* as one of the tributary princes of Aryavartta. Now, *Ganapati*, or *Ganendra*, is the name of the Nâga Raja whose coins are the most common, and the most widely diffused of all these Narwar kings; and as the legends of his coins are in the very same characters as those of the Gupta coins and inscriptions, it is certain that he must have been a contemporary of one of the princes of that dynasty. I think, therefore, that there is every probability in favour of the identity of the Ganapati-Nâga of the Narwar coins with the Ganapati-Nâga of Samudra's inscriptions. My discovery of an inscription of Samudra Gupta in Mathura itself is sufficient to shew that the Nâgas must have lost their dominion over that city at least as earlier as the reign of Samudra. It may also, I think, be taken as corroborative of the general decay of their power, and of the supremacy of Samudra Gupta, as stated in the Allahabad pillar inscription.

The period to which the nine Nâgas must be assigned depends solely on the date of their contemporaries, the Guptas, whose power became extinct in A. D. 319. If, therefore, we refer the rise of the Gupta dynasty to the Sake era, the date of Samudra Gupta will fall in the first half of the second century of the Christian era. But as in his reign the power of the Nâgas had already begun to decline, I think that the establishment of the Nâga dynasty may be fixed with some certainty about the beginning of the Christian era. According to this view, the rule of the nine Nâgas would have

extended over the whole of the first and second centuries, or from A. D. 0 to 225.* In the following list I have arranged the names of these Nâga kings according to the devices of their coins, beginning with those types which seem to me to be the earliest on account of the more ancient appearance of their accompanying inscriptions. It is worthy of note, as corroborative of the date which I have assigned to the Nâgas, that the whole of the devices of their coins are to be found also on the silver coins of the Guptas themselves, or on those of their acknowledged contemporaries:

No.	A. D.	NAMES ON COINS.
I.	0	Bhima Nâga.
II.	25	Kha* Nâga (? *Kharjjura*, or *Kharpara*).
III.	50	Va* Nâga (? *Varma Vasta*).
IV.	75	Skanda Nâga.
V.	100	Brihaspati Naga.
VI.	125	Ganapati or Ganendra
VII.	150	Vyâghra Nâga.
VIII.	175	Vasu Nâga.
IX.	200	Deva Nâga.
...	225	Close of the dynasty.

From this time we have neither coins nor inscriptions to illustrate the history of Narwar for the next eight centuries. We must therefore be content with such guesses, more or less probable, as our ingenuity can suggest to shed their dim and uncertain lights amid this vast abyss of darkness. It is with some hesitation, therefore, that I venture to suggest the following outline of the probable history of Narwar during this obscure period:

As the Nâgas would appear to have been tributary to the Guptas in the time of Samudra, I think it most probable that the kingdom or district of Narwar must have remained subject to them until near the close of their dynasty, about A. D. 275, when their sovereignty to the south of the Jumna fell to Toramâna.

Of Toramâna's dynasty we have two inscriptions,—one of himself at Eran to the south of Narwar, and the other

* I think that Raja *Bhava-Nâga*, of the Saoni copper-plate inscription, must belong to this dynasty.

of his son Pasupati at Gwalior to the north of Narwar. From the relative positions of these inscriptions we may fairly infer that the intermediate country must also have belonged to the Toramâna dynasty. The date of Toramâna himself is fixed by Mr. Thomas, on the authority of a silver coin, to the year 180 odd of the Gupta era, which referred to the initial year of Sake, would place him in A. D. 260. If then we allow 25 years to each generation, the reign of Toramâna will range for 260 to 285 A. D., and that of his sons Pasupati, from 285 to 310 A. D. How long this dynasty may have lasted we have no means of ascertaining. It may, however, be presumed to have reigned until the end of the fourth century, but even this extension will leave a gap of 200 years before we arrive at the next probable resting point in A. D. 607.

From the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang we learn that Harsha Varddhana, the famous King of Kanoj, who reigned from A. D. 607 to 650, had subjected the whole country between the Jumna and the Narbada. The fortress of Narwar must therefore have belonged to him, although it is probable that it still had its own Raja, who acknowledge the King of Kanoj as his lord paramount. But as we learn from the same source also that there were great troubles in India after the death of Harsha, I would infer that most of the tributary princes must then have assumed independence, and amongst them the Raja of Narwar, whose strong fortress must always have been suggestive of rebellion, and, when opportunity offered, an incentive too strong to be resisted.

It is during this period, that is, about the latter half of the seventh century and beginning of the eighth century, that most of the Rajput families would appear to have risen into power. The Tomaras of Delhi, the Chândelas of Khajurâho, and Sisodiyas of Chitor, all begin their genealogies from this time. I presume, therefore, that the Kachhwâhas of Narwar and Gwalior may have effected their independence about the same date. At a much later period, after the invasion of Timur in A. D. 1400, we have the most apt illustration of the political troubles which I suppose to have followed on the death of Harsha of Kanoj. Immediately after Timur's departure, the Governors of Gujrât, Mâlwa, Jonpur, and

Multân, all asserted their independence, which was maintained by their successors for upwards of a century. It seems not improbable, however, that Narwar may not have obtained its independence until some time after the death of Harsha, as Bhavabhuti, who would certainly appear to have lived at Narwar, is said to have flourished during the reign of Yasovarma of Kanoj, or from about A. D. 720 to 750. About this period also a new dynasty arose in Kanoj under Deva-Sakti, whose fourth descendant, Bhoja Deva, was the lord paramount of Gwalior in A. D. 876, and of Thânesar in A. D. 882. It may be presumed, therefore, that Narwar also formed part of the dominions of Bhoja Deva, although it is quite possible that it may not have belonged to any of his predecessors.

Shortly after the middle of the tenth century the Kachhwâhas of Narwar and Gwalior became independent under Vajra-Dâma, one of whose inscriptions is dated in A. D. 977. His great-grandson, Bhuvana-Pâla, must have been reigning as an independent chief in A. D. 1021, when Mahmud of Ghazni, on his march against Kâlinjar, accepted the submission of the Raja of Gwalior. The Kachhwâhas continued to reign for upwards of a century until A. D. 1129, when the last king of the race, named *Tej-Pâl*, or *Tej-karn*, lost his sovereignty through his love for the fair *Maroni*, whose beauty still affords a theme for the poetic skill of the bards. The Kachhwâhas of Gwalior, Narwar, and Jaypur all agree in the same story of the love-blind *Dulha Ray*, or the "bridegroom prince," who was supplanted by his cousin, or nephew, the Parihâr Chief, named *Paramâl Dyo*, or *Paramârddi Deva*. I will say no more in this place regarding the bridegroom, as his story will be given at length in my account of the Rajas of Gwalior.

Connected with this period is the Narwar inscription, dated in S. 1177, or A. D. 1120, which has been translated by Professor Hall; but as the genealogy differs from that of the bardic chronicles of Gwalior and Jaypur, it seems difficult to adjust the latter so as to bring the names even into approximate agreement with those of the inscriptions. The

differences are best seen by placing the names derived from the different authorities side by side:

A. D.	INSCRIPTIONS.	KHARG RAI, BADILI DAS.	FAZL ALI, ANONYMOUS.	TIEFFENTHALER.
......	......	Ratna Pala.	Ratna Pala.	Ran Pal.
......	......	Dharma Pala.	Dhuma Pala.	Humâr Pal.
1050	Gagana Sinha D.	Budhi Pala.	Budh Pal.	Budh Pal.
1075	Sarada Sinha D.	Sura Pala.	(? Sodh Pal).	Tej Karn.
1100	Vira Sinha Deva.	Gambhira Pala.	Tej Karn.	
1127		Tej Karn.		
1129				
		Supplanted by a Parihâr Chief.		

My four lists are derived from two Nâgari and two Urdu manuscripts of different ages, but the list of Badili Dâs is professedly copied from Kharg Rai, and those of Tieffenthaler and the anonymous author agree so closely with that of Fazl Ali that the whole may be considered as forming only two independent authorities. The Sura and Gambhira of Kharg Rai would appear to be the same as the Sarada and Vira of the inscription. Both of these names are omitted by Fazl Ali, although it is probable that the variant reading of Sodha for Budha was originally an independent name that was afterwards dropped by some ignorant copyist as a mere repetition of Budha, which it so closely resembles when written in Persian characters. If these identifications be admitted, then the last Prince, Tej-Karn, must have been the son of Vira Sinha Deva, whose grant of land is dated in A. D. 1120, and as the reign of Tej-Karn is limited by the chroniclers to two years, from A. D. 1127 to 1129, the agreement of date is in favour of the proposed identification.

For the next century and a half I know of no mention of Narwar, but it seems probable that the last Parihâr Raja, who made his escape from Gwalior when the fort was captured by Altamsh in A. D. 1232, must have sought refuge in the neighbouring stronghold of Narwar. He is called *Sâgar*, or *Sârang Deo*, by the Hindu chroniclers, but by the Muhammadan historians he is styled *Mîlak Deo*, son of *Basil* and *Deobal.** It is quite possible, however, that when the Parihârs obtained possession of Gwalior, the Kachhwâha Governor

* Minhâj-us-Sirâj, who was present at the siege, calls him *Mîlak Deo*, for which I cannot think of the Hindu equivalent. *Basil* must be *Bisal*.

of Narwar may have seized the opportunity to make himself independent. In that case the strong fortress of Narwar would have remained in the continued possession of the Kachhwâhas; but this supposition is directly opposed to all the traditions of the Kachhwâhas themselves, which are unanimous in attributing the loss of Narwar to the love-sick Prince, Tej-Karn. Accepting the tradition as true beyond all reasonable doubt, it seems almost certain that Narwar must have fallen into the hands of the Parihâr Prince of Gwalior in A. D. 1129. It would, therefore, have formed part of the Gwalior dominions of the Parihârs until the capture of that fortress by Altamsh in A. D. 1232; and as the Raja of Gwalior is reported by the Muhammadan historians to have escaped from the fort before the final assault, I think that we are fully justified in concluding that he must have sought refuge in Narwar. It is certain at least that in A. D. 1251, or only 19 years after the capture of Gwalior, Narwar was in possession of a Hindu Raja, named *Châhada Deva*, who is said to have built or strengthened the fortress. As there is no previous mention of its being taken by the Muhammadans, I conclude that the Hindu Rajas most probably remained in continued possession after the capture of Gwalior until A. D. 1251, when the place was surrendered by the reigning Raja, Châhada Deva, to Nâsir-ud-din Mahmud of Delhi. But as Châhada Deva himself, in one of the Narwar inscriptions, is simply said to be of *raja-vansa*, or "royal race," it is possible that he did not belong to the Parihâr dynasty.

In my account of the ancient coins of Narwar I have brought forward specimens of Châhada Deva, which are dated in various years from S. 1303 to 1311, or A. D. 1246 to 1254, and specimens of his son, Asala Deva, which range from S. 1311 to 1336, or from A. D. 1254 to 1279.* As these are corroborated by several existing inscriptions, there seems no reason to doubt that at least these two Rajas must have been independent princes. But there are also similar coins of a third prince, named Malaya Varmma Deva, who from the dates of S. 1280 and 1290, or A. D. 1223 and 1233, must have been the immediate predecessor of Châhada Deva. His coins were found at Narwar, Gwalior, and Jhansi; but as there

* Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1865, pp. 126-127—"Coins of the Nine Nâgas, &c."

are only five specimens, it is not certain that they belong to Narwar. Indeed, the name of Varmma would rather seem to point to Kalinjar. It is possible, therefore, that Châhada himself may have supplanted the Parihâr dynasty. But I am rather inclined to think that Malaya Varmma Deva must have dispossessed the Parihârs, and that he was shortly afterwards ejected by Châhada Deva, who was most probably the founder of a new dynasty as the genealogy of the family opens with his name.

The Muhammadan account of Châhada Deva, as given by the historian Ferishta, is clear and precise, but unfortunately it is* very brief. In the year A. H. 649, or A. D. 1251, Nasir-ud-din Mahmud, the King of Delhi, "proceeded to the siege of Narwar. The Raja, *Jâhir Deo*, having lately constructed the fort on the summit of a rock, prepared to defend it to the last. He accordingly marched out to oppose the Muhammadans with 5,000 horse and 200,000 foot. This immense host being defeated with great slaughter, the place was invested and reduced to surrender after a few months' siege." In Dow's translation the Raja is called *Sahir Deo*, and under this name he is entered in Prinsep's tables, but with the date of A. D. 1251 transposed as 1215, and the name of *Narwar* erroneously referred to *Nahrwâra*, or *Anhalwâra-Pattan*, in Gujrat.

Châhada was succeeded by his son, Asalla Deva, who, according to the dates of his coins, certainly reigned from S. 1311 to 1336, or A. D. 1254 to 1279. His money also is common, which may be taken as a presumptive proof of a long reign. I found his name in a short inscription on a Sati pillar at Rai near Kul[illegible], which records that the cremation took place in the year S. 1327, or A. D. 1270, during the reign of *Srîmat Asalla Deva*. His name is again mentioned in an inscription which was discovered in the Narwâr Fort. This is dated in S. 1355, or A. D. 1298, and records a grant made by Raja *Ganapati*, the son of Raja *Gopâla*, the grandson of *Asalla Deva*, and the great-grandson of *Châhada Deva*. In another inscription dated in S. 1348,

* This great Hindu chief has since become better known to us from the work of Minhâj-us-Sirâj, who calls him the "most powerful of all the Kings of Hindustan." A full and interesting account of Châhada Deva is given in Mr. Thomas' "Chronicles of the Pathan Kings," pp. 67 to 75, with notices of his coins, and extracts from various authorities.

or A. D. 1231, which was found in a baoli at Sarwaya, eight miles to the east of Sipri, the genealogy is confined to Gaṇapati and his father, Gopala. From all these various sources the chronology of this Narwar dynasty may be arranged with considerable precision, although the dates of accession cannot be exactly determined:

		Accession.	
		V. S.	A. D.
1.	*Châhada Deva*	1295	1238
2.	*Asala Deva*	1311	1254
3.	*Gopâla*	1336	1279
4.	*Gaṇapati*	1348	1291
	Reigning in	1355	1298

As no coins of the last two princes have yet been discovered, I infer that they must have been made tributary by the Muhammadan kings of Delhi. This is all the more probable as their date corresponds exactly with that of the vigorous rule of the first two Khilji princes. It seems to me probable, therefore, that the expedition recorded by Ferishta in the year A. H. 692, or A. D. 1293, was partly directed against the Raja of Narwar. The historian relates that Ala-ud-din "acquainted the king that there were some princes of great wealth towards Chânderi, whom with the king's permission, he would reduce." Now it is certain that Chânderi itself was not reduced at this time, as several years later, in A. H. 698 or A. D. 1298, after he had become King of Delhi, Ala-ud-din was advised by his minister to undertake the conquest of the southern kingdoms of Hindustan, "such as *Rantambhâwar*, *Jâlor*, and *Chânderi*." As Narwar is omitted in this list, I conclude that it must already have been made tributary. From this time, therefore, until the end of the fifteenth century, when the power of the Delhi empire was prostrated by the conquest of Timur, it is most probable that the strong fortress of Narwar must have remained in possession of the Muhammadans. It certainly belonged to Muhammad Tughlak in A. D. 1320.* But immediately after the departure of Timur, when the Musalmân Governors of Gujârat, Mâlwa, Jonpur, and Multan assumed

* It must also have belonged to his successor, Firuz, who is said to have caught 80 wild elephants and killed two, on his return from *Birbhûm* to Delhi, *viâ* the *Padmâvati* jangals. There were wild elephants in the immediate neighbourhood of Narwar so late as the reign of Akbar, who fell in with a herd of them near Sipri-Kulhâras.—Ferishta, II., 216.

independence, their example was followed by Bir Sinh Deo, a Tomar Chief of Gwalior, who managed to obtain possession of that fortress by treachery. In A. D. 1439 Narwar still belonged to the Muhammadans as part of the kingdom of Mâlwa, but in that year it was besieged by Dungar Sinh, the Tomar Raja of Gwalior, and was only saved by the rapid advance of Mahmud against Gwalior itself. I presume, however, that it must shortly afterwards have fallen into the hands of the Tomar princes, as their genealogy is recorded on the *Jait-Kambh* or "pillar of victory," which is still standing outside the city of Narwar.

The Tomar dynasty of Gwalior held possession of the Fort of Narwar for upwards of a century, from the invasion of Timur in A. D. 1398 until its capture by Sikandar Lodi in A. D. 1506. As the history of the Tomara princes will be given in my account of Gwalior, I will pass on at once to the later dynasty of Kachhwâhas of Amber, who obtained possession of Narwar through the marriages of their daughters with the Mogal Emperors of Delhi. The history of this dynasty commences with Râj Sinh, son of Bhim Sinh, and grandson of Prithi Râj, who ruled over Amber or Jaypur during the reign of Sikandar Lodi. Prithi Râj is said to have had nineteen sons, of whom several succeeded to the throne. But there is some obscurity in this part of the Kachhwâha annals, and it seems probable that there was some disagreement among the brothers, which was fostered by the Muhammadan Emperors of Delhi for their own ends. Râj Sinh was succeeded by his son, Râm Dâs, whose name is found in one of the Gwalior inscriptions with the date of A. D. 1606. Fateh Sinh succeeded his father about A. D. 1610, but his son, Amar Sinh, lost Narwar in the reign of Shah Jahân, as all the members of the Kachhwâha family had declared in favour of his elder brother, Prince Khusru, who was the grandson, through his mother, of Raja Bhagwân Dâs of Amber. After some time, however, Amar Sinh obtained a grant of the districts of *Sipri* and *Kulhâras* in the neighbourhood of Narwar, and these possessions descended to his son, Jagat Sinh. During a part of this period the fort of Nawar was held by the great Raja Siwai Jay Sinh of Amber, whose name is engraved on an iron gun which is still mounted in the fort, with the date S. 1753, or A. D. 1696, the fourth year of his reign. Anup Sinh, the son of

Jagat, is said to have received Narwar as a reward for his good service at the capture of Kabul: and his son, Gaj Sinh, maintained both the possessions and the reputation of his race by his valour in the wars of the Dakhan, where he was killed about A. D. 1725. He was followed in regular succession of four generations by Chhatr Sinh, Hari Sinh, Manohar Sinh, and Mâdhu Sinh. Towards the end of the last century, Narwar was captured by Sindhia from Manohar, who, however, contrived to maintain his independence, which was secured by his son, Mâdhu, whose armed bands for several years resisted all the attacks of the Mahratta troops. But the power of Sindhia was too strong to be withstood with success, and the last of the race, named Mân Sing, after a nominal reign of four years, was captured by the Mahrattas and imprisoned in the Fort of Gwalior in A. D. 1844. In a few months, however, he cleverly managed to make his escape, and after vainly endeavouring to interest the British authorities in his favour, he became a discontented wanderer, ready to engage in any undertaking that gave promise of personal advantage. He accordingly joined Tântia Topi in 1857, but two years later, finding that he was on the losing side, he gave information which led to the capture of the rebel leader, and thus at one stroke he gratified his revenge on the hated Mahrattas, and obtained impunity from the British authorities for his own hostility.

In this brief and imperfect sketch of the history of Narwar, I have purposely omitted many details which will find a more appropriate place in the description of the fortress itself. Its history also is so closely connected at several periods with that of the more important fortress of Gwalior that it must necessarily be disjointed and fragmentary. But in spite of this incompleteness it is one of the most valuable historical outlines that we possess, as the coins of the nine Nâgas reach up to a much earlier authentic date than most other Indian cities can boast of. The description of the city by the poet Bhavabhuti in the eighth century is also specially interesting, as descriptions of actual places are extremly rare in Hindu poetry.

The classical name of *Nalapura* is derived from the famous Raja *Nala*, the descendent of Kusa, the son of Râma, who is universally acknowledged to have been the builder of

the fortress. In spite of the popular belief, however, it appears to me highly probable that the tradition was invented to account for the name of the *Kachhwâha* tribe, which, according to the bards, was originally *Kuswâha*, a patronymic denoting their descent from *Kusa*, the son of Râma. But this ingenious derivation is completely disproved by the oldest inscriptions of the race, in which the name is spelt *Kachchhapa-ghâta*, or the "tortoise-killers." The modern form of *Kachwâha* would appear to be derived from the synonymous *Kachchhapa-han*, as the Hindu *Kachhwa* is undoubtedly the Sanskit *Kachchhapa*, and the termination, *ha*, is most probably only the Sanskrit *han* which has exactly the same meaning as *ghâta*. In the great Gwalior inscription dated in A. D. 1093, the progenitor of the race is said to have been a mighty sovereign, named *Kachchhapa-ghâta*, "who was revered by innumerable princes."* It would seem, therefore, that the traditionary descent from Kusa was quite unknown at so late a date as the eleventh century. This being the case, I feel inclined to hazard a conjecture that the name of *Nalapura* may be only a synonim of *Padmâvati Nagara*, as *Nala*, or the "water-lily" is frequently used as an equivalent of *Padma*, or the "lotus."

The fortress of *Nalapura*, or *Narwar*, is situated in a bend of the Sindh River on an irregularly-shaped hill upwards of 400 feet in height, just 50 miles to the south-south-west of Gwalior, and the same distance to the west-north-west of Jhansi. Its shape is peculiar, and may be likened best to the head and neck of a duck, as it is divided by high walls into three distinct enclosures, which are tolerably well represented both in form and in relative position by the head, bill, and neck of a duck. The head, or central portion, is called *Majh-mahal*, or "middle quarter," and also *Bâla Hisâr*, or "the citadel," as it commands the other divisions of the fort. The neck, or northern quarter, is called *Madar-hata*, because it contains a shrine of the famous Muhammadan Saint, *Shah Madâr*. The duck's bill, or south-eastern quarter, is called *Dulha-kot*, or the "bridegroom's fort," because the last of the Kachhwâha princes is said to have made his escape from Narwar by a postern gate at its east end. The citadel is cut off from *Madar-hata* by a high wall, 600 feet in length, and

* Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1862, p. 400.

from *Dulha-kot* by another wall about 450 feet in length. The circuit of the *Bála-Hisár*, or *Májh Mahal*, exclusive of the inner division walls, is rather more than two miles, that of *Madar-kata* is as nearly as possible two miles, and that of *Dulha-kot* only three-quarters of a mile. The whole circuit of the walls, therefore, is about 5 miles. The English traveller, Wm. Finch, who visited the fort in A. D. 1610, records that the "fortified summit is said to be 5 or 6 *kos* in circuit," and Ferishta, who finished his history about the same time, states that the circumference is 8 *kos*. But these dimensions can only refer to the base of the hill, which may be 7 or 8 miles in circuit, or about 5 *kos*, at Finch's usual estimate of 1½ mile to the *kos*.

The principle entrance to the fort lies in the hollow forming the duck's throat. The first part of the ascent, as far as the *Alam-giri-darwáza*, or lowest gate, is an easy rise up the gentle slope at the foot of the hill; but from the outer-gate to the top, the ascent is by a steep flight of steps said to be 360 in number. At about one-fourth of the distance, the road passes through the *Sayidon-ka-darwáza*, or "Sayid's gate," and about half way up through the *Piron Paur*, or "*Pir's gate.*" Beyond this the ascent becomes very steep as it approaches the upper entrance, called *Gaomukhi-darwáza*, or "cow's mouth gate," and also *Háwa-Paur*, or "windy gate." The lower gate, or *Alam giri-darwáza*, was not built during the reign of Alamgir, as its name would seem to imply, but only repaired, or re-named, for the whole of the *four* gates are mentioned by Wm. Finch in A. D. 1610, or nearly 50 years before the accession of Alamgir. The *Sayidon-ka-darwáza* bears a short inscription dated in S. 1602, or A. D. 1545, which was probably the year of its repair by the Sayid governor of the fort. Its original Hindu name is unknown, as well as that of the third gate or *Piron Paur*. The upper gate, or *Gaomukhi-darwáza*, bears an inscription of S. 1857, or A. D. 1800, which was the date of its re-construction by Ambajee, the Mahratta Governor under Doalat Rao Sindhia. Its previous name was *Háwa Paur*, but it is said that *Gaomúkhi Paur* was the original ancient name which was only restored by the Mahrattas.

The existing remains of the Hindu period of Narwar history are almost entirely confined to the few inscriptions

which have already been noticed. But the numerous fragments of sculpture and architectural ornament, which are still to be seen in most of the Muhammadan buildings, are sufficient to show that, in the flourishing days of Hindu sovereignty, it was probably only second to Gwalior in the number and magnificence of its temples and other edifices. The almost entire disappearance of Hindu remains is due to the wholesale destruction of the temples by Sikandar Ludi in A. H. 913, or A. D. 1508, when the fort fell into his hands by the capitulation of the Hindu garrison. The historian Ferishta relates that this bigoted iconoclast remained there for six months "breaking down temples, and building mosques."* Niâmat-ullah, the historian of the Afghans, states that Sikandar, thinking the fort "so strong that it would be impossible to re-take it, should it fall into the hands of the infidels, erected another fort around it to keep off the enemies."† Ferishta merely records that "the king marched from Narwar, but after proceeding some distance along the Sindh River he resolved to surround Narwar with another wall, which was ordered to be immediately commenced." It is not clear from either of these accounts what was the exact nature of the works that were added by Sikandar Ludi. The simple meaning would seem to be that he added an outer line of walls, but as there are no outer walls now existing, and no traces of any former walls, I conclude that both historians must have mistaken the nature of Sikandar Ludi's additions. I think it very probable that his works must have been the two lofty inner walls which convert the central portion of the fort called the *Bâla-Hisâr* into a strong citadel that commands the other two portions, named *Madar-hata* and *Dulha-kot*.

The only work now existing in the fort that can be attributed with any probability to the Hindus is a large tank in the citadel, called *Magar-dhaj*, or *Makara-dhwaja*. The name is a Hindu one, and is said to be that of the Raja at whose expense the tank was excavated. The work must have been rather costly, as the tank is 300 feet square at top, and from 35 to 36 feet deep, the whole being dug out of the solid rock. It was originally intended to hold 20 feet of water, but

* Briggs' Translation, I., 581.

† Dorn's Translation, p. 98,—note.

the thick coating of stucco, which once lined the interior, has long ago disappeared, and the tank is now quite dry except after heavy rain when it has a few feet of water, which, however, it retains only for a short time. When I last visited the fort, the bed of the tank was laid out as a garden containing a number of plantains and marigolds.

Of a later date, the only objects of interest are the iron gun of Siwai Jay Sinh of Amber, and the Roman Catholic chapel and burial ground. The gun is of the most rude and primitive construction, being built up of nine parellel iron bars, which are held together by an outer casing of bronze. The length of the piece is 10 feet, and the diameter of the bore $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It bears a Hindi inscription stating that the gun, named *Phate-Jang*, or the "victorious in war," was made during the reign of Maharaja Jay Sinh on the 10th day of the Waning Moon of *Srâvana*, in the Samvat year 1753, or A. D. 1696.

The Roman Catholic cemetery is a walled enclosure, 115 feet in length by 83 feet in breadth, containing an entrance room, a small chapel, and 50 tombs. The chapel is a small apartment, $21\frac{1}{2}$ feet long by $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad, with a chancel at the end, 12 by $9\frac{3}{4}$ feet. Over the altar there are the letters I. H. S. surmounted by a cross. Of the tombs, two only bear inscriptions, of which one is in Portuguese and Persian, and the other in Persian only. The copy of the latter has been mislaid, but I remember that it simply recorded the death of a young girl eight years of age, named *Mârgarita*, who was the daughter of a *hakim*, or doctor. The other records the death of a German, named Cornelius Oliver, in A. D. 1747. The Portuguese inscription in eight lines beneath a cross is as follows, the three lower lines being in smaller characters:

AQUI JAZ
CORNELIO
OLIVERNA
TURAL DE
ALLEMANHA
NACIDOEM AQUI GR
ANO FALLECEO
AOS 7 DE NOV 1747.

This is accompanied by a Persian inscription in two lines, one on each side of the slab, and perpendicular to the

other inscription. It merely records the name and country of the individual in the following words:

Karnel Auliver Khem Faringi Aliman,

that is, "Cornelius Oliver, by race a German Faringi."

The existence of a Christian chapel and cemetery inside one of the strongest forts in Northern India, is a fact as curious as it is interesting. From the position of Cornelius Oliver's tomb, in the very corner of the enclosure to the right hand of the chapel, I infer that it was most probably one of the first, if not the very earliest, of all the tombs, and, consequently, that the chapel must have been constructed somewhere about the same time. It is scarcely possible that any Christian establishment would have been permitted in such a position during the reign of the bigotted Aurangzib, whose governors everywhere displayed their religious zeal by the most rabid intolerance. I presume, therefore, that this Christian community was most probably not settled at Narwar until some time after the death of Aurangzib, when the rapid decay of the Muhammadan empire of Delhi led to the general employment of European artillerymen. A small company of 30 or 40 gunners, with their Native families, would have been quite sufficient to furnish 50 graves in the course of a few years.

The city of Narwar is no longer the prosperous place so graphically described by the poet Bhavabhuti, but a small town of not more than 4,000 inhabited houses, enclosed by a low wall of little strength. It has three gates, two of which, the Gwalior gate and the Jhânsi gate, lead towards those cities, and the third, called the Dobai gate, leads towards a tank of the same name. On all sides it is surrounded by crumbling houses and mounds of ruins. On one of these mounds, near the Jhânsi gate, and in the old *mahallah*, or "ward," of *Kâchipura*, there is a large inscribed slab, 4 feet 9 inches long and 4 feet 4 inches broad. The opening words, *Om, Namah Siddhaya*, are alone legible, as the slab has been purposely mutilated. At the end I thought that I could trace the word Samvat with the date of 1192, or A. D. 1135, but this reading is very doubtful. From the commanding position of the mound I judge that it must once have been the site of a large and important temple.

Outside the city, on the road towards Gwalior, there is a rough sandstone pillar, 23 feet 4½ inches in height, called the *Jait-Kambh*, or "column of victory." At 8 feet above the ground there is a sunken tablet, with an inscription of 33 lines, recording the genealogy of the Tomara dynasty of Gwalior. The list of names opens with *Vira Sinha Deva*, who established his independence immediately after the invasion of Timur, and ends with *Sangráma*, who succeeded to the nominal sovereignty about A. D. 1615, and died about 1630. The erection of the pillar must, therefore, have taken place during the early part of the reign of Shah Jahan, when the Kachhwâhas were in disgrace for having sided with their relative, Prince Khusru, as already related in my account of the later Kachhwâha dynasty. We know that Sangrâma's younger brother, Vira Mitra Sena, was in high favour with the Mogal emperor, by whom he was appointed governor of the fort of Rohitâs, on the Son River, as recorded in the Rohitâs inscription, which is dated in S. 1688, or A. D. 1631, after the death of Sangrâma. It seems highly probable, therefore, that the Tomara Prince, Sangrâma, must have been the governor of Narwar at the time when the *Jait-Kambh*, or "conqueror's pillar" was erected.

On the side of the Gwalior road also there is a very fine large *baori*, or reservoir of water, 27 feet in diameter, with a flight of steps down to the water's edge, flanked on each side by a shady cloister, supported on ten stone pillars. This baori belongs to the same period as the *Jait-Kambh*, as it bears an inscription dated in S. 1687, or A. D. 1630, and was, therefore, most probably constructed during the temporary rule of the Tomara Princes in Narwar.

In the same direction there is a curious Sati monument erected to the memory of the two wives of *Sundar Dás*, who was the *upádya*, or "spiritual guide," of the Kachhwâha Raja, Gaj Sinh, of Narwar. He accompanied the Raja to the Dakhan war, where he is said to have been killed about A. D. 1700, or, perhaps, a few years later. The Raja sent his *dopatta*, or "plaid," to Narwar, which his two wives accepted, and burned themselves with it. They were named *Ládham Devi* and *Surup Devi*, or the "beloved wife," and "the beautiful wife," and their effigies are rudely sculptured

under the inscription which records their names and those of their descendants. The present monument was erected in S. 1880, or A. D. 1823, by Josi Yadunâth, the fifth in descent from Sundar Dâs, as the original Sati pillar, which was set up by the son, had become broken and defaced. There are several descendants of Sundar Dâs still living in Narwar, Sipri, and Kulbâras, all of whom speak with pride of the noble act of their ancestor's wives.

The only produce of Narwar is crude iron, which is smelted in large quantities in all the neighbouring villages. The chief markets for this manufacture are in the Jhânsi and Chânderi districts to the east and south, and in the Gangetic Doab to the north, where it competes successfully with English iron. The best ore is found in the vicinity of Gwalior, but, from the total want of fuel, the ore is carried to Karahi and Magraoni, near Narwar, where charcoal is comparatively cheap. But the great forests of Narwar, where Akbar used to hunt the wild elephant, are now gradually disappearing, and the consequent rise in the price of charcoal is daily adding to the cost of manufacture, so that the time is probably not far distant when the soft malleable iron of Gwalior and Narwar will be driven from all the markets of the Doab by the cheaper and more brittle English iron.

Connected with Narwar are the two great bridges over the Sindh River,—one to the south, towards Sipri and Kulhâras, and the other to the north, towards Gwalior. There is no inscription to determine the date of these bridges; but, from the great similarity of their designs with that of the smaller bridge at Nurâbâd, which was built in A. H. 1072, or A. D. 1661, during the reign of Aurangzib, there is every reason for believing the tradition of the people that these bridges also belong to the same period. This conclusion is corroborated by the journal of William Finch, who makes no mention of either of the bridges at the period of his visit in A. D. 1610.

The south bridge is situated in the midst of the hills at a place called Patti Ghâti, near the small village of Dhongri, 10 miles to the south-west of Narwar. At this point the bed of the river is rocky throughout, and offers every advantage for the construction of a permanent bridge. But the fatal mistake of making the thickness of the piers equal

to the span of the arches, which is common to all the Muhammadan bridges of this period, has filled half the channel with solid masses of masonry which "the indignant stream" has resented by working its way round each end of the bridge. From the position of two square turrets on one of the mid-channel piers, as well as from the general direction of both banks, I infer that the original bridge consisted of 22 arches, each of 19 feet 7 inches span, resting on solid piers 20 feet in thickness. The roadway was 20 feet in breadth and horizontal. As the bridge at present stands it consists of 26 of these arches, and of five smaller arches of 13 feet 9 inches span, resting on piers 16 feet 2 inches in thickness. The latter are at the northern end of the bridge, and, as they are still unbroken, I conclude, with some probability, that the Sindh River must have carried away the abutment at this end soon after it was built. But as these small arches afforded an additional waterway of only 68 feet 9 inches, the amount of relief was too small to be of any real use. The bridge was accordingly cut away at the southern end, where the bank now forms a deep bay, which extends no less than 180 feet beyond the 22nd and last arch of the original bridge. This increased channel was then bridged by four new arches of the same span as those of the first design, but they have again been swept away by the stream, and only the foundations of the piers are now traceable. The height of the piers to the spring of the arches is $15\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and the height of the arches is $10\frac{1}{4}$ feet, and their thickness 3 feet. Up to the spring of the arches the piers have curved ends projecting 7 feet both up and down the stream. The upper part of each pier is pierced by a small arch of 4 feet span, or one-fifth of its thickness. As it at present stands the whole bridge is 1,204 feet in length, with 31 arches, of which 26 are large and 5 are small. Altogether the waterway amounts to only 577 feet 11 inches, while that of the solid mass of piers is no less than 592 feet 5 inches, or somewhat more than one-half of the actual breadth of the channel. The bridge is substantially and honestly built with large stones and excellent mortar, and the long stones of the parapet are carefully dovetailed together. But the original defect of blocking up one-half of the channel with a row of massive piers was fatal to the permanent stability of the bridge, which has been turned by the stream at least three times in 200 years, and

which is now standing quite useless in the rainy season, and only accessible in the dry season by a ladder at one end.

The northern bridge is situated three miles to the north-east of the fort, where the bed of the Sindh River is partly firm rock and partly loose boulders. From the remains of a large pier or abutment near the north end I infer that the original bridge must have consisted of 22 arches like that at the *Patti-Ghâti*, each having a span of 19 feet 5 inches, with piers of the same thickness. The central pier was ornamented with two square open cupolas. The whole length of the original bridge, including two massive abutments, of which one is still standing, was 1,000 feet. After some time the three arches at the north end having been swept away by the stream, a new bridge of 10 small arches, each 11 feet 4 inches span, with piers of 13 feet 4 inches, was added at that end. But this also having been turned by the stream, a second addition of 3 arches, each of 11 feet span, with piers of 13 feet 8 inches, was made at the same end, which has since shared the fate of its predecessor. The main piers and arches of this northern bridge are similar to those of the southern bridge at Patti-Ghâti, and need not, therefore, be described. The piers have the same curved projections up and down stream, and the same small arches above. The masonry of the central portion of the arches, however, must have been very inferior, as many of the arches have fallen down, although the roadway above is still intact, owing to the strong adhesion of the splendid mortar grouting of which it is formed. The road-way is 32 feet 7 inches wide, which is increased to 110 feet at the ends by the splay of the abutments. When complete with its two additions and abutments, this northern bridge was 1,098 feet in length.

I cannot close my account of Narwar without mentioning the curious fact that no gipsy ever enters the place but always makes a long detour of several miles to avoid it. The origin of this strange observance is attributed by the people to an occurrence which is even more strange. The story is variously related, but the main points are the same in all the versions. Many centuries ago, when the fort was besieged, the Raja wished to send a letter to his friends on the opposite hill by a rope which had previously been stretched across the

valley, but the distance was so great that no one would venture to take the letter, although the Raja offered half his kingdom as a reward. At length a *Natni*, or female gipsy, appeared before him and undertook to carry the letter across, provided the Raja swore before all the nobles that he would faithfully adhere to his promised gift of half the kingdom. The Raja took the required oath readily, and the gipsy at once began her perilous passage hand over hand across the rope. After much toil she reached the opposite hill, and delivered the letter, when she again started on her return to the fort. She had already got about half-way across, when one of the nobles whispered to the Raja that, as the letter had been safely delivered, now was the time to save half his kingdom. The Raja took the treacherous hint and cut the rope, when the poor gipsy fell headlong to the ground and was instantly killed. Since that time it is said that no gipsy has ever entered Narwar, but has always avoided the place by travelling some other road. A similar story is told of the last Raja of the first Sirmor dynasty, who is said to have lost his kingdom in A. D. 831 for his treachery to the *Natni*, or female gipsy, who successfully passed from the old capital of Kângra to the opposite hill by a rope over the Giri River, which was then in flood. As the people of the Himâlayas are familiar from their youth with this mode of crossing their rivers I think that the story must certainly have originated in a mountainous country, and I would, therefore, give the preference to Sirmor, although Narwar is also a hilly country. It is possible, however, that the story may have been common property, as the Sirmor Rajas are said to have been Suraj-bansi Rajputs, the same as the Kachhwâhas of Narwar.

XV. HIMATGARH.

The small fort of Himatgarh is situated on an isolated rock about 100 feet in height at the southern mouth of the long Paniár Pass, which lies between Narwar and Gwalior. It is about 1,200 feet in length from north to south, but its breadth is not more than 250 feet in the widest part. It is approached by a steep zig-zag path on the west side, and the rock is scarped all round. But it is too narrow to afford much shelter, and its only water is contained in three small tanks, of which two were dry at the time of my visit, and the third

had no more than 5 feet, although it was covered over from the rays of the sun. Himatgarh is, therefore, a place of no strength or importance at the present time, although it was of sufficient consequence in the time of Sikandar Lodi to be besieged by the king in person. The name is variously written by the different authorities, but, from its position between Gwalior and Narwar, there can be no doubt of its identity with Himatgarh. Abdul Kâdir, of Budaon, writes the name *Udantgir*.* Two different copies of Niâmat-ullah have *Tehankar*† and *Awintgar*, while Ferishta has *Hanwantgarh*, all of which I take to be simple corruptions of *Himatgarh*.

According to Abdul Kâdir, "in the year A. H. 912, on the appearance of the star Canopus, Sultân Sikandar marched towards the fort of *Udantgir*. He laid siege to it, and ultimately effected its reduction, though it was attended with great loss on his side. He put most of the infidel garrison to the sword, consigned the rest with their families to the fire, razed the temples, and erected large mosques on their ruins. A similar account is given by Ferishta, who relates that the king, in the year 912 A. H., despairing of reducing Gwalior, proceeded towards the fort of *Hanwantgarh*.‡ The place fell in a short time, and the Râjput garrison was put to the sword, the temples were destroyed, and mosques ordered to be built in their stead." Niâmat-ullah adds a few more details:§ "On his arrival at Dholpur the Sultân detached Imâd Khan and Mujâhid Khan Firmali in advance with 10,000 horse and 100 elephants against *Tehankar*. He himself followed. On the 3rd of the month of Ramazân in 912 A. H., 22nd January 1507 A. D., he arrived at the place, and, encouraging a struggle of emulation by splendid rewards, intrepid men forced their way in every direction into the fort, massacring the infidel inhabitants, without lending an ear to supplications for mercy, and the Rajputs entered their own habitations and killed and destroyed their own families and children."

In these three accounts we have the same story of rabid intolerance and inhuman cruelty, which constantly disgraces

* Sir H. Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, by Dowson, I., 229.

† Thankar, or Thangar, is said to have been the old name of Bayâna. Its Muhammadan name of Sultân-kot is now unknown.

‡ Briggs' Translation, I., 580.

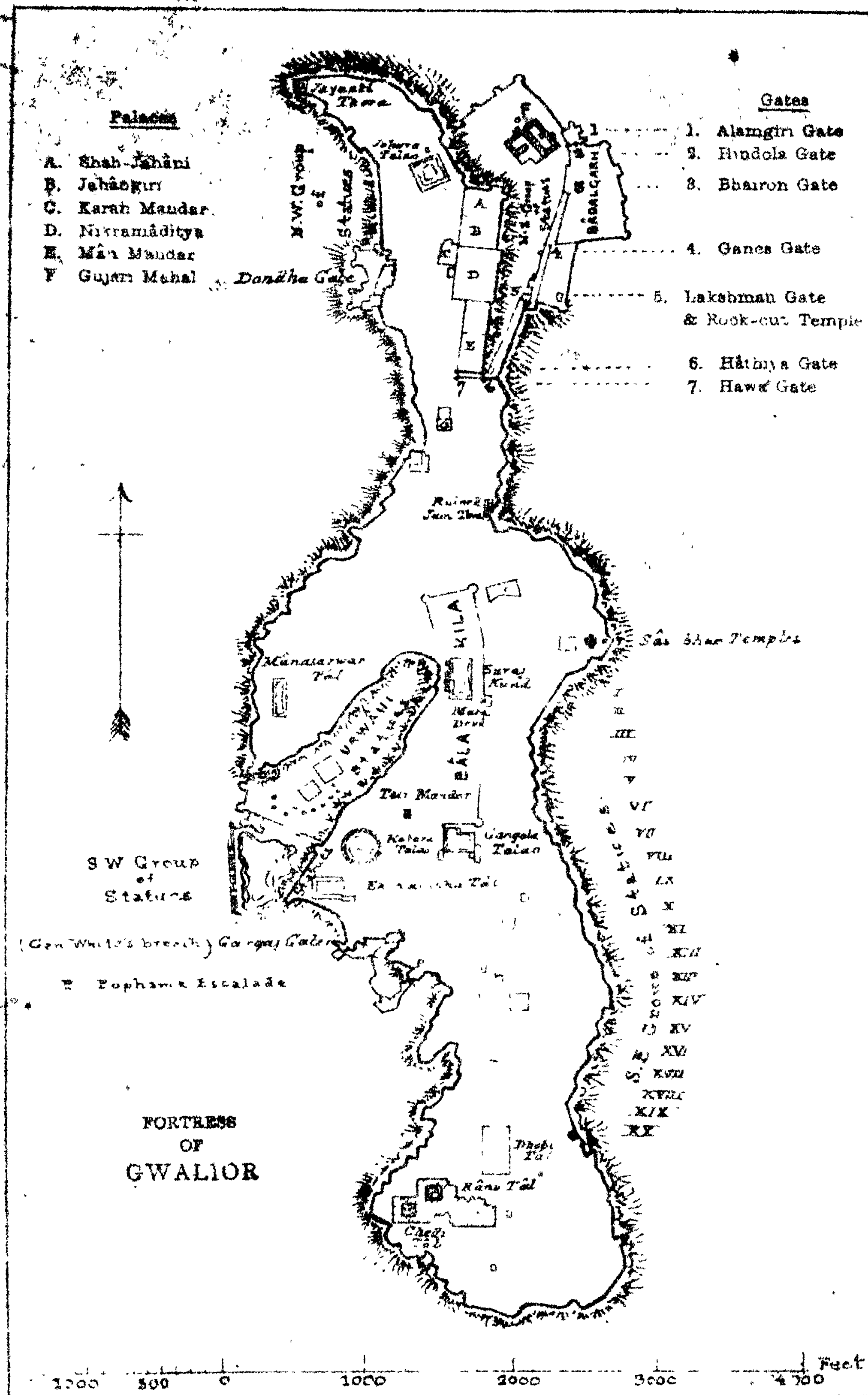
§ Dorn's Translation, p. 62.

the Muhammadan annals of India, related by the Muhammadan historians themselves. In Himatgarh the destruction of the Hindu temples was so complete that their very sites are now unknown, and I could not discover even a single fragment of a statue. A Raja of Himatgarh is also mentioned by Ferishta who was accused of having bribed Mujâhid Khan to divert the king from attacking the place. As nothing is now known of these Rajas of Himatgarh, I presume that the Raja of Gwalior is intended, as Himatgarh was certainly one of the dependencies of Gwalior. In fact, one of the copies of Niâmat-ullah calls him "Raja of Gwalior." After the investment of Narwar in the following year, Himatgarh was used as a state prison in which Sikandar confined his brother, the Prince Jalâl Khan, and an influential nobleman, named Shir Khân Lohani. Two years later an attempt was made to re-capture Himatgarh either by the Hindus, or by the friends of Prince Jalâl Khan, when the king ordered Sulimân Khan Firmali to march to the aid of Husen Khan, the governor of the fort, who, it appears, was a converted Hindu, named Rai Dinkar. It is very probable, therefore, that he may have belonged to the family of the Rajas of Gwalior, and, indeed, his name seems suspiciously like that of his contemporary Rai Mankat, who was a scion of the Tomara dynasty of Gwalior. Sulimân having excused himself, the king gave his appointment to Bhikan-Shekhzâda, after which nothing more is related of the fate of Himatgarh.

XVI. GWALIAR, OR GWALIOR.

The great fortress of Gwalior is situated on a precipitous, flat-topped and isolated hill of sand-stone, which rises 300 feet above the town at the north end, but only 274 feet at the upper gate of the principal entrance. The hill is long and narrow; its extreme length from north to south being one mile and three-quarters, while its breadth varies from 600 feet opposite the main entrance to 2,800 feet in the middle opposite the great temple.* The walls are from 30 to 35 feet in height, and the rock immediately below them is steeply but irregularly scarped all round the hill. The long line of battlements which crowns the steep scarp

* See Plate LXXXVII. for a Map of Gwalior.



A. Cunningham del.

Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta

on the east, is broken only by the lofty towers and fretted domes of the noble palace of Raja Mân Sinh. On the opposite side, the line of battlements is relieved by the deep recess of the Urwahi valley, and by the zig-zag and serrated parapets and loop-holed bastions which flank the numerous gates of the two western entrances. At the northern end, where the rock has been quarried for ages, the jagged masses of the overhanging cliff seem ready to fall upon the city beneath them. To the south the hill is less lofty, but the rock has been steeply scarped, and is generally quite inaccessible. Midway over all, towers the giant form of a massive Hindu temple, grey with the moss of ages. Altogether, the fort of Gwalior forms one of the most picturesque views in Northern India.

On the plain below lies the old city of Gwalior, encircling the north end of the fortress, and to the south, upwards of one mile distant, lies the new city, or *Lashkar*. When Daolat Rao Sindhia obtained possession of Gwalior he pitched his camp on the open plain to the south of the fort. As the camp remained, the tents soon disappeared, and a new city rapidly sprang up, which still retains the name of *Lashkar*, or "the camp" to distinguish it from the old city of Gwalior.* Since the occupation of the Lashkar, the old city has been gradually decaying, and is now only one-third of the size of the new city. But the two together still form one of the most populous cities in India. In January 1859 the old city, in its five *mahals* or wards, contained 7,237 houses and 33,792 inhabitants, and the new city in its eight wards contained 27,293 houses and 108,252 inhabitants, making a total of 142,044 people and 34,530 houses, or 4 1/5 persons per house. For this information I am indebted to the courtesy of my kind friend, Maharao Dinkar Rao, who was for a long time the enlightened minister of the Gwalior Durbar.

The view from the fort is varied and extensive, but, except during the rainy-season when the surrounding hills are clothed in green, the general appearance of the country is monotonously brown and arid. To the north, on a clear day, can be seen the gigantic temple of Suhaniya, about 30

---

* A similar case occurred in Sicily in the time of the Carthaginians, whose coins of Panormus bear the Phœnician legend of *Ma hanath*, or "the camp."

miles distant, and still farther in the same direction the red hills of Dholpur. To the west, and within gun-shot, lies the long flat-topped sand-stone hill of Hanumân, with a basaltic peak at the north end, and a white-washed temple on its slope, which gives its name to the hill. Beyond, far as the eye can reach, nothing is seen but range after range of low sand-stone hills. The conical peak of the Raipur hill towers over the low ranges on the south, and to the east the level plains, dotted with villages, stretch out of sight.

The old city of Gwalior is a crowded mass of small flat-roofed stone houses. Flanking the city to the north, on a small conical hill, stands a curious old Pathân archway, the remains of a tomb without name. To the east the dense mass of houses is intersected by the broad bed of the *Suvarna-riksha* or *Subanrikh* rivulet, which being generally dry, forms one of the principal thoroughfares of the city, and is almost the only one passable by carts. Within the lower gate stands the picturesque palace of the *Gujarni* Queen of Raja Mán Sinh, a stately quadrangle of stone, three storeys in height. Outside the gate is the Jamai Masjid with its gilt pinnacled domes and lofty minarets towering over the dwarf houses of the city. Beyond the Subanrikh, and just on the outskirts of the city, stands the noble tomb of Muhammad Ghaus, a saint who was much esteemed in the days of Baber and Akbar. The tomb is built entirely of stone, and is one of the best specimens of Muhammadan architecture of the early Mogal period.

There are three main entrances to the fortress,—one on the east, and two on the west side. On the latter side there is also another gate leading from the *Urwáhi* valley. This was the original and only entrance on the west side, until the capture of the place by the Muhammadans, when the Emperor Altamsh threw a massive wall across the mouth of the valley to secure the wells from all future besiegers. At the southern end of the fort there is a small postern, called the *jhilmil khirki*, or "latticed wicket," which leads from the foot of the precipice to the inside by a subterranean flight of steps cut in the rock.

The grand entrance is that on the eastern side. Both of the western entrances have been closed at different times and for long periods, but the eastern entrance has always

remained open. The original ascent was by numerous flights of broad channelled steps, alternating with bits of paved level road, but within the last few years the stone steps have been removed, and there is now a continuous ramp or sloping road which is much easier than the old steps both for ascent and descent. The length of the ascent is 2,500 feet, or nearly half a mile, but the actual horizontal distance is only 1,992 feet. The rise is, therefore, 1 foot in $7\frac{1}{4}$ feet, or 13 feet $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches in 100 feet. William Finch, who visited Gwalior in A. D. 1610, states that the ascent from the town to the top of the rock is "near a mile."* This exaggerated estimate of the distance shows the wearisomeness of the ascent by the old flight of steps. This entrance is protected by no less than six gates, which are named as follows: 1st, *Alamgiri Paur*; 2nd, *Bádalgarh*, or *Hindola Paur*; 3rd, *Bhairon*, or *Bánsor Paur*; 4th, *Ganes Paur*; 5th, *Lakshman Paur*; and 6th, *Háthiya Paur*.

The *Alamgiri*, or lowest gateway, was added by Motamid Khan, the Governor of Gwalior, in A. D. 1660, and named after the reigning Emperor, Aurangzib-Alamgir. This gateway is of the plainest Muhammadan style, and the inscription of Motamid Khan, which is on a soft sand-stone slab over the top of the arch, has been nearly obliterated by the weather. The wooden gate was quite rotten in 1844, when it was renewed by myself. Inside this gate there is a small court-yard, containing an open hall called the *kachheri*, in which the Muhammadan governors usually sat for the dispensation of justice.

The *Bádalgarh* gate, which is the entrance to the lower outwork of Bádalgarh, is said to have been named after *Bádal*, or *Bádar Sinh*, the brother of Raja Kalyán Mall, and the uncle of Raja Mán Sinh.† A large brazen bull was enshrined in this outwork, which, on the capture of Bádalgarh by Ibrahim Ludi in A. D. 1518, was carried off to Delhi and set up before the Bagdad gate of the city. The other, and the more common, name of this gate at the

---

* Kerr's Collection of Voyages and Travels, VIII., 284.

† Sir Henry Elliot, in his Muhammadan Historians, p. 229, note, states that *Bádalgarh* "was the name of the old fort at Agra." This may be true, but the Bádalgarh which was surrendered to Ibrahim Ludi was the outwork of Gwalior, which Sir Henry, on the same page, shows to have been built by Mán Sinh, Raja of Gwalior, and to have been given up by his son, Bikramájit.

present day, is *Hindola Paur*, which is said to have been derived from a much frequented *hindol*, or "swing," that formerly existed just outside the gate. The gateway itself which is a very fine specimen of Hindu architecture, is of the same picturesque style as the *Mân-mandir*, or palace of Raja Mân; and as tradition ascribes it to his uncle, I have no hesitation in assigning its erection to the reign of Kalyân Mall, or of his son Mân Sinh, that is, between A. D. 1479 and 1516. An inscription on an iron plate nailed to the wooden gate records its renewal by Sayid Alam, the Governor, on the 11th Ramzân 1058 A. H., or 24th September A. D. 1648, in the 22nd year of Shah Jahan, on which occasion, I presume, it received its new name of *Shah-Jahâni Paur.*

The *Bhairon* gate is attributed by the Bard Kharg Rai to Bhairon Pâl, one of the earliest of the traditionary Kachhwaha Rajas of Gwalior. The style of the gate is undoubtedly old, and I am therefore disposed to accept the tradition as corroborative of its antiquity. As it at present stands, however, I think that it cannot be older than the time of the first Musalmâns, as the small sloping towers on each side of the gateway are undoubtedly of the same style as that of the early Pathân architecture. Its other name of *Bânsor Paur* was derived from the occupation of the man to whose charge it was entrusted by the Mahratta rulers. He was a *bansor*, or "bowyer," or literally a bambu-splitter, and the people gradually got into the habit of calling the gate after the person whom they saw there daily seated at his work. On one of the jambs of this gateway there is a short inscription dated in S. 1542, or A. D. 1485, just one year before the accession of Mân Sinh.

The *Ganes* gate is said to have been erected by Raja *Dungar Sinh*, who reigned from A. D. 1424 to 1454. Outside of this gate, to the east, there is a small outwork, called the Khabutar-Khâna, or "pigeon-house," a name of undoubted Muhammadan origin. In the farther corner of the outwork there is a tank of 60 feet long 39 feet broad and 25 feet deep, called the *Nûr Ságar*, which was repaired and deepened by Motamid Khan in A. H. 1078, or A. D. 1667. Its new name was probably derived from the title of Motamid Khan, which would appear to have been

Nûr-ud-dîn. On passing through the Ganes gate, and on the right hand, there is a small masjid built by Motamid Khan against the scarped rock, and just beyond it, and also abutting against the rock, there is a small Hindu shrine dedicated to the hermit, *Gwâli-pá*, after whom the fortress received its name of *Gwâli-áwar*, or *Gwâliár*, as it is now written. A light is kept constantly burning in the shrine, and immediately opposite to it there is a small plastered pillar which is thickly studded with projecting receptacles for lights. This pillar is called *Dîp-wâla*, or the "lamp-pillar," and its lamps are lighted once a year on the anniversary of the first festival of Gwâlipâ. The original site of the shrine was on the spot where the small masjid now stands, but the old shrine was destroyed by the time-serving governor, Motamid Khan, to please his bigoted master Aurangzib, as recorded by himself in the following inscription, which is still attached to the masjid:

> In the reign of the great Prince Alamgir,
> Like the full shining moon, the enlightener of the world,
> Praise be to God that this hap[illegible]ce
> Was by Motamid Khan complete[illegible] alms.
> It was the idol temple of the vile Gw[illegible]
> He made it a mosque, like a mansion of [illegible]
> The Khan of enlightened heart, nay light [illegible]om head to foot,
> Displayed the divine light, like that of mid-[illegible].
> He closed the idol temple:
> Exclamations rose from earth to heaven,
> When the light put far away the abode of darkness,
> Hatif said "light be blessed."

According to their numerical powers, the sum of the letters in the last three words, *Nûr-bád bukhir*, "light be blessed" amount to 1075, which is the Hijra date of the overthrow of Gwâlipá's fane, equivalent to A. D. 1664.

Before reaching the Lakshman gate there is a small temple cut out of the solid rock, which is known as the *Chatur-bhûji-mandar*, or "temple of the four-armed god." Inside the temple, on the left hand, there is a long inscription, No. IV., dated in S. 933, or A. D. 876, which records a gift of land for the support of the temple by the paramount sovereign, Bhoja Deva, who is specially called *Gopagiri-swámi*, or "lord of Gwalior."* There is a tradition preserved

* Babu Rajendra Lál, in Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1862, pp. 407-409, reads *Gopagiriswara*; but the true reading is *Gopagiri-swámi*,—see the engraving of the inscription near the end of the first line, where *Swámi* is distinct.

by Fazl Ali, which attributes the erection of this gate to Lakshman Pâl, the 17th Prince in his list of the Kachhwâha Rajas. He is called Lakshmi Pâl in my anonymous manuscript, but neither of these names is found in Kharg Rai's manuscript, nor in that of his copyist Badili Dâs. As the gateway is undoubtedly old, I think it not improbable that it may have been so named by Vajra Dâma, the Kachhwâha conqueror of Gwalior, after his father Lakshmana, about A. D. 970. It is quite possible, however, that the name may have been derived from a later prince, Lakshmana Sinha, one of the 20 sons of Raja Vira Sinha Deva, the founder of the Tomara Dynasty of Gwalior. The eldest son, Virama Deva, succeeded to the throne of Gwalior in A. D. 1402, and Lakshman Sinh became the Rao of Pahâr-garh, which still exists as a petty Chiefship to the west of Gwalior. The gateway is certainly as old as the time of these princes, for the wooden gate itself bears a short inscription, No. XX., which is dated in S. 1522, or A. D. 1465, and as this record does not refer to the gate but to a small rock-cut tank immediately on the right hand, the wooden gate itself is no doubt older, and the stone gateway may be, and probably is, very much older still. I am therefore strongly inclined to assign it to the time of Vajra Dâma in the end of the 10th century. Immediately opposite the tank there is a small Musalmân tomb which is assigned to Tâj Nizâm, one of the nobles of Ibrahim Ludi, who was killed in the first unsuccessful assault on this gate in A. D. 1518.

Above the Lakshman gate the way is level for some distance, and the face of the rock on the right hand is covered with small tablets and deep recesses containing various sculptures, which are chiefly devoted to the worship of Mahâdeva and the Lingam. There are four groups of Mahâdeva and Pârvati seated, three figures of Ganesa, and two of the Bull Nandi, while the Lingams of all sizes amount to nearly fifty. But the principal sculpture, which is immediately opposite the gate, is a colossal group of the boar incarnation of Vishnu, 15½ feet in height, which was purposely defaced with a chisel by the worshippers of Siva, and then concealed by the back wall of a large pillared recess for the enshrinement of a Lingam. From its position, immediately in front of the gate, I conclude that this is most probably one of the oldest sculptures now existing at Gwalior.

Over the statue there is a large figure of an elephant, 10 feet in length, of which the whole of the lower part of the body has been cut away to form a canopy. This curious design is certainly original, but its novelty of conception is completely marred by its utter want of taste and fitness.* Near the upper end of the rock there is a small group of a recumbent female and child. The mother is two feet long, and is represented lying on her right side with her head raised, and resting on her right arm. Her left knee is bent and her left hand is placed on the small figure of the child at her side. This is the usual conventional position in which *Mâyâ Devi* and her infant son, *Buddha*, are represented; but in the total absence of any other specimens of Buddhist sculpture at Gwalior, it seems scarcely possible that this group can have been executed by the followers of Sâkya Muni. I conclude, therefore, that it must belong to the Jains, and from its position amongst so many early Brahmanical sculptures, I think that it cannot be assigned to a later date than the 9th or 10th century, or, somewhat prior to the probable period of the Saiva sculptures.

The *Hâthiya Paur*, or "elephant gate," as it now stands, was built by Raja Mân Sinh, who reigned from A. D. 1486 to 1516. The name was derived from the life-size statue of an elephant, which formerly stood immediately outside the gate. On its back there were two figures, namely, the *mahaut* or driver in front, and the Raja himself on the back of the animal. This group was seen by the Emperor Baber when he visited Gwalior in A. D. 1525, who describes it as "the perfect resemblance of an elephant."† It is mentioned by Abul Fazl in A. D. 1596.‡ It was seen by the English traveller, Wm. Finch, in April 1610, in the early part of the reign of Jahangir. Finch describes it as "a curious colossal figure of an elephant in stone" at the top gate.§ As I can find no further mention of this statue, I presume that it was appropriated by Muzafar Khan, who held the fortress for 15 years, from the accession of Shah Jahan in A. D. 1628 to 164[illegible]. Hirâman, the Munshi of,

* A similar canopy over a figure of Siva is given by Mrs. Speir in her "Life in Ancient India," p. 373, from a drawing in Colonel Tod's collection.

† Memoirs by Erskine, p. 383.

‡ Gladwin's Ain Akbari, II., 38.

§ Kerr's Collection of Voyages and Travels, VIII., 284. The name of *Hâthi Paur* must, however, be much older, as there was a stone elephant with a driver on its back outside the upper gate in the time of Ibn Batuta. French Translation, III., 194.

Motamid Khan, who was the governor of the fortress under Aurangzib, relates that Muzafar Khan "had an elephant so powerful and courageous that he would destroy whole ranks of the enemy at once, which he did so effectually upon a battle happening with the house of Ludi that he was the principal cause of the victory, and for which the governor obtained the title of *Khâni Jehân.* On this and other accounts *he had a statue of this elephant carved in stone and set up at the north gate of the fort.* I infer without much hesitation that this elephant must have been the original statue of Raja Mân, because Hirâman makes no mention of the latter, which I think he would have done had it existed in the time of Motamid Khan, as that bigoted governor would almost certainly have destroyed it when he pulled down the "idol temple of the vile Gwâli."* In A. D. 1648 the Hâthiya gate was repaired by Sayid Alam, the new governor, and in 1840, when I first saw it, the wooden gate was still in fair order. This elephant gate-way forms part of the noble palace of Raja Mân Sinh, which is one of the finest specimens of Hindu architecture in Northern India. It is the uppermost gate-way of the eastern entrance; but there is another gate-way inside the fort, which leads to the different palaces at the north end. It is called *Háwa Paur,* or the "windy gate," because a pleasant breeze is nearly always blowing through it.

The north-west entrance, which consists of three gates, is called *Dhondha Paur* from a small temple dedicated to *Dhondha Deva.* Its first construction is ascribed by Fazl Ali to Dhandher Pâl, one of the early Kachhwâha Rajas, who is called Dhandhana by Badili Dâs, and Ghanghana by Kharg Rai. A Dhandha Pâl is found in all of my four lists, but no works are attributed to him. An inscription cut on the rock beside the temple of Dhandha Deva ascribes its construction to Raja Mân Sinh in S. 1552, or A. D. 1495. But the date of S. 1505, or A. D. 1448, which is recorded on the rock in another part of this entrance, would seem to show that the gate-way was in use before the time of Mân Sinh. A third short inscription on a slab of one of the towers of the lower outwork, is dated *Asan badi ashtami* 1562, or A. D. 1505. This entrance was, therefore, in common use

* Translation by Lee in his Ibu Batula, p. 134.

during the reign of Mân Sinh, and to him I am disposed to assign the construction of the lower outwork, which contains the temple of Dhondha Deva. As the outer gate also is adorned by two stone lions in graceful pillared niches similar to those of the elephant gate, I think that its restoration, if not its original erection, may be confidently attributed to Raja Mân Sinh. This entrance was generally kept closed under the Muhammadan rule, as the state prisoners were confined in its upper outwork. The cells, which still exist, are called *no-choki*, or the "nine cells." They vary from 15 to 26 feet in height, and are lighted as well as ventilated by small openings near the roofs. This entrance was also kept closed during the Mahratta rule when, three gates being carefully walled up, it remained shut during the 13 years of British occupancy, from 1841 to 1857, but since the re-occupation in 1858, the Dhondha entrance has again been opened for the convenience of the garrison. During the long period of its closure, the names of the separate gates have been forgotten, and the general name of Dhondha is now applied to them all.

The south-western entrance is called *Ghargarj Paur.* It takes its name from a tank cut out of the solid rock which was called the *Ghargarj Baori*, or "well of gurgling water," from the gurgling plash of the falling water as it percolated through the upper rocks.* This tank is a very large excavation, being 49 feet long and 24 broad, but it is now quite dry. The *Ghargarj* entrance had five gates, all of which have long been closed. The two upper gate-ways were breached by General White in 1805, from batteries erected on the opposite hill of Hanumân, which is exactly 5,000 feet distance from the wall of the fort. The uppermost gate-way has since been carefully walled up, but the second gate-way is a complete ruin. The outer-gate was also breached by General White, but it is now walled up. The middle gate-way is of the same style as the middle gate of the Dhondha Paur. It has the same light pillared niches, containing the same stone lions, and consequently I infer with some certainty that it must have been built by Raja Mân Sinh. Below the second ruined gate there are three

* But as *gargaj* in Persian means simply a "redoubt," it is possible that the name may be a Muhammadan one, as the "gate-way covered by a redoubt." If so the other gate-ways could not have possessed any outworks when this name was given.

figures sculptured on the face of the rock. The uppermost figure is Ganesa, the middle one a four-armed female, and the lowest a two-armed female. The names of the separate gates have long since been forgotten, and the entrance is now known by the general name of *Ghargarj Paur*. But though the names of the gates have been forgotten, there is one name attached to this entrance, that of Popham, which the Mahrattas still repeat, and which the British will ever hold in remembrance for successful daring. Major Popham commanded the force which invested Gwalior in 1780. Under his orders the fort was escaladed by two companies, led by a very dashing officer, Captain Bruce, the brother of the traveller. The point of escalade was in one of the re-entering angles of the wall close to the *Ghargarj* gate. It is said that the spot was pointed out to Popham by a cow-herd, and that the whole of the attacking party were supplied with grass shoes to prevent them from slipping on the ledges of rock. There is a story also that the cost of these grass shoes was deducted from Popham's pay when he was about to leave India as a Major-General, nearly a quarter of a century afterwards.

As a place of defence, Gwalior has always been considered one of the most impregnable fortresses in Upper India. In the beginning of the eleventh century the Raja prudently made his submission to Mahmud of Ghazni; but the opinion of Mahmud's companions is no doubt truly expressed by Abu Rihán, when he describes Gwâlior and Kâlinjar as two of the strongest places in the country. Gwalior fully maintained this reputation when it stood a 12 months' siege against the Emperor Altamsh in A. D. 1232. Still later, after it had fallen into the hands of the Hindus, it baffled all the efforts of the Emperors of Delhi during the whole of the fifteenth century, and was only taken in A. D. 1518 after a siege of two years. On the east side it is quite impregnable if properly defended; but on the west side there are several weak points in the different re-entering angles, which would invite the attack of a bold besieger. Both of the attacks planned by British commanders have been directed successfully against these weak points on the west side. The first was the dashing escalade made by Major Popham in 1780, the second was the regular attack made by General White in 1805, breaching the

Ghargarj gateway; but the fort has been taken a third time by British troops in a manner as bold and as dashing as the escalade of Popham. Early on the morning of the 19th of June 1858 a party of the 25th Bombay Native Infantry, under the command of Lieutenants Rose and Walter, "crept up the rock, burst open the main gateway of the fort, and taking the enemy by surprize, forced an entrance through an archway* connected by a narrow street with the interior defences. Here they had to entertain a fierce hand to hand encounter with the garrison, urged to desperation by the knowledge that they had no retreat." Thus, by a lucky surprize, was gained the rock of Gwalior, which Sir Hugh Rose justly calls "one of the most important and strongest fortresses in India." But the success was dearly purchased with the loss of the gallant leader, Lieutenant Rose, who fell in the narrow street leading from the *Háthiya Paur*, or elephant gate, to the *Háwa Paur*, or windy gate.

As a place of defence, Gwalior is superior to most of the other fortresses of Northern India—in the possession of an unfailing supply of water. Both Kálanjar and Ajaygarh have been obliged to surrender by the drying up of their tanks; but the tanks and wells of Gwalior have never yet failed, and its fortress has only been gained either by assault or by capitulation. Several of the tanks are of considerable size, and some of them are no doubt as old as the fortress itself. They may be divided into three distinct classes according to their construction, and may be designated as tanks, cisterns, and baoris. The tanks are as usual large open excavations in the solid rock, which are supplied entirely by rain water during the monsoon. The cisterns are cut in the side of the cliff between the different gate-ways. The upper mass of rock is supported on pillars, and there is usually only a single small entrance. The baoris are large wells, with flights of steps down to the water's edge. There is only one of these in the upper part of the fortress, but there are several of them in the *Urwáhi* outwork, which are popularly known as the *Ath-kúa, No-baori*, or "eight wells and nine baoris." The water in these last is always sweet and wholesome, and is now the only good drinking water in the fortress. The water in the cistern, which is filtered from

* The Háwa Paur, or "windy gate;" see Plate LXXXVII.

the upper tanks through the sand-stone rock, is always clear and cool, but it is now so strongly impregnated with the filthy odour of bat's dung as to be utterly nauseous. The water in the upper tanks is clear but unwholesome, as it causes all sores to ulcerate. The cause of this peculiarity is simple dirt, which has accumulated in the course of time to a considerable depth. All the shallower tanks dry up annually. They can, therefore, be cleaned out, and filled with fresh water every year. But these are the very tanks that would be of no use during a long siege, and which are of little real use at any time, as they fail just as the hot season begins, or at the very time when water is most wanted. There are fifteen principal tanks which still hold water at the present day, but there are at least as many more that are now dry, and which certainly must have failed a long time ago, as their names are quite forgotten.

The oldest of the tanks is most probably the *Suraj Kund*, or "reservoir of the sun," which I think may be assigned to the reign of Raja Pasupati, about 275 to 300 A. D. The temple of the sun, which was built in his time, no longer exists, but as the oldest of the Gwalior inscriptions No. I. records that the temple was dedicated in the month of Kârtik, I infer without much hesitation that it must have stood on the bank of the Suraj Kund, where an annual fair is still held on the first Sunday of Kârtik. The tank is 350 feet in length by 180 in breadth, but the depth is variable as the bottom is very uneven. The deepest part is at the south end, where the water rarely dries up. A Hindu *Bairâgi* formerly lived on the edge of the tank, where he kept a perpetual fire burning, at which, as he gravely asserted, Suraj Pâl, the founder of Gwalior, used to light his hooka. This fire was most probably the sole relic of the old temple of the sun, which I conclude must have been destroyed at a very early date, as it is not mentioned in any of the local histories. The tank, however, is noted by all as the work of Suraj Pâl, the first Raja of Gwalior in S. 332, or A. D. 275, which is within a few years of the date already assigned to the temple. I postpone the discussion of this local date until I come to the history of the foundation of fortress itself, and of Suraj Pâl, its reputed founder.

The Trikonia Tâl is a small deep triangular tank cut in the rock at the extreme northern point of the fortress. The

tank is said to have been attached to the temple of *Jayanti-thora*, the erection of which is attributed to *Jayanta Pâla*, one of the early Kachhwâha Rajas. The northern point of the fort is still called *Jayanti-thora*, and there still exists a small pillared arcade, which may have formed part of the court-yard of the temple, although it is probably not older than the reign of Virama Deva, who reigned from A. D. 1400 to 1419. Inside the arcade there are two inscribed tablets, of which one gives the name of the Tomara Raja Virama, and the other the date of S. 1465, or A. D. 1408, in the middle of Virama's reign.

The *Johara Talao* is situated in the north end of the fort, immediately in front of Shah Jahan's palace. It is 200 feet square, and from 6 to 8 feet in depth at the end of the seasonal rains. It is said to owe its name to the *Johar*, or great sacrifice of all the females of the garrison, which was performed when the fortress was captured by Altamsh in A. D. 1232. It was repaired by Motamid Khan, when, according to Hirâman Munshi, it was "enclosed with a wall firmly built with brick and mortar so that not a drop of its water was lost." The brick walls still remain in good order, but the coating of stucco has disappeared in so many places that the water now escapes too freely through the porous sand-stone rock, and the tank consequently becomes dry almost every year.

The *Sás-bâhu* tank is so called from its vicinity to the two temples which are now only known as the *Sás-bahu*, or the "mother-in-law and daughter-in-law." It is 250 feet long and 150 feet broad, and from 15 to 18 feet deep, but it is usually dry, as its stucco facing has all disappeared, and the rain-water rarely lasts for more than a few days. There is a rough stone pillar standing in the centre of the tank, but it is without inscription, and as there is no tradition attached to the tank, it is impossible to say when it may have been excavated. I infer, however, from the loss of its name, that the tank must be several centuries old, otherwise it would almost certainly have been mentioned by Kharg Rai, and the other annalists.

The *Mân Sarwar* tank is situated on the western side of the fort, near the Urwâhi gate-way. It is said to have been excavated by Raja Mân Sinh, after whom it is named.

It is about 20 feet deep on the western side, where it is partly built up, but owing to fissures in the rock, and the want of stucco, it no longer retains water except for a short time during the seasonal rains.

The *Râni Tâl* and *Chedi Tâl*, as their names import, are said to have been excavated by the queen of Raja Mân Sinh, and her slave girl about A. D. 1500. They are situated close together at the south end of the fort, and are connected by a subterranean passage cut in the rock. According to a well-known tradition, which is also mentioned by Fazl Ali as early as the reign of Shah Jahan, the slave girl's tank always remained dry in spite of every contrivance that could be devised, until the happy thought occurred of cutting a secret passage to the Rani's tank. At the present day this passage is always visible at the low-water level in the dry season, but it is probable that, when first excavated and freshly stuccoed, these tanks may have retained their water at a higher level. They are about the same size, 80 by 60 feet, and are surrounded by buildings which are now in ruins.

To the south of the main entrance there is a large round baori, about 20 feet in diameter, with steps down to the water's edge. This baori is attached to a large pillared building which was erected in the time of the Emperor Baber, but as it is not mentioned in any of the inscriptions on the building, I conclude that it must be of earlier date.

The *Gangola Talao* is situated in the middle of the fort at the south end of the Bâla kila, and nearly opposite the *Teli Mandir*. It is 200 feet square, and of irregular depth, but during my residence of five years at Gwalior, it always had a considerable depth of water on the south side, even in the driest season. In one year, on the 21st of June, just before the setting in of the seasonal rains, I measured 13 feet of water on the south side. There is no tradition regarding the excavation of this tank; but as the name is a Hindu one, I presume that the inscription of the time of Jahangir, which was formerly attached to a small pillared building on its bank, must have referred only to its repair. This inscription was dated in A. H. 1023, and in Samvat 1671, both equivalent to A. D. 1614, but it has disappeared since I left Gwalior in 1853, and as my old copy of it has been

mislaid, I am unable to state the purport of the record. It was missing in 1860 when I enquired for it, and when I visited Gwalior during the present year, I could not learn what had become of it.

The *Katora Talao* derives its name from its round shape, which is like that of a *katora*, or shallow circular bowl. It is 150 feet in diameter and 23 feet deep; but it frequently dries up, as the conduits, which formerly supplied it with rain water, have become closed with rubbish, so that it is never more than half filled at the present day. It is surrounded by a circular arcade, and was always a favourite resort of the soldiers of the garrison. It is situated to the west of the Gangola Talao, and close to the wall of the fort overlooking the Urwâhi Valley. Its age is unknown.

The *Ek-khamba Talao*, or "one pillar tank," is so named from a stone pillar standing in the middle of it. It is 200 feet long and 80 feet broad, with rooms on three sides. It is situated a little to the north of the Katora Talao, and close to the western wall of the fort. Its date is unknown, but it is most probably old.

The *Dhobi Tal*, or "washerman's tank," is situated at the south end of the fort near the Rani and Chedi reservoirs. It is the largest of all the Gwalior tanks, being nearly 400 feet long by 200 feet broad; but it is very shallow, and consequently dries up every year.

The *Nûri Sâgar* is situated in the south-east corner of the Khabutar-Khana outwork. It is 60 feet long, 39 feet broad, and 25 feet deep. It was repaird by Motamid Khan about A. D. 1687 under its present name, which I believe to have been derived from the governor's title of Nur-ud-din.

The *Gujari Baori* is a small deep tank with steps down to the water's edge about 80 feet long by 30 feet broad. It is situated at the foot of the cliff in the Gujari Mahal outwork. The *Dhondha Baori* is situated in the outwork of the Dhondha Deva Gate. It is about 30 feet long by 15 feet broad and 40 deep. On the 5th of April, in one year, I measured a depth of 30 feet of water, but the water is unfit to drink, and is only used for ablution when the *Johara Tâl* dries up.

The principal covered cisterns cut in the side of the cliff are the Sarad and Anâr Baoris, between the Lakshman and Hâthiya gates of the eastern entrance, and the Ghargarj Baori below the third gate of the Ghargarj entrance. The *Sarad Baori*, or "cold water tank," is situated nearest to the Hâthiya, or elephant gate. It is a large square excavation, with a single small entrance, which used to be kept closed by an iron-barred door. The roof is supported on pillars.

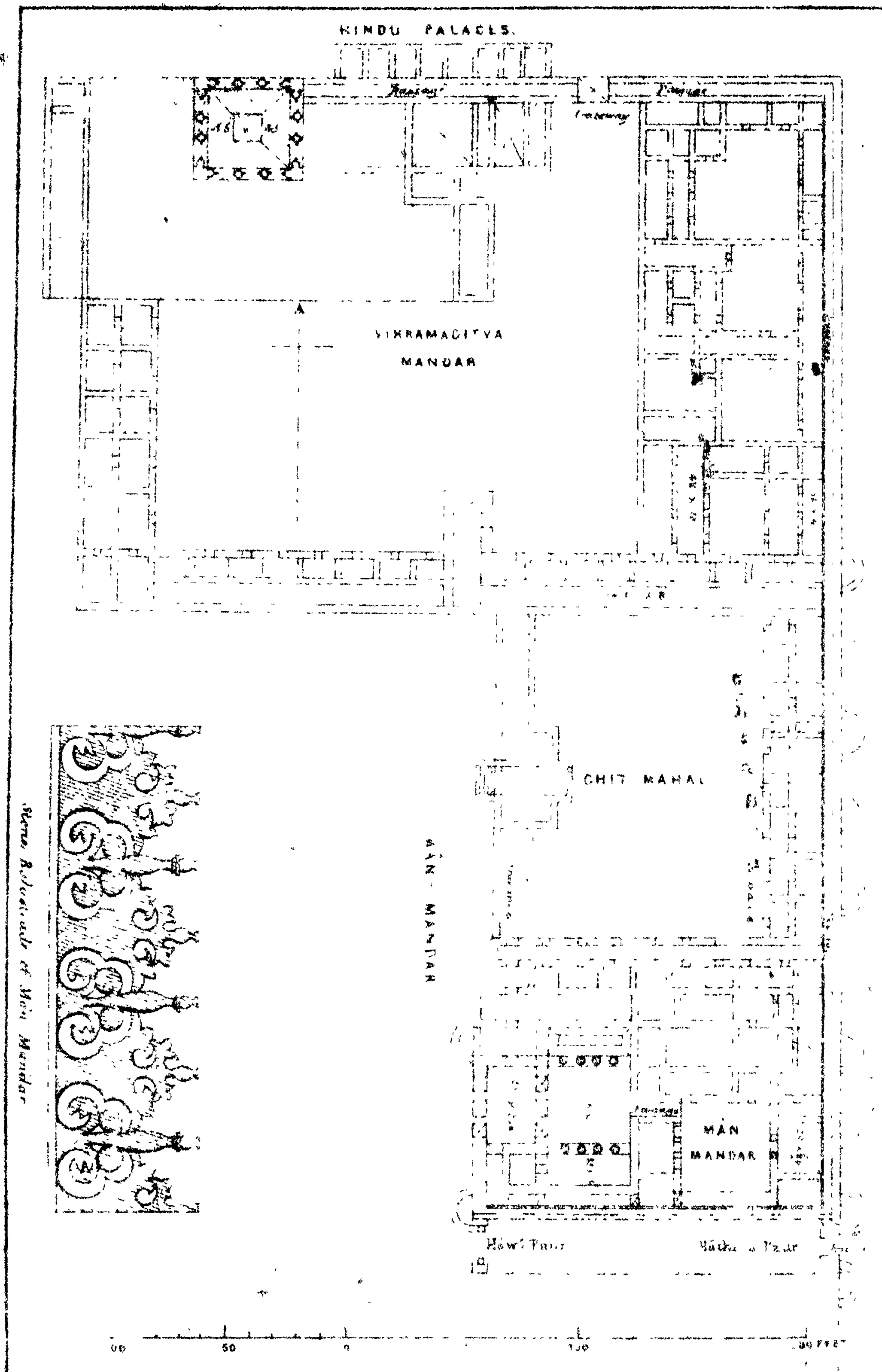
When I measured it, there was a depth of 8 feet of water, but the place was filled with the nauseous effluvia of bats. The *Anar Baori*, or "cool-water tank," is similar to the last. It was formerly kept closed, but it is now disused for the same reason as the other cistern. The *Ghargarj Baori* is 49 feet long by 24 feet broad, but I was unable to ascertain the depth, as the interior is now filled with mud to within 5 feet of the roof. The roof itself is supported on four round pillars, which are surmounted by massive rude capitals, all cut out of the solid rock.

The palaces still existing inside the fort of Gwalior are known by the following names, 1st, the *Karan Mandir;* 2nd, the *Mân Mandir;* 3rd, the *Gûjarni Mandir;* 4th, the *Vikrama Mandir;* 5th, *Shir Mandir*, or *Jahangiri Mahal;* and 6th, the *Shahjahan Mandir*. The Emperor Humayun is also said to have built a palace in Gwalior, but I was unable to find any trace of it: I think, however, that it must have been situated on the site of the present Shahjahân Mandir.

The *Karan Mandir*, or palace of *Raja Karna*, is situated at the northern end of the fort opposite the Dhondha gate, and just outside the entrance of the Jahangiri Mahal. The proper name of this building is the *Kirtti Mandir*, or palace of Raja Kirtti Sinh, who reigned from A. D. 1454 to 1479; but as he is always called by the Muhammadan historians *Rai Karn* instead of *Rai Kirt*, the erroneous name has supplanted the true one. The Karan Mahal is a long narrow building of two storeys, containing only one large room 43 feet by 28, the roof of which is supported on two rows of pillars. On each side of it there are smaller rooms, 28 by 15, and 28 by 12, which occupy the whole breadth of the building. The northern end of the palace, which is octagonal in shape, contains a number of bath-rooms

GWALIOR

Plate LXXXVII.



A. Cunningham del: Litho. at the Survr. Genl's Office . . . November 1871

for hot and cold water, but these have long been disused and are now out of repair. There are traces of painting in some of these bath-rooms, but the ornamentation of the large rooms is concealed under numerous coats of white-wash. Its exterior is very plain, from which I infer that it was originally covered with painted stucco. Its extreme dimensions are 200 feet in length by 35 feet in breadth.*

The *Mân Mandir*, or palace of Raja Mân Sinh, is one of the finest specimens of Hindu architecture that I have seen. Its position on the edge of the eastern cliff, where it forms the main wall of the fortress, is very noble and commanding, as it is seen from nearly every part of the old town, and is the most striking and picturesque object on approaching the place from the east. The Mân Mandir consists of two distinct blocks of building, of which one is the palace proper in which the Raja himself resided, and the other is the entrance square for the accommodation of the attendants. This palace is also called *Chit Mandir*, or "the painted palace," which I believed to have been the original name given to it by Mân Sinh, as the whole of the building was once profusely decorated with glazed tiles of various colours. The exterior dimensions of the whole building are 300 feet by 160 feet, of which the royal apartments occupy just one-third, or 160 feet by 100 feet; the main body of the palace consist of two storeys, but on the eastern face, overhanging the cliff, there are two storeys of under-ground apartments which are open only on that side. The lower rooms are always cool, even in the hottest weather, but from long disuse they have become filled with bats, and are consequently quite uninhabitable. The vast expanse of the eastern face, which is 300 feet in length and 100 feet in height, is relieved at regular intervals by fine massive round towers, surmounted by open domed cupolas, and connected at top by a battlement of open lattice work of a singularly beautiful and novel design. The southern face, which is 160 feet in length and 60 feet in height, has three of these round towers connected by a battlement of the same pleasing and effective pattern. Between each pair of towers the line of battlement is broken by a small square domed turret, which is supported on two massive brackets projecting beyond the

* See Plate LXXXVII. for plans of the Hindu palaces.

face of the building. The northern and western sides were once finished in the same manner, but nearly the whole of the upper portion has now fallen down, which has utterly spoiled every view of this palace from the inside of the fort.*

The palace of Mân Sinh was visited by the Emperor Baber in A. D. 1527, or about twenty years after its completion. His description as usual is both vivid and accurate, and as it refers to some details which no longer exist, I will quote his account at some length. Baber was then ill, but so great was his curiosity that, in spite of his sickness, he relates how he "went over all the palaces of Mân Sinh and Vikramâjit. They are singularly beautiful palaces, though built in different patches and without regular plan. They are wholly of hewn stone. The palace of Mân Sinh is more lofty and splendid than that of any of the other Rajas. One part of the wall of Mân Sinh's palace fronts the east, and this portion of it is more highly adorned than the rest. It may be about 40 or 50 *gaz* (from 80 to 100 feet) in height, and is entirely of hewn stone. *Its front is overlaid with white stucco.* The buildings are in many parts four storeys in height. The two lower floors are very dark, but after sitting a while in them you can see distinctly enough. I went through them taking a light with me. In one division of this palace there is a building with five domes, and round about them a number of smaller domes; the small domes are one on each side of the greater according to the custom of Hindustan. The five large domes are *covered with plates of copper gilt.* The outside of the walls they have inlaid with green painted tiles. All around they have inlaid the walls with figures of plantain trees made of painted tiles. In the tower of the eastern division is the *Hâti-pol.* They call an elephant *hâti*, and a gate *pol* (or *paur*). On the outside of this gate is the figure of an elephant having two elephant drivers (or riders) on it. It is the perfect resemblance of an elephant, and hence the gate is called *Hâti-pol.* The lowest storey of the house, which is four storeys high, has a window which looks towards this figure of an elephant, which is close by it. On its upper storey are the same sort of small domes that have been described. In the

* See Plate LXXXVII.

second storey are the sitting apartments. You descend into these apartments, as well as into those last-mentioned. Though they have had all the ingenuity of Hindustan bestowed upon them, yet they are but uncomfortable places."*

From this account we learn that the domes were once covered with plates of gilded copper, and that the whole front of the palace was originally covered with white stucco. Both of these statements I have verified by careful examination, but, although the former might have been inferred as being highly probable, I must own that the latter would have escaped my notice altogether had my attention not been drawn to it by Babor's minute account. Portions of the plaster are still visible in many of the deeper parts of the mouldings, and even large patches are still adhering in some of the more sheltered angles. It is fortunate for the appearance of the building that the flaring coat of white stucco has long ago fallen off, and left the whole front of the palace of the fine natural tint of the light-coloured sandstone of Gwalior. The plantain trees mentioned by Baber still exist. They are of the natural size, but the leaves made of bright green glazed tiles are very regularly disposed on each side of the yellow stems, and the effect is consequently too stiff and formal. The diamond patterns in blue tile, and the long narrow lines of the same colour, are, however, both effective and pleasing.

The interior of the body of the palace consists of two groups of small rooms arranged round two small open courts. The first court is only 33 feet square, and the inner one 37 feet square. The largest room to the west of the outer court is 33 feet by 20½ feet, but to the north and south the two open pillared rooms are only 33 feet by 14. To the east of the inner court there is one room 20 feet square, but the others are all small, and many of them dark and unventilated. In spite of their small size, however, both of these court-yards are singularly rich and beautiful. The bold roofing of one of the open pillared rooms has since been successfully imitated on a larger scale in Jahangir's palace in Agra, and on a much larger scale in a fine hall at

* Memoirs by Erskine, p. 384.

Govardhan. The section of this roof forms three sides of an octagon, each side being made of a single stone. It is, therefore, a flat-topped arch formed of one horizontal and two sloping stones. One of these arches is placed as a rib over each pair of pillars of the open hall, and the intervening spaces are covered by large flat slabs resting on the ribs. This mode of construction is certainly weak when compared with that of the common radiating arch; but it affords a novel form of roof, and is both quickly and cheaply executed.

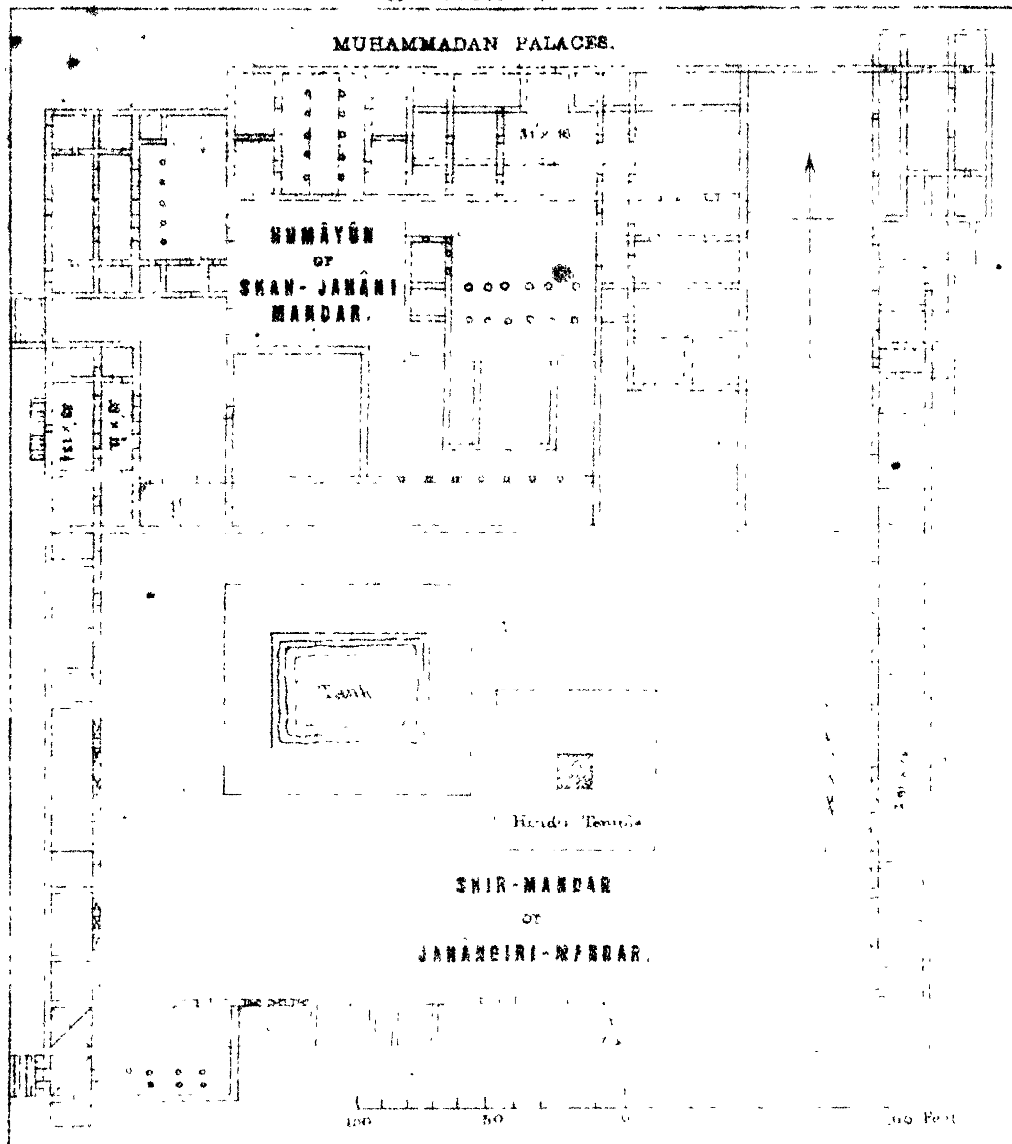
The *Vikrama Mandir*, or palace of Raja Vikramâditya, is situated between the other two palaces of Raja Karan and Raja Mân, which it connects together by several long and narrow galleries concealed in the thickness of the walls. These galleries form the "secret passage" mentioned by Baber, which is not at "all visible from without, and even within the palace no entrance to it is seen."* As the Emperor afterwards remarks, "it is a very singular road," as the total length of all these galleries in both palaces is no less than 1,210 feet. I have entered this secret passage from a small dark room in the south-west corner of Mân Sinh's palace, from which I proceeded upwards by a steep and narrow flight of steps to the main gallery in the south face. From this point the passage is level along the south and east faces of Mân Sinh's palace, to its north-east corner, from whence it is continued along the east and north faces of Vikrama's palace to a great domed building, 45 feet square on the outside, which is the only portion of this palace that is worth visiting. Baber describes this building as a large dome which was "very dark, though after being a while in it, you can contrive to see a little." Originally, however, it was a regular *Bára-dari*, or open hall of twelve doorways, and was, therefore, the best lighted apartment in the whole of the three palaces.† Its walls are $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick, and the doorways are $6\frac{3}{4}$ feet wide and 7 feet high. On each of the four sides there are two stout circular pillars $4\frac{1}{4}$ feet in diameter, with four square projections which give light and shade to the plain round masses. On each side there are also two half pillars of the same

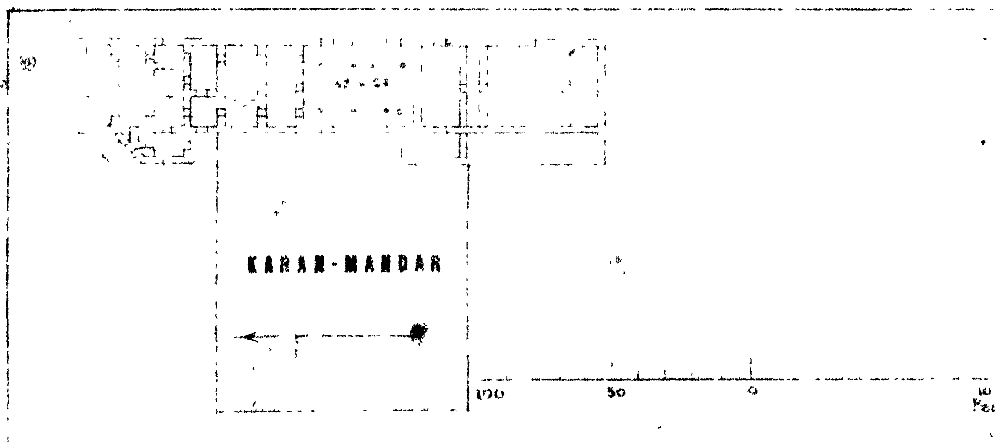
* Memoirs by Erskine, 384.

† See Plate LXXXVII. for a plan of this building.

GWALIOR

Plate LXXXVIII.





A Cunningham del.   Litho at the Survr. Genl's. Office Ca. November 1871

form. The hall is 36 feet square, or very nearly twice the size of the largest room in Mân Sinh's palace. The roof of this fine apartment is a singular Hindu dome, supported on eight curved ribs, of which four spring from the pillars and four from the angles of the building. Internally, the top of the dome is a flat square formed by the intersections of the ribs. Externally the dome is not seen, but the walls are carried up perpendicularly so as to present the appearance of a common flat-roofed building. The top is quite flat, and in the time of Baber his governor had erected an awning, or open pavilion, upon it, as a pleasant sitting-room to catch the breeze. The date of the erection of this curious building may be fixed with certainty as shortly prior to A. D. 1516, in which year Vikramâditya succeeded to the throne of Gwalior. As his accession took place during the successful siege by Ibrahim Ludi, it is quite impossible that the Vikrama Mandir could have been built in his short reign of two years while the place was thus closely besieged. I conclude therefore, without any hesitation, that the Vikrama Mandir must have been erected during the lifetime of his father, Mân Sinh, or shortly before A. D. 1516.

The *Gujarni Mandir*, or *Gujari Mahal*, as it is now more usually called, was built during the same reign by the beautiful but low caste *Gujar*, queen of Mân Sinh. It is situated at the foot of the fortress in the western half of the outwork of Bâdilgarh. It is 300 feet in length by 230 feet in breadth, and is two storeys in height. It is built entirely of hewn stone, but it is now much ruined, excepting the north-east face, which is plain and massive. Internally there is nothing worthy of notice, as the building consists entirely of small rooms which are badly lighted and without ornament.

The two Muhammadan palaces require but a short notice, as they are built entirely of rubble stone plastered, and are consequently quite plain and of no interest whatever as specimens of architecture.* The *Jahângiri Mandir*, or *Mahal*, is an oblong quadrangle, 290 feet by 180, with suits of small rooms on three sides. The largest room in the middle of the eastern face is only 37 feet by 16½. The

* See Plate LXXXVIII. for plans of these palaces.

original name of this palace must have been *Shir Mandir*, as Hirâman Munshi records that Shir Shah "took up his residence for some time at Gwalior, and then built the *Shir Mandir*, and also constructed *a large tank in its area*." The mention of the tank is conclusive, as there still exists in the *Jahangiri Mandir* a considerable tank, 60 feet by 42 feet, which, as it is the only large reservoir attached to any of these palaces, must almost certainly be the same that was made by Shir Shah. This is put beyond all doubt by another statement of Hirâman, who relates that Jahângir was advised to destroy the *Shir Mandir*, and to erect in its place the *Jahângir Mandir*. This palace was the favourite residence of Shir Shah's son and successor, Islam Shah, who eventually died at Gwalior, although he is buried at Sasarâm in the mausoleum of his father.

The *Shahjahâni Mandir*, or *Mahal*, as its name imports, must have been built during the reign of Shah Jahan. But as Hirâman mentions that Humayun had also built a palace in the fort which commanded "an extensive prospect," I conclude that this site must have been occupied originally by the Humâyun Mandir, as it commands a more extensive view than any other position in the fortress. The Shahjahani Mandir is situated at the north-east point of the fort on a precipitous cliff overhanging the old city. It is an oblong quadrangle, 320 feet by 170 feet, of which the principal rooms occupy the northern face. The largest apartment is only 51 feet by 16, which is even smaller than the best rooms of the Hindu palaces. From these observations it will be seen that the chief points of difference between the Hindu and Muhammadan buildings are not confined to the style, but extend also to the materials and mode of construction. The Hindu palaces are built entirely of squared stones, which are closely fitted without mortar, while the Muhammadan palaces are built chiefly of rough rubble stones, which are only held together by a most liberal use of good strong lime. The Hindu roofs are mostly flat, being formed of stone beams and stone slabs without mortar, while the Muhammadan roofs are nearly all domes of the usual pointed form.

The *temples* of Gwalior were fortunate in escaping the religious intolerance of the bigoted Sikandar Lodi. The

forts of Himatgarh, Narwar, and Mândrel, had each succumbed to this zealous fanatic, who had destroyed all their temples with an unsparing hand to raise up mosques in their stead. The stronger fortress of Gwalior would most probably have shared the same fate, when "in the year 923 A. D., the king summoned all the distant nobles to Agra with a determination to reduce Gwalior," had not death stopped him in the midst of his preparation. The fort was taken in the following year by his son and successor, Ibrahim Ludi, but this prince was too much occupied with the disaffection of his brothers and the insurrections of his nobles, to waste his time like Sikandar in the profitless amusement of wanton destruction. Thus many of the old Hindu temples, and, perhaps, also the noble palace of Mân Sinh, narrowly escaped destruction to become the admiration of succeeding ages,—of the Emperor Baber in 1535, of the English merchant, William Finch, in 1610, of the Missionary Tieffenthaler in 1750, and of our own countrymen in the present century. There are only five of the old temples now standing; but, having been desecrated by the Muhammadans, they are no longer used as places of worship. There are, however, several ruined temples that are still visited at stated seasons. But the whole number of shrines, both standing and ruined, is not more than 11, which will be described in the following order: 1, *Surya Deva*; 2, *Gwâlipa*; 3, *Chaturbhuj*; 4, *Jaytali-Deva*; 5, *Teli-Mandir*; 6, *Sâs-bâhu*, large; 7, *Sâs-bâhu*, small; 8, *Jain Temple*; 9, *Mâta Devi*; 10, *Dhondha Deo*; 11, *Mahâ Deva*.

The site of the temple of *Surya Deva*, or the Sun, which was built by the minister of Raja Pasupati about A. D. 300, must almost certainly have been on the bank of the Suraj Kund. On this spot the sacred fire dedicated to the sun is still kept burning, and here an annual fair is held in honour of the sun, on the first Sunday in the month of *Kârtik*, which is the very month in which the temple was originally consecrated, as recorded in the Gwalior inscription, No. I. of the Minister of Raja Pasupati.* I have already suggested that this temple was most probably destroyed by the Emperor Altamsh, when he captured the fort in A. D. 1232. This

* See Abstract Translation by Bâbu Râjendra Lâl in Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal 1861, p. 267.

suggestion is supported by the statement of Baber that Altamsh built a grand mosque close to the lofty idol temple which stood to the west of the great tank. This idol temple is undoubtedly the *Teli Mandir*, as Baber afterwards describes it as "the highest building in the fort," and consequently the tank to the east of it must be the Gangola Talao. As this tank is only 700 feet from the Suraj Kund, I conclude that the grand mosque of Altamsh must have stood on the high open ground between the two tanks, which was afterwards selected by the Mahrattas as the best position for their *Bála Kila*, or citadel. But as the erection of a mosque by a Muhammadan conqueror always implies the previous destruction of a Hindu temple, I infer that the neighbouring temple of the sun must have been pulled down by Altamsh, partly as an easy means of acquiring religious merit, and partly as a cheap means of obtaining ready-cut stones for the construction of his mosque. The remains of the mosque are said to have been removed by Baptiste to furnish materials for the walls of the citadel. I think also that the position in which the inscription was discovered affords another proof that the temple must have been on, or near, the Suraj Kund, as well as a strong presumption that the temple must have been destroyed by Altamsh. I found the inscription built into the wall of the fort close to the Urwâhi gate, which is only a short distance to the west of the Suraj Kund. Now, we know from the Gwalior annalists that Altamsh made his successful assault by the Urwâhi gate, and that he afterwards strengthened this point with additional works. It is almost certain, therefore, that this part of the wall, in which I found not only No. I. inscription, but also a second temple inscription, No. VIII., must have been built by Altamsh, and consequently that the two temples of the sun and Mahâdeva, to which these inscriptions belonged, must have been destroyed by the same sovereign.

The shrine of *Gwálipá* is dedicated to the Siddh *Gwáli*, or *Gwálipá*, after whom the fortress received its name of *Gwáliáwar*, or *Gwáliár*. The original shrine, which is said to have been as old as the fortress itself, was destroyed in A. H. 1075, or A. D. 1664, by Motamid Khan, who calls it *Butkhâna Gwáli*, or the "idol temple of Gwâli." The shrine could not, however, have been a large one, as the position

against the cliff, between the Ganes and Bhairon gates, is very confined. The present shrine is a small square open cupola on four pillars, in which a light was kept perpetually burning. Immediately opposite to it there was formerly a small stout pillar called *Dipwála*, or the "lamp-pillar," with 30 or 40 projections for lights, which were illuminated only on stated occasions. At the time of my last visit in January 1865, the lamp of Gwâli was extinguished, and his illumination pillar had altogether disappeared.

The *Chaturbhuj* temple is excavated from the solid rock close to the Lakshman gate of the eastern entrance. It is of small size, only 12 feet square, with a portico in front, 10 feet by 9, which is supported on 4 pillars. The interior is quite plain, but the exterior is broken into bold projecting mouldings with rows of figures in the recesses. The roof is a low pyramid divided into small steps, and is so like the roof of the rock-cut Brahmanical temple at Dhamnâr that it is almost certain the two temples must be of the same age. Luckily the Gwalior temple possesses an inscription, No. IV., which fixes the date of its excavation to the year S. 933, or A. D. 876. A translation of this inscription has been given by Babu Râjendra Mittra, from which it would appear that the temple was then devoted to the worship of *Rudra*, *Rudráni*, *Pushnása*, and the nine *Durgas*.* There is, however, no trace of any figures of these deities. On the contrary all the existing figures, both inside and outside the temple, refer to the worship of Vishnu. Thus there are two figures of Vishnu himself armed with the discus, one figure of the Varâha Avatâr, and another of the goddess Lakshmi with four arms, holding both the discus and the lotus. As, however, the inscription opens with an invocation to Vishnu, I presume that the present name of the temple, *Chaturbhuj Mandir*, or "shrine of the four-armed god," refers to Vishnu himself, whose statue with four arms, holding the well-known shell and discus, is still to be found inside.

The temple of *Jayanti-thora* is said by the analysts to have been destroyed by the Emperor Altamsh, after the capture of Gwalior in A. D. 1232. Its position is preserved

---

* Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1862, p. 398.

by its name, which is still attached to the most northern point of the fort, where there is a deep rock-cut *baori*, which is most probably old, and some pillared arcades, which, from the short inscriptions recorded inside, would appear not to be earlier than the reign of Virama Deva, from A. D. 1400 to 1419.

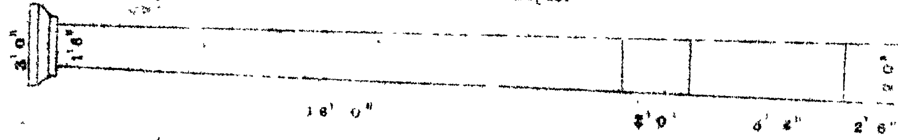
The *Teli Mandir* is the loftiest building in Gwalior, and as it is situated on high ground near the middle of the place, it forms the most conspicuous object in the view on every side of the fortress. The real name of the temple is lost, its present name being derived from the *teli*, or "oil dealer," at whose expense it was built. The design of the temple is similar to that of many shrines in Southern India. In plan it is a square of 60 feet with a projecting portico of 11 feet on the eastern side. The sides slope rapidly upwards to a height of 80 feet, where the building terminates in a horizontal ridge about 30 feet in length. Externally, it is divided by the character of its ornamentation into two distinct portions,—that of the lower half consists chiefly of numerous niches with lofty massive pinnacles, while that of the upper half consists of broad horizontal bands of moulding, some plain and some flowered, broken only by two lines of small square-headed niches near the top of the building. The original doorway of this temple is the loftiest that I have yet seen in any Hindu building. It reaches up to the lowest band of the horizontal mouldings, and cannot, therefore, be less than 35 feet in height, or about three-and-a-half times its width. Over the centre of the door-way there is a figure of the eagle Garuda, which shows that the temple must have been dedicated originally to Vishnu. But a later door-way has been added, which is only 6 feet in width, and about 20 feet in height, with the figure of Ganesa sculptured over it.* This proves that the followers of Siva must have adapted the old Vaishnava temple to their worship, which is proved by the actual presence of the *Lingam* and the bull *Nandi*. There is nothing, however, to show at what time this change may have taken place; but I think it not improbable that the original Vaishnava temple may have been desecrated by the Muhammadan conquerors under Altamsh, and afterwards restored as a Saiva temple during the long sway of the

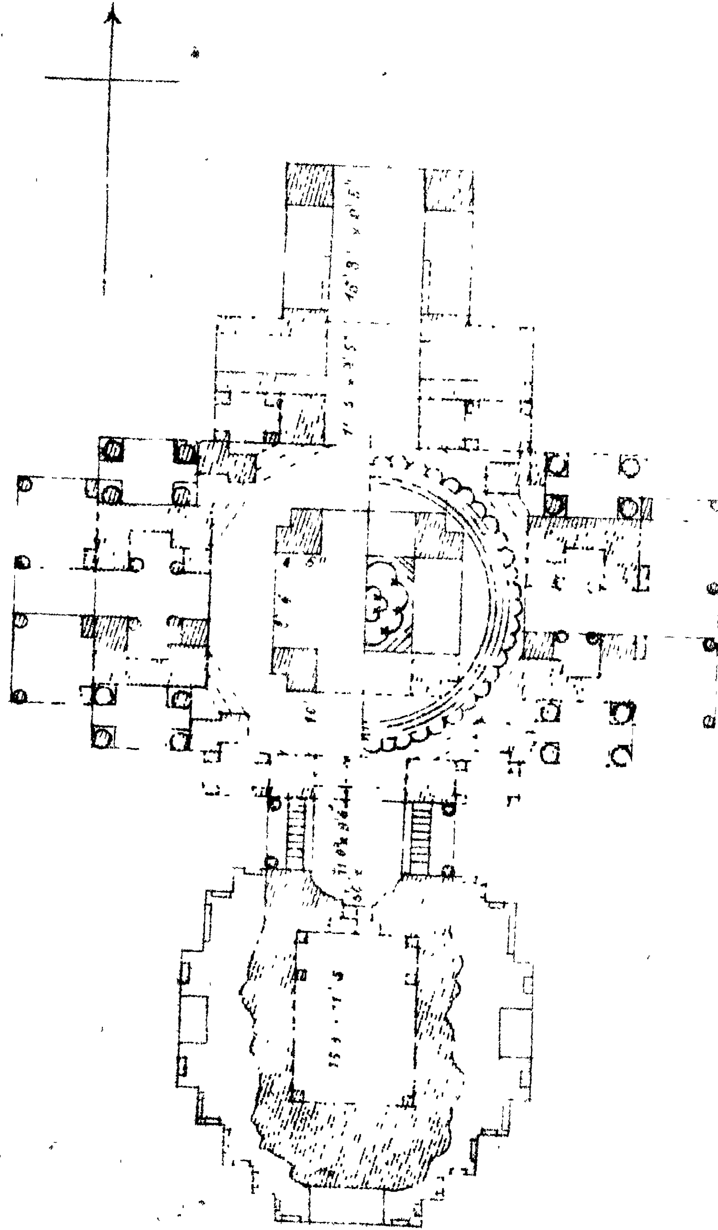
* See Plate XC. for a plan of this temple. The jambs of the doorway added by the worshippers of Siva are shown by a darker shade.

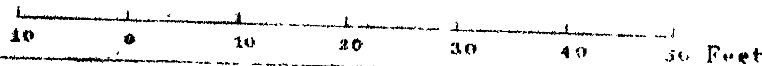
GWALIOR

GREAT SAS-BHAO-TEMPLE.

Pillar in front of Temple.







A Cunningham del:

Litho. at the Survr. Genl's. Office, Cal. November 1871

Tomara Rajas in the fifteenth century. The short inscriptions, Nos. XI., XII., and XIII., which are partly chiselled and partly written in red paint, belong to the earlier period of Vaishnava worship in the ninth and tenth centuries; but there are two later inscriptions on the left side of the entrance, which are dated in S. 1522 and S. 1537, or A. D. 1465 and 1480, and as these are the records of pilgrims who visited the shrine, they show that the temple had already been devoted to the worship of Siva as early as the middle of the fifteenth century.

Sás-báhu, or *Sahasra-báhu*, the "hundred-armed," is the name given to two neighbouring temples,—one large, and one small, which are situated on a projecting point near the middle of the eastern wall of the fort, and immediately to the east of the Suraj Kund. The people also call them the "mother-in-law and daughter-in-law," so that the true name of the temple is probably lost. By our own countrymen they are generally called the "great Jain temple," and the "small Jain temple;" but as the sculptures, which can be recognised both inside and outside of the larger temple are chiefly confined to the members to the Hindu triad and their consorts, I conclude that the temple must belong to the Brahmanical worship. Inside the portico there is a long inscription, No. VII., on two slabs, with the date of S. 1150, or A. D. 1093. This record opens with an invocation to *Padmanâtha*, who certainly might be identified with the 6th of the Jain hierarchs, named *Padmaprabhanâtha*, were it not for the numerous sculptures of Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, which are found not only over the main entrance, as well as that of the sanctum itself, but also over several of the smaller door-ways on both sides. As Vishnu is the central figure over the two main entrances of the portico and sanctum, there can be no doubt that the temple was originally dedicated to his worship. In his notice of the great inscription of this temple, Bâbu Râjendra Lâl has remarked that "among the donations, mention is made of some jewellery and utensils for the idols of *Aniruddha*, *Bâmana*, and *Vishnu*, but how this allusion to Hindu divinities came to be made in a Jain record, put up by the entrance of a Jain temple, it is difficult to divine." The temple was built by Raja Mahipâla, during whose reign, according to the Bâbu's abstract of the inscription, "a figure of *Padmanâtha*, a Jain

divinity, came suddenly into existence." But as the evidence of the sculptures is too positive to be set aside, and as it is further confirmed by the mention of the dwarf incarnation *Bámana*, as well as of *Vishnu* himself, I infer that *Padmanátha* must be one of the many titles of Vishnu. The usual titles of the 6th Jain pontiff are *Supadma*, or *Padmaprabha*, or *Padmaprabhanátha*, but I cannot find any authority for the name of *Padmanátha*. I think, therefore, that this title must belong to Vishnu, who, as he is commonly represented holding a lotus in one of his four hands, might justly be entitled *Padmanátha*, or "lord of the lotus." On the under side of one of the inner beams of the portico there is a short contemporary inscription of a pilgrim who records his devotions to *Chetanátha*, "the lord of mind or intellect." His words are "*Aum Namo Chetânathâye;*" *Chetanátha*, the lord of mind, would appear to be only another name for the Brahmanical *Mahat*, or "great principle," that is, intellect, who, according to the Vayu Purâna, was the active creator of the universe; "*Mahat*," says the Purâna, "impelled by the desire to create, causes various creation." This "lord of the mind," Chetanâtha, cannot possibly be identified with the Jain pontiff, but as intellect he may be identified either with Vishnu or with Siva, according to the belief of the worshipper. But as Vishnu is the central figure of the principal doorways, I conclude without my hesitation that the temple must have been dedicated to him under the title of *Padmanátha*, or "lord of the lotus.

The great temple of *Sás-báhu*, or *Padmanátha*, is built in the shape of a cross, 100 feet long by 63 feet broad, with the short arms to the east and west. To the north is the entrance, and to the south the sanctum. One hundred and fifty feet to the north of the entrance there is a plain stone pillar, 27½ feet in height, and with a diameter of 2 feet at base, and of 1½ foot at top. The separate inscription which it once bore on the face towards the temple is now gone. It would, however, have added little to our information, as we know that it is customary amongst the Hindus, when a man determines to begin any great work, to set up a pillar recording his intention. This Gwalior pillar, therefore, would almost certainly have recorded nothing more than the fact

that Raja Mahipâla had begun the erection of a temple to Padmanâtha in a certain year.

As it stands at present, the great temple of *Padmanâtha* is about 70 feet in height, but as the pyramid top is very much broken, I estimate the original height of the building at not less than 100 feet. The whole is raised on a richly carved plinth from 10 to 12 feet in height; but so many of the carved stones have been removed that it is now almost impossible to find a complete specimen of the different mouldings. The uppermost line consists of a continuous row of small figures, and the second of a continuous row of elephants with their heads to the front. The round projecting heads of the elephants form a bold and effective moulding. The lower lines consist of rows of flowers and diapered ornament, which are, perhaps, too fine and delicate for the near and prominent position which they occupy. The body of the temple is divided into three separate storeys, which are most distinctly marked by lines of open pillared porticoes, covered by boldly projecting corrugated eaves. The upper half only of the basement storey is open, the lower half being divided into square headed niches which are filled with sculpture. Many of the figures have disappeared, but I examined no less than 40 different groups which are still standing outside, although several of them are certainly not in their original positions. As the whole of the facing stones of the sanctum have fallen down and been removed, it is now impossible to say what may have been its actual form; but, judging from the numerous examples of contemporary temples of similar design, I infer that the sanctum could not have been less than 150 feet in height. Its great height would only have hastened its downfall, and, as Baber states that the *Teli Mandir* was the highest building in the fort, it is certain that the sanctum of the great temple of Padmanâtha must have given way before the period of his visit in A. D. 1525.

The interior arrangement of this temple is similar to that of other large contemporary temples of the same exterior design. It consists of five distinct portions, each of which has its own appropriate name, and its special relative dimensions. These different portions are named in regular order from the entrance as follows: 1st, *Arddha Mandapa*, or

"small hall," literally the "half hall;" 2nd, *Madhya Mandapa*, or "middle hall;" 3rd, *Mahá Mandapa*, or "great hall," which forms the centre of the building; 4th, *Antarála*, or antechamber, literally "inner chamber;" and 5th, *Garbha Griha*, or "sanctum," or more literally the "womb of the edifice." In the present example the entrance-hall and the sanctum are of the same length of 15 feet, and the middle hall and the ante-chamber are of the same length of 11¼ feet. The central hall is 30 feet 10 inches square, or exactly one-half of the outside breadth of the temple, and just twice the length of the sanctum.*

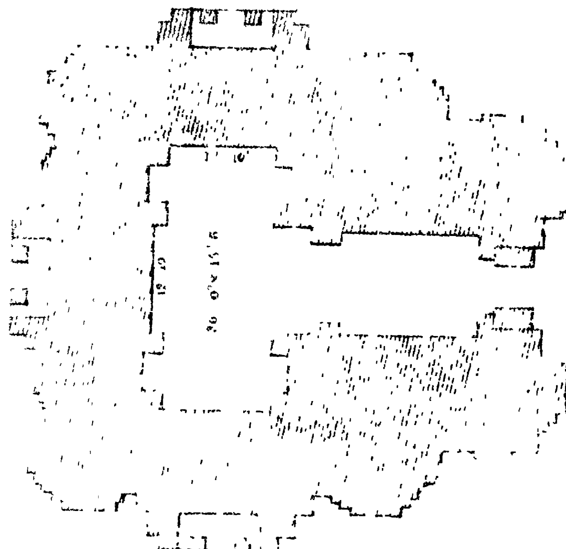
The roof of this temple is its least satisfactory part. The central hall, which is rather less than 31 feet square, is crowded with four massive pillars to assist in bearing the enormous weight of the great pyramidal roof of the upper storey. The roof of the lower storey, which springs from a twelve-sided base, is formed by cutting off each corner of square with two long horizontal beams, resting on a stout pilaster. Above this line of beams the roof is continued by circular rows of overlapping stones, until it reaches the architraves of the four central pillars. The middle square is covered in the usual manner by cutting off the corners to form an octagon. Above this, there is an overlapping circular line of eight cusps, covered by another circular line of four cusps which is crowned by a single recessed slab. This part of the roof is finished in the usual rich and elaborate style of the Hindu architects; but its small size, which is only 8 feet 4 inches square, is mean and insignificant compared with the great expanse of the hall itself, which is nearly 31 feet square.

The temple was dedicated in the year S. 1149, or A. D. 1092, and the inscription was set up in the following year; but the interior ornamentation was never fully completed, as the flower scrolls on the pillars may still be seen in all states of progress, from the simple outline dotted with the chisel, to the finished pattern of deeply indented leaves with their delicately rounded stems. In many places I found this flowered ornament completely filled up with lime; but I am not certain whether this is the remains of stucco, or of repeated coats of white-wash. I incline, however, to think

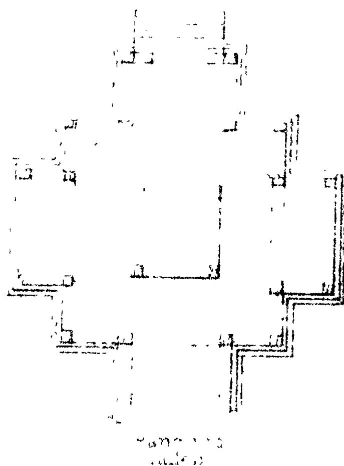
* See Plate LXXXIX. for a plan of this temple.

GWALIOR

TELI-MANDAR.

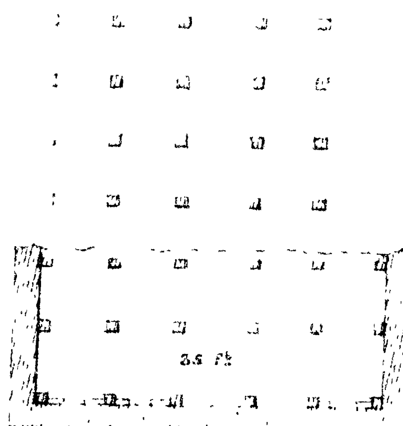


SAS-BHAO-TEMPLE



JAIN TEMPLE

converted into a Masjid



10 0 10 20 30 40 Feet

A. Cunningham del: Litho. at the Survr. Genl's Office. Cal November 1871

that the whole of the building was once plastered over by the Muhammadans, and used as a dwelling house. It is almost certain at least that the temple was not available for Hindû worship during the time of Muhammadan occupation in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, as there are no pilgrims' records of this period. On the east side of the wall of the *antarâla*, or ante-chamber, there is an incomplete inscription dated in S. 1160, or A. D. 1103, only 10 years later than the opening of the temple. In the same place there are two other dated records of S. 1522 and S. 1540, or A. D. 1465 and 1483, which show that the temple was again used by the Hindus during the sway of the Tomara Rajas in the fifteenth century. Early in the following century the fortress was again captured by the Musalmâns, and as it was afterwards used as a State prison, and jealously guarded, I presume that the Hindus were once more excluded. In 1844, when I resided in the fort, I found the sanctum empty and desecrated, and the floor of the ante-chamber dug out to a depth of 15 feet in search of treasure. This hole I filled up; and I afterwards propped up all the cracked beams, repaired the broken plinth, and added a flight of steps to the entrance, so that the temple is now accessible and secure, and likely to last for several centuries.

The smaller *Sás-bahu*, or little Jain temple, is also built in the shape of a cross, but it consists of only a single storey and, with the exception of the sanctum, it is open on all four sides. It is situated inside the large bastion immediately to the east of the greater *Sás-bahu*, or temple of Padamanátha. The sanctum is now entirely gone, but the rest of the temple, excepting only the sculptures, is much more perfect than might have been expected in a place which has been occupied for so long a time by Muhammadans. Its plan is a very simple one. The body of the temple, or *Mahá Mandapa*, is a square of 23 feet 4 inches, supported on 12 pillars. To the east is the entrance portico, or *Arddha Mandapa*, 12 feet by 7½ feet, which is supported on 2 pillars. To the east and west there are two similar open porches 14 feet by 4 feet 8 inches, and to the south is the *antarâla*, or ante-chamber, of the same size as the entrance porch. A low stone railing, sloping outwards, encloses the temple on all sides except the entrance. The plinth is 6 feet by 1½ inch in height, and consists of nine distinct bands of mouldings which are

similar to those of the larger temple, including the row of elephants. Externally the roof is a low pyramid, divided into small steps. Internally it consists of a deeply-recessed and cusped square of 9 feet 4 inches, supported on four central pillars, round which the outer-roof is formed in the same manner as in the larger temple by cutting off the corners of the square to make an octagon, and closing it above by successive overlapping circles. The pillars are round, with octagonal bases, and bracketted capitals to support the diverging beams. The lower parts of the shafts are surrounded with graceful groups of dancing females, which are unfortunately all mutilated. The entrance doorway of the sanctum still remains, and immediately attracts attention by the singular beauty of its design and execution. Altogether, this little temple is a fine specimen of the ornate style of mediæval Hindu architecture.*

This beautiful temple is another shrine of Vishnu, whose four-armed image holding the club and mounted on the eagle Garuda, occupies the central position over the doorway of the sanctum. On his right is the bearded Brahmâ holding the Veda, and to his left Siva with his trident. There is no inscription or pilgrim's record to fix the date of this shrine, but the similarity of its plinth mouldings, with those of the larger temple close by, is sufficient to show that it must belong to the same period. I am inclined also to accept the joint name of *Sâs-bahu*, or the "mother-in-law" and "daughter-in-law" as a popular indication of the close connexion of the two temples; and as the larger temple was built by Raja Mahipâla in A. D. 1093, I would assign the smaller temple either to one of his queens, or to some other member of his family.

The true *Jain temple* was discovered by myself in 1844. It is placed against the eastern wall of the fort just mid-way between the elephant gates and the *Sâs-bahu* temples. As this temple is a still existing specimen of Muhammadan transformation, I will describe it exactly as I found it upwards of 20 years ago. At that time, the only part of the temple visible above the ground was a room 35 feet long by 15 feet broad, with loose stone walls, and a triple row of

* See Plate XC for a plan of this temple.

round plastered pillars. It is said to have been used formerly as a mosque, but in 1848 it was used as a store-room for chopped straw. On examining the pillars I found that the plaster was a mere coating given by the Musalmâns to hide the bold mutilated figures of the Hindu shafts. As I found also that the ground below the floor sounded hollow, I made an excavation from the north side which brought to light a lower room, similar in its arrangement to that above, excepting that on the south it was closed by a regularly built wall divided into niches, which still held several naked Jain figures and a long inscription dated in S. 1165, or A. D. 1108. Unfortunately this inscription, No. IX., is too much injured to be easily made out, and was therefore returned to me by Babu Râjendra as "not decypherable." The date, however, is very distinct, and as the naked figures, both seated and standing, are decidedly Jain, it is certain that this ruined building is the remains of a Jain temple that was erected in A. D. 1108. There is too little of this temple now left to show the exact nature of its design; but the stumps of several rows of pillars are standing *in situ* immediately to the north, to show that the temple must originally have extended at least 50 feet farther in that direction. The existing portion, comprising two rows of pillars, and one row of pilasters against the south wall, is 35 feet long by 15½ feet broad inside. If we add to this six rows of pillars and one row of pilasters towards the north, the size of the original buildings could have been not less than 69 feet long by 35 feet broad. In the south wall there are five niches for the reception of statues, of which two are now empty. In the north niche there is a naked sitting figure of Pârswanâth canopied by a seven-headed serpent, and on each side of him there is a four-armed female. In the next niche there are two naked standing figures. The pedestal of the centre niche is 6 feet 8 inches long, but the statue is gone. The next niche is empty, and the south niche is occupied by two naked sitting figures. The inscription slab I found in a sloping position in the centre niche, where I conjecture that it may have been placed by some zealous Jain worshipper after the destruction of the principal figure by the Muhammadans.

The temple of *Mâtâ Devi*, or "the mother-goddess," is a small square building with recessed corners, and a pillared

portico on the east face. It is situated near the south-east corner of the Suraj Kund, at the gorge of the centre bastion of the Bâla Kila, or citadel. It is undoubtedly old, but there is nothing to show its exact age. As a Saiva temple, however, it is almost certainly of later date than the Vaishnava temples, and may therefore be assigned with much probability to the twelfth century. This is the known date of the Saiva temple of Madbusudana, S. 1161, or A. D. 1104, which must have stood somewhere near the Suraj Kund, as I found its inscription used as a beam in an octagonal turret near the Urwâhi gateway. Inside the temple there is an eight-armed figure of the goddess seated on a lion called *Ashta-bhuja-Durga*, or *Mâtâ*, and outside there is the well-known group of Durga slaying the *Mahesasur*, or buffalo-demon

The shrine of *Dhondha Deva* is a small square niche cut in the rock, just below the second gateway of the *Dhondha Paur*. Close beside it there is an inscription of Raja Mân Sinh, dated in S. 1552, or A. D. 1459. In this the name is written *Dhondha Deva*, and it is therefore most probably derived from *dhondh*, "to search or investigate." The figure is said to be a form of Siva.

The temple of *Mahadeva* is a common modern building, containing a *lingam*, but its position in the middle of the court of the Jahangiri Mandir supports the Native tradition that the site is an old one. The original temple must have been destroyed in the middle of the sixteenth century, when Shir Shah built his place on this site.*

The *rock sculptures* of Gwalior are unique in Northern India as well for their number as for their gigantic size. They are all excavated in the steep cliff immediately below the walls of the fortress, and are most of them easily accessible. There are small caves and niches in almost every place where the face of the rock is tolerably smooth and steep, but the more prominent excavations may be divided into five principal groups, which I will designate according to their positions, as 1st, the *Urwâhi* group ; 2nd, the south-

* To this list of temples I may add the *Vijaya Mandir*, which is said to have been built by Vijáya Pála, who is placed 65th or 67th by the analists, and who may therefore have reigned during the ninth century. The position is not known ; but it may yet be recovered, as there was a bastion called the Bijay *Mandar* bastion, in which the murdered sons of Ala-ud-din Khilji were buried.—See Sir H. Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, III., 555.

western group; 3rd, the north-western group; 4th, the north-eastern group, and 5th, the south-eastern group. Of these the first and the last, which are by far the most considerable both in number and size, are the only sculptures that have attracted the notice of travellers. The whole of them have been mutilated, which was done by order of the Emperor Baber in A. D. 1527, only 60 years after they were made. Baber himself records the fact in his memoirs:* "They have hewn the solid rock of this *Adwa* (read *Urwa* for *Urwâhi*), and sculptured out of it idols of larger and smaller size. On the south part of it is a large idol, which may be about 20 *gaz* (40 feet in height). These figures are perfectly naked, without even a rag to cover the parts of generation. * * * *Adwa* is far from being a mean place, on the contrary it is extremely pleasant. The greatest fault consists in the idol figures all about it: *I directed these idols to be destroyed.*" The statues, however, were not destroyed, but only mutilated, and the broken heads have since been repaired by the Jains with coloured stucco.

The *Urwâhi group* is situated in the cliff of the southern side of the Urwahi valley and consists of 22 principal figures, all of which are entirely naked. These figures are accompanied by six inscriptions dated in S. 1497 and 1510, or A. D. 1440 and 1453, during the sway of the Tomara Rajas. The chief statues are Nos. 17, 20, and 22. No. 17 is a colossal seated figure of *Adinâth*, the first of the 24 Jain pontiffs, who is known by his symbol of a bull on the pedestal. This is accompanied by a long inscription No. XVIII., dated in S. 1497, or A. D. 1440, during the reign of Dungara Sinha Deva, of which a translation has been given by Babu Râjendra Mittra†. The largest figure, not only of this group, but of all the Gwalior rock sculptures, is the standing colossus, No. 20, which is estimated by Baber at 20 *gaz*, or 40 feet in height. Its actual height, however, is 57 feet or six and a third times the length of its foot which is just 9 feet. In front of the statue there is a small pillar with a squatted figure on each of its four faces. The extreme western figure of this group, No 22, is a seated colossus, upwards of 30 feet in height, of Neminâth, the

---

* Memoirs by Erskine, p. 385.

† See Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1862, p. 423.

22nd Jain pontiff, who is known by his symbol of a *shell* on the pedestal. Besides the 22 figures of this group, there are a few isolated excavations in other parts of the rock to the right and left, some of which are now inaccessible from the falling of the rock-cut steps that formerly led up to them.

The *south-western* group of sculptures consists of five principal figures which are situated in the cliff, immediately below the *Ek-Kambha Tâl,* and just outside the Urwâhi wall. No. 2 is a sleeping female 8 feet in length. She is represented lying on her side with her head to the south and her face to the west. Both thighs are straight, but the left leg is bent backwards underneath the right leg. The figure is highly polished. No. 3 is a seated group of a male and female with a child, who are, I believe, *Siddhârtha* and his wife *Trisalâ,* the reputed father and mother of the infant *Varddhamâna*, or *Mahâ-vira*, the last of the 24 Jain pontiffs. The sleeping female must also be *Trisalâ*, to whose womb, when asleep, the infant fœtus is said to have been transferred from that of its true Brahman mother.

The *north-western group* of sculptures is situated in the western cliff of the fort immediately to the north of the Dhondha gate. The figures themselves are unimportant, and I only notice them because the statue of *Adinâth* is accompanied by an inscription dated in S. 1527, or A. D. 1470.

The *north-eastern group* of sculptures is situated in the cliff immediately under the Muhammadan palaces, and above the middle gateways of the eastern entrance. These sculptures are all comparatively small, and, as they are unaccompanied by inscriptions, they are of no interest or importance. One or two of the caves are large, but, owing to the peeling away of the rock, they are now very difficult of access.

The *south-eastern group* of sculptures is situated in the long straight cliff of the eastern face immediately under the Gangola Talao. This is by far the largest and most important group, as there are not less than 18 colossal statues from 20 to 30 feet in height, and as many more from 8 to 15 feet in height which occupy the whole face of the cliff for upwards of half a mile in length. A few of the caves are blocked up, and inhabited by surly

mendicant Bairâgis, who refuse all admittance; but as there is no reason to suppose that they differ in any important respects from the other caves, their closing is, perhaps, of little consequence. In the following list I have tabulated all the details of the caves and sculptures of this group for easier reference. The numbering begins from the northern end, and the dates refer to the inscriptions:

GWALIOR CAVES.

South-Eastern Group.

Caves.		Sculptures.				Date.	
No.	Front, depth and height.	Name.	Position.	Height.	Symbol.	Samvat.	A.D.
				Feet.			
1	[illegible]						
2	10 [illegible] 19			10			
3	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	7	Bull	[illegible]	[illegible]
4	15 × 1[illegible] × 16	[illegible] others Adinātha Neminātha Adinātha	[illegible]	[illegible] 14 [illegible] 11	Wheel [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
6	20 × 12 × 16	[illegible]	Sitting	3[illegible]	[illegible]	..	
7	[illegible] × 1[illegible] × 30	[illegible]	Stand[illegible]	20			
8	[illegible]	Adinātha	[illegible]	[illegible]			
9	[illegible] × 2[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]			
10	10 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	12		[illegible]	[illegible]
11	12 × [illegible]	[illegible]	Sitting	1[illegible]			
12	1[illegible] × 30	[illegible]		[illegible]	H[illegible]	1[illegible]	[illegible]
13	[illegible] × 10 × [illegible]	[illegible]nātha Sambhunātha [illegible]	Sitting	[illegible]	[illegible] Horse Lion	1525	[illegible]
14	20 × 1[illegible] × [illegible]2	Adinātha	S[illegible]	2[illegible]	Bull	1525	1468
15	20 × 16 × [illegible]	[illegible]		25			
16	21 × 2[illegible] × [illegible]			50			
17	80 × 8 × [illegible]	Abhinandana Santinātha Adinātha Four others	[illegible]	26 26 26 26	Goat Antelope Wheel	1525 15.5	[illegible]
18	[illegible] × 10 × 30			26			
19	16 × 10 × 30			26			
20	12 × 6 × [illegible]	Adinātha		[illegible]	Wheel	1525	[illegible]
21	[illegible]7 × 35 × 1[illegible]						

It is worthy of remark that the whole of these colossal Jain sculptures were executed between the years S. 1497 and 1530, or during a single generation of 33 years. Several of the inscriptions, however, are certainly not old, but are mere copies of the original records. For instance, when I first visited these caves in January 1840, there was no

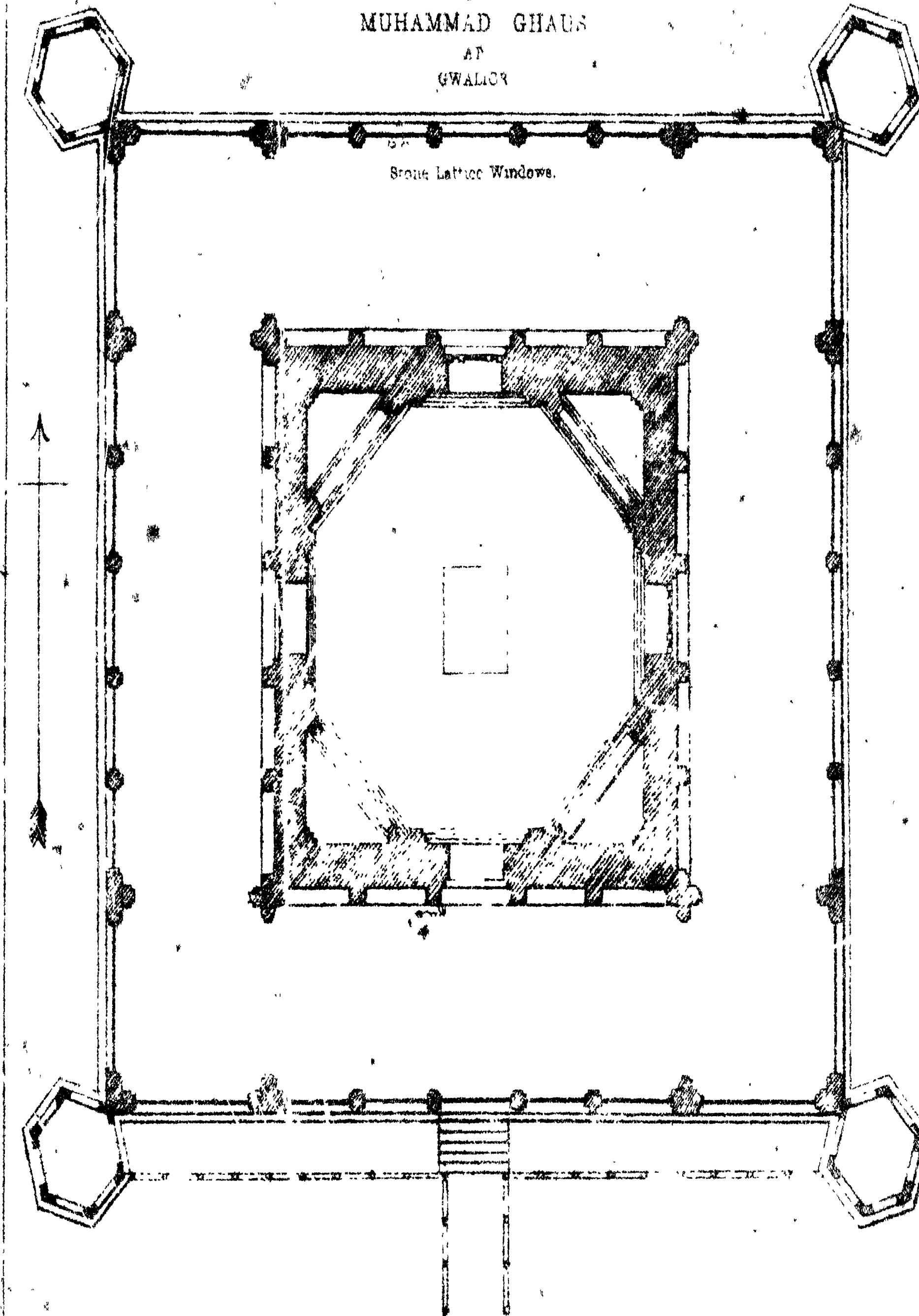
inscription attached to the figure of Sântanâtha in No. XVII., but in October 1852 I found an *unfinished* inscription of three lines only with the same date of S. 1525, which is attached to the figure of Kunthanâtha in the same cave. On enquiry I was informed that the whole of the statues in this cave were executed at the expense of the same person, and that the original inscription was now being copied at the cost of one of his descendants. Similarly in No. III. cave there are no less than five inscriptions of the same date, of which one only is believed to be old.

The canopies over the heads of the statues are in general very rich and florid. That of No. XVI. is a seven-headed *nâga*, or serpent, from which I infer that the statue beneath it must be a figure of *Pârswanâtha;* but as the cave was inhabited, I was unable to verify this conjecture by an examination of the symbol on the pedestal. It is remarkable, however, that amongst all the numerous Jain sculptures of Gwalior, there is not a single figure of Pârswanâtha, except, perhaps, that which I have just noticed with the serpent canopy. Several of the statues I was unable to identify from the accumulation of rubbish in front of their pedestals which concealed the symbols; but so many have been satisfactorily identified by the invocations of the inscriptions, as well as by the symbols on the pedestals, as to leave no doubt that the whole of these rock sculptures belong to the Jaina religion.

The first European who describes these colossal statues is Father Monserrat, who visited Gwalior on his way from Surat to Delhi in the reign of Akbar. As I am not in possession of any account of his travels, I can only at present quote the meagre statement of Wilford.* Father Monserrat was assured by respectable persons that there were 13 figures in *basso-relievo* sculptured on the Gwalior rock. The middle figure being higher than the rest, the group represented our Saviour and his 12 disciples! Monserrat also says that they were so much defaced that no inference could be drawn from them except their being 13 in number! When a grave and educated missionary can write thus of the stark-naked statues of Gwalior,

* Asiatic Society's Researches, IX., p. 213

TOMB
OF
MUHAMMAD GHAUS
AT
GWALIOR



Cunningham, del.

Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta.

we need no longer wonder at the marvellous travellers' tales that were brought to Europe by illiterate adventurers.

The *prisons* of Gwalior are situated in a small outwork on the western side of the fortress, immediately above the Dhondha gateway. They are called *no-choki*, or "the nine cells," and are both well lighted and well ventilated. But in spite of their height, from 15 to 26 feet, they must be insufferably close in the hot season. These were the State prisons in which Akbar confined his rebellious cousins, and Aurangzib the troublesome sons of Dâra and Murâd, as well as his own more dangerous son Muhammad. During these times the fort was strictly guarded, and no one was allowed to enter without a pass.

Of the other Muhammadan buildings of Gwalior there are only three now remaining of any consequence, namely, the tomb of the saint Muhammad Ghaus, the tomb of Akbar's famous musician Tânsen, and the Jâmâi Masjid. A description of the first will find a more appropriate place in a future account of the Muhammadan architecture of India. It will be sufficient to mention here that the tomb was built in the early part of the reign of Akbar, and is, therefore, of the same date as that of Humâyun at Delhi.* The building is a square of 100 feet with hexagonal towers at the corners, which are curiously attached by the angles instead of, as usual, by the sides. The tomb consists of a large room 43 feet square with the angles cut off by pointed arches, from which springs a lofty Pathân dome. The walls are 5½ feet thick, and the whole is surrounded by a lofty verandah 23 feet wide, which is enclosed on all sides by large stone lattices of the most intricate and elaborate patterns. These lattice screens are protected from the weather by the boldest eaves that I have yet seen, which are supported on long beams resting on brackets. The whole is built of a yellowish grey sand-stone which has lasted very well, but the outside of the dome, which was once covered with blue glazed tiles, is now nearly bare. The building was never completely finished, although the heirs of the holy man held a large jaghir near Gwalior down to the time of the Mahrattas. All the photographers have hitherto most unaccountably avoided this fine specimen of Muhammadan architecture.

* See Plate XCI. for a plan of this tomb.

The tomb of Tânsen is a small open building, 22 feet square, supported on 12 pillars, with 4 central pillars surrounding the sarcophagus. It is situated close to the south-west corner of the large tomb. His burial in this place shows that the great musician must have become a Musalmân, although he still retained his Hindu name. The tomb is still visited by musicians, but the fame of the tomb is quite eclipsed by that of the neighbouring tamarind tree which overshadows it, as a "superstitious notion prevails that the chewing of its leaves will give an extraordinary melody to the voice." This is Dr. Hunter's account written in 1790;* but 30 years later, Lloyd found that it was still "religiously believed by all dancing girls."† So strong was this belief that the original tree died from the continual stripping of its leaves, and the present tree is only a degenerate seedling of the true melody-bestowing tamarind.

The *Jámái Masjid* is situated at the eastern foot of the fortress near the Alamgiri Darwâza. It is a neat and favourable specimen of the later Mogal architecture. Its beauty, however, is partly due to the fine light-coloured sand-stone of which it is built. This at once attracted the notice of Sir Wm. Sleeman, who describes the building as "a very beautiful mosque, with one end built by a Muhammad Khan in A. D. 1665 of the white sand-stone of the rock above it. It looks as fresh as if it had not been finished a month. * * There is no stucco work over any part of it, nor is any required on such beautiful materials, and the stones are all so nicely cut that cement seems to have been considered useless. It has the usual two minarets or towers, and over the arches and alcoves are carved, as customary, passages from the Koran in the beautiful Kufik characters."‡

The early history of Gwalior is related almost exactly in the same manner by all the annalists. There are of course some petty differences of detail; but the general agreement is so close as to warrant the conclusion that the main facts must have been derived from some common source. The earliest is that of the Bard Kharg Rai, who wrote in the beginning of Shah Jahan's reign. His account was afterwards

* Asiatic Researches, VI., p. 18.

† Journey to Kunawar, I., 9.

‡ Rambles of an Indian Official, I., 347.

copied and continued down to the time of Daolat Rao Sindhia in S. 1853, or A. D. 1796, by Badili Dâs, one of the modern bards. The next history is that of Fazl Ali, who also wrote in the reign of Shah Jahan, and derived his information, as he himself confesses, from an account in Hindi by a Brahman, named Ghan Syâm. His lists of the Parihâra and Tomara Rajas agree very closely with those of Kharg Rai, but his list of the Kachhwâha Rajas does not contain more than two-thirds of the Kharg Rai's names. The third history is that of Hirâman, the son of Kardhar Dâs, and Munshi of Motamid Khan, Governor of Gwalior, under Aurangzib, which must have been written after A. H. 1078, or A. D. 1667, when his master was removed to Agra. It is possible that other histories may still exist, but as all my enquiries during a long residence at Gwalior only added an anonymous list of Rajas, which was a close copy of Hirâman's list, I think it probable that no other history is now procurable. Some account of Gwalior was published in the last century by Father Tieffenthaler, and a short notice was afterwards given by Wilford; but as all their statements, including the list of kings and lengths of reigns, agree most minutely with those of Fazl Ali, I conclude that they must have been taken from his history.

The date of the foundation of Gwalior is the only point of consequence on which the three authorities materially differ. According to Kharg Rai it took place at the beginning of the *Kâli Yuga*, or 3101 B. C. According to Fazl Ali it took place in the year 339 after Vikramâditya, or in A. D. 275. The same date was most probably also adopted by Hirâman; for, although Dr. Lee's copy of his account gives the year 32 before Vikramâditya, yet my anonymous account, which was either a copy, or, perhaps, the original of his history, agrees with Fazl Ali in assigning the foundation to the Samvat year 332. This also is the date given by Tieffenthaler and Wilford, and as it has a decided balance of authority in its favour, I will adopt it as the most probable period of the foundation of Gwalior according to the accounts of the annalists. Its close agreement with the probable date of the erection of the temple of the sun by the minister of Pasupati is very remarkable, as it offers a very strong probability that the builder of the sun temple must be the same person as Suraj Sen, the reputed founder of Gwalior, and the excavator of

the Suraj Kund. The inscription No. I. records that the temple of the sun was built in the fifteenth year of the reign of Pasupati, the son of Toramâna, by his minister, whose name is unfortunately lost. Now, the date of Toramâna is known within tolerably narrow limits from the Eran inscriptions. He was the immediate successor of Budha Gupta, whose pillar inscription is dated in the year 165 of the Gupta era, which there seems good reason for believing to be the same as the Sake era. Under this view the date of Budha Gupta's pillar will be 165 + 78 = 243 A. D., and the accession of Toramâna to supreme power south of the Jumna, may be fixed to 250 A. D., and that of his son Pusupati to 261 A. D. This will bring his 15th year, in which the sun temple was erected, to correspond with A. D. 275, or Samvat 332, which is the very year assigned for the foundation of the fort of Gwalior, and the excavation of the Suraj Kund. I take Toramâna to have been at first a petty raja tributary to the Gupta dynasty of the Gangetic provinces, but who afterwards, on the decline of the Gupta power, asserted his independence over all the districts to the south of the Jumna. We have a most striking illustration of the probability of this suggestion in the subsequent history of Gwalior during the invasion of Timur, when the petty Raja, Bir Sinh Deo, who had hitherto been tributary to the Muhammadan Kings of Delhi, rebelled and made Gwalior an independent kingdom. I think, therefore, that there is good reason for believing that Toramâna must have reigned for several years as a tributary prince under the Guptas before he rebelled and became the independent sovereign of all the country between the Jumna and the Narbada rivers. Admitting therefore the very great probability that the builder of the sun temple was the same person as the builder of the fortress, and the excavator of the Suraj Kund, or "tank of the sun," we obtain the fixed date of A. D. 275 for the foundation of Gwalior. Any earlier date, I think, would scarcely be compatible with the silence of Ptolemy.

The hill on which the fortress is built was originally called *Gopachala* and *Gopagiri*, or the hill of *Gopa*, or the "cow-herd," and, under this name, it is mentioned in Pasupati's inscription as *Gopâhvaya*, and not *Sarpahvaya*, as read by Babu Rajendra.* Both Fazl Ali and Hirâman call

* In the inscription, however, the first name is clearly *Gopagiri*.

the hill *Gômanta*, which is also the name of a hill mentioned in the Purânas, but my anonymous MS. applies the name of *Gopâchala* to the whole range, and calls the fort hill *Mâlgand*. This name re-calls Ferishta's account that Gwalior was founded by *Mâlchand*, of Malwa. But as Ferishta does not give his authority for this statement, I prefer the united testimony of the annalists that Gwalior was founded by a Kachhwâha Chief, named *Suraj Sen*, the petty Raja of Kuntalpuri, or Kutwâr. Suraj Sen was a leper, and one day when thirsty with hunting near the hill of Gopagiri, he came to the cave of the Siddh, Gwalipâ, and asked for water. The hermit gave him some water in his own vessel, and no sooner had he drank it than he was cured of his leprosy. The grateful Raja then asked what he could do for the holy man, and he was directed to build a fort on the hill, and to enlarge the tank from which the healing water had been drawn. Suraj Sen accordingly built the fortress, which he named after the hermit *Gwâli-âwar*, or *Gwâliâr*, as it is now written. He also enlarged the tank, and called it *Suraj Kund*, after his own name. Then the holy man gave him the new name of *Suhan Pâl*, and promised that 84 of his descendants should reign after him, or so long, says Fazl Ali, as they should retain the name of Pâl. Accordingly, 83 of his descendants are recorded as Rajas of Gwalior with the name of *Pâl*, and the 84th, named *Tej Karn*, lost his kingdom because he did not bear the charmed name. As Kharg Rai expresses it—

> *Tej Karan te Pâl na thae,*
> *Siddhi vachan pari puran bhae.*
>
> Tej Karan was not a Pâl,
> The hermit's speech did true befal.

The two lists of these Kachhwâha Pâls given by Kharg Rai and Fazl Ali differ so widely that I have found it quite impossible to reconcile them; and as both of them differ altogether from the list of the Jaypur Kachhwâhas, who are admitted by all other Rajputs to be the lineal descendants of the last Kachhwâha prince of Gwalior and Narwar, I think that it would be a mere waste of time to attempt their reconcilement. I accordingly give up the lists of the Gwalior annalists altogether, but the Jaypur lists contain so many names in the same order as those of the great Gwalior

inscription, No. VII, of the Padmanâth temple, that I feel inclined to place some confidence in the other names. The close agreement of these lists can be best appreciated by placing them side by side for more ready comparison. I have two distinct lists of these earlier Kachhwâha princes, of which that marked A. was taken from the books of Râjpân, the bard of Prithi Raj of Amber, who reigned from A. D. 1502 to 1527, and the other, marked B., was obtained from the Raja of Bikaner.

KACHHWAHA RAJAS OF GWALIOR.

DATE.		GWALIOR INSCRIPTIONS.*	MANUSCRIPT A.	MANUSCRIPT. B.	DATES OF INSCRIPTIONS.
Samvat.	A. D.				
982	925	Lakshmana ...	Lakhman ..	Lakhman Rai.	
1007	950	Vajra Dâma ..	Vajra Dâma.	Vajra Dâma ..	No. VI. S. 1034.
1037	980	Mangala ..	Mangal Rai	Mangal Rai.	
1047	990	Kirtti ...	K[illegible]tra Rai	Kirtti Raja.	
1067	1010	Bhuvana .	Muta ..	Muta.	
1087	1030	Deva Pâla ...	Deva ..	Deva.	
1107	1050	Padma Pâla ..	Padma Pâla.	Padma Pâla.	
1117	1060	Surya Pâla .	Suraj Pâla .		
1132	1075	Mahi Pâla ..	Mahi Pâla .	Mahi Pâla ..	No. VII. S. 1150.
1152	1095	Bhuvana Pâla .			
1161	1104	Madhusudana..	....	...	No VIII. S. 1161.

In the inscription it is mentioned that Padma Pâla and Surya Pâla were brothers, and the same statement is also made by Râjpân. In the inscription* we read that Vajra Dâma was "the first who proclaimed his valour and his heroism by striking his kettle-drum in the fortress of Gopagiri;" and in the lists it is stated that Vajra Dâma founded or peopled Gwalior *(Gwâlergarh basâro)*. The only real difference is in the change of the name of *Bhuvana* to *Muta*, which is easily accounted for by the great similarity of the two Nagari letters, *bh* and *m*, and by the usual contraction of the Sanskrit *Bhuvana* into the Hindi Bhun. There is, however, a difference in the chronology that I find it difficult

* See Bâbu Rajendrâ Lâl's Translation in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1862, p. 401.

to account for. In the bard's lists these names are placed at the head of the genealogy immediately following *Nala* and *Dolo*, and the last of them, Mahi Pâla, is no less than 21 generations or reigns anterior to *Dulha Deva*, the bridegroom prince, who lost Gwalior and founded the new principality of Dhundhár. But from the actual dates of my inscriptions of Vajra Dâma and Mahi Pâla, it is certain that the latter prince could not have preceded *Dulha Deva* by more than two generations, or three or four reigns. The whole of these names, therefore, ought to be placed at the end of the list, shortly preceding Dulha Deva, instead of at the head of it, immediately following Dolo. The Kachhwâhas were succeeded by seven Parihâra princes who ruled for 103 years, until the capture of Gwalior by Altamsh in A. D. 1232. The expulsion of Tej Karn, otherwise called *Dulha*, or the bridegroom, must, therefore, have taken place in A. D. 1129, and his accession in 1127, as he is stated to have reigned only two years. But between the date of Mahi Pála's inscription and the accession of Dulha, the interval is only 34 years, part of which, say down to A. D. 1095, must be assigned to the conclusion of Mahi Pâl's own reign. Now, the Gwalior inscription, No. VII., shows that Raja *Madhusudana* was reigning in S. 1161, or A. D. 1104, and he would appear to have been preceded by a Bhuvana Pâla. If Bhuvana's reign be assigned to the interval of 9 years, we may identify him with the Dhuma Pâla of Fazl Ali, to whom a reign of 19 years is given in the lists. We may also, perhaps, identify the latter half of Madhusudan's name with *Soda Deva* of the bards, who was the immediate predecessor of Dulha, and to whom a reign of 27 years is given in the lists.

It will be observed that only the last four of the eight undoubted Kachhwâha Rajas of Gwalior bear the name of Pâla, and that only one of the two later princes has the same title. These omissions alone are sufficient to show how little credit should be attached to the idle traditions of the bards when unsupported by other testimony. Eighty-four has been a favourite number with the Hindus from time immemorial, and as the tradition of 84 Pâla Rajas is not known amongst the Kachhwâhas of Dhundhar, who migrated in A. D. 1129, I infer that it must be a simple invention of the Gwalior bards of a later age. I am willing

to accept the tradition as a strong popular evidence in favor of the long duration of the Kachhwâha sovereignty, which, as I have already shown, most probably endured for a period of 854 years, or from A. D. 275 to 1129. But this long rule was not always independent, as we learn from the Gwalior inscription, No. IV., that Bhoja Deva, whom I believe to have been a Tomara, was the paramount sovereign in S. 933, or A. D. 876. It would also appear that the Kachhwâha sovereignty was not unbroken, as Vajra Dâma is distinctly said to be "the first who proclaimed his valour and his heroism by striking his kettle-drum in the fortress of Gopagiri." From this statement it is clear that Vajra Dâma was the founder of a new dynasty, although it is most probable that he belonged to the old family of the Kachhwâha Rajas of Gwalior. I infer, however, that he must have wrested the fortress of Gwalior from the descendant of Bhoja Deva, because the date of his rise corresponds with that of the close of Bhoja Deva's dynasty. As Bhoja Deva was reigning from about A. D. 870 to 900, the date of Vinayaka Pâla, his younger grandson, and the last known prince of this dynasty, cannot be placed later than 950 or 960, which immediately precedes the only recorded date of Vajra Dâma in A. D. 977. It is certain, however, from the number of generations between him and his 6th descendant, Mahi Pâla, who was reigning in A. D. 1093, that Vajra Dâma's accession must have taken place about A. D. 950. The date of his conquest of Gwalior will, therefore, correspond exactly with the period of Vinayaka Pâla, the last known descendant of Bhoja Deva.

The story of the bridegroom prince, Tej Karan, the last of the Kachhwâha princes of Gwalior, is told at considerable length by Kharg Rai and Fazl Ali, the two Gwalior annalists; and as it corresponds in all essential particulars with the traditionary accounts of the Kachhwâha bards of Dhundhar, it may be accepted as the popular version of a really romantic story. According to Tod, the last Kachhwâha prince of Gwalior was Dhola Rai, the son of Sora Sinh, who was supplanted by his uncle in S. 1023, or A. D. 966. But the date of *Dulha Ray* in my MS. is S. 1063, which should be corrected to S. 1163, or A. D. 1106, as the death of his 4th descendant Pajun, on the fatal field of Narâna, in company with Prithi Raj, is placed in S. 1151, or A. D.

1094, which is precisely one century too early. His death is said to have occurred in S. 1093, or more correctly S. 1193, or A. D. 1136, after a reign of 30 years. But if the Gwalior date of his expulsion, or A. D. 1129, be correct, then his reign in Dhundhâr could not have exceeded 7 years. Tod writes the name *Dhola Rai*, but all my MSS. from Gwalior, Jaypur, and Bikaner agree in the spelling of *Dulha*, which means the "bridegroom," and Kharg Rai calls him indifferently either by his proper name of Tej Karan, or by the title of *Dulha*. So also the the name of his father is not *Sora*, as written by Tod, but *Sodha*.

According to the Gwalior annalists, Tej Karan left Gwalior in A. D. 1128, after he had reigned only one year, and proceeded to Deosa to marry the daughter of Raja Ranmal, leaving Gwalior in charge of his sister's son, Parmal Deo, a Parihâr. Kharg Rai gives a long account of the wedding festivities, and tells how—

Halmal bahut nagar men hoë
Chali barât suvarne koë;

The joyous uproar of the city rose high
As the glittering marriage procession passed by;

but in the midst of all these noisy rejoicings, he adds—

Dulha na rakhyo isan is
Aur lachan dekhai battis.

Dulha saw nothing else beside
The wondrous beauty of his bride.

This honeymoon was extended to a whole year, when Raja Ranmal, who had no son, gave the kingdom of Deosa to his son-in-law. Then, says the bard, having married and got another kingdom—

Tab bhaneja mati men kiyo
Châhat garh ko apna liyo.

The nephew in his mind was fain,
The fortress for his own to gain.

So he wrote to his uncle, "coolly as a king," that Gwalior should be made over to him, and when Tej Karan demurred, Parmâl Deo openly rebelled, and boldly told his uncle that he would not give up the fortress. And thus Parmâl Deo, or *Paramârddi Deva*, founded the Parihâr dynasty of Gwalior,

which ruled for 103 years, until the capture of the fortress by Altamsh in A. D. 1232.

The dynasty of the Parihârs was limited to seven princes regarding whose names the annalists are generally agreed, excepting in one instance, where Fazl Ali places Parmâl Deo, the founder, at the bottom of the list. As my other three authorities, Kharg Rai, Badili Dâs, and the anonymous MS. are all against him, it would seem that Fazl Ali's arrangement must be wrong. It is not, however, a recent difference, as the same arrangement is found in the account of his copyist Hirâman, who wrote in the reign of Aurangzib.* I now give the names of these Parihâr princes side by side according to the different authorities. In Kharg Rai's list the name of the last Raja is written Sârang Deo, except in one place where it is Sâgar Deo.

PARIHARA RAJAS OF GWALIOR.

DATE.		Kharg Rai and Badili Das.	Fazl Ali and Hiraman.	Anonymous. MS.	Reign.
Samvat.	A. D.				
1186	1129	Parmâl Deo ...	Ram Deo ...	Pandu Rao ...	19
1205	1148	Râm Deo ...	Brahm Deo ...	Râm Deo ...	7
1212	1155	Hamir Deo ...	Makna Deo ...	Hamir Deo ...	13
1225	1168	Kuver Deo ...	Ratna Deo ...	Govind Deo ...	11
1236	1179	Ratna Deo ...	Lohang Deo ...	Ratna Deo ...	15
1251	1194	Lohang Deo ...	Nar Sinh Deo ...	Lohang Deo ...	17
1268	1211	Sârang Deo ...	Parmân Deo ...	Sâgar Deo ...	21
1289	1232	(Gwalior captured by Altamsh.)			

The only certain inscription of this dynasty that I have met with is on an old stone sugar-mill at Chitaoli, between Narwar and Gwalior. It is dated in "S. 1207, or A. D. 1150 in the reign of Ram Deo," and thus favours Kharg Rai's arrangement of the genealogy against that of Fazl Ali, although the difference of date is only two years. A second inscription, No. X, is dated in the same year, but the name of the King is unfortunately incomplete. The

* Fazl Ali's arrangement is, however, supported by the weighty authority of Hasan Nizâmi and Minhâj-us-Sirâj, two contemporary writers. His list may therefore be accepted as most probably correct.

remaining portion is * * *da Chandra Nripa*, which I think may be completed to *Govinda Chandra*, whom I would identify with the Râhtor King of Kanoj, who is known to have reigned from 1120 to 1162 A. D. If this identification be admitted, then several of the Parihâra princes must have been tributary to the Râhtor Kings of Kanoj, a conclusion which, on other grounds, is highly probable. As there is nothing recorded by the annalists of any of the princes between Parmâl Deo and Sâgar Deo, we must be content with the meagre information of the Muhammadan historian that Gwalior capitulated to Aibeg in A. H. 592, or A. D. 1196.* It was besieged for a whole year by Bahâ-ud-din Tughral, who, finding that the garrison still managed to obtain supplies, "ordered smail forts to be built all around, in which he placed garrisons, and by this means effectually blockaded the hills." Then "the Raja sent a deputation privately to Kutb-ud-din Aibeg to come and take possession of the place, rather than deliver it into the hands of Bahâ-ud-din Tughral. Aibeg accordingly sent his troops to occupy Gwalior."† During the short reign of his son Arâm, in A. H. 607, or A. D. 1210, it was re-taken by the Hindus who held it until 1232, when the Parihâr dynasty became extinct.

The siege of Gwalior by Altamsh is another pet subject of Kharg Rai, on which he has exhausted all the resources of bardic doggrel. This is one of the opportunities of displaying his little knowledge which a Hindu bard never neglects. Kharg Rai accordingly swells the army of Altamsh with foreign troops brought from every part of the Muhammadan world. These are the *Khuresi*, *Biluchi*, *Pharesi*, *Lavanga*, *Lodi*, *Bed*, *Sur*, *Sodi*, the Khans of *Chaktai*, the *Gori*, *Turani*, *Wakhani*, *Irani*, &c., &c., besides *Mogals* and *Pathans* and *Shekhs* and *Syads*. An equally motley army is assembled for the defence. These are the *Chahuwân*, *Jadon*, *Pându*, *Sikrwâr*, *Kachhwâha*, *Mori*, *Sulankhi*, *Bundela*, *Baghela*, *Chandela*, *Dhakar*, *Puwâra*, *Khichi*, *Parihâra*, *Bhadaura*, *Bargujar*, *Dor*, and *Sekhawant*. The last is alone sufficient to show the spuriousness of all this useless detail, for the *Shekhawats* are the descendants of *Shekh-ji*, the contemporary of his cousin Raja Ugharasa

* Hasan Nizâmi, a contemporary writer, calls the Raja of Gwalior *Rai Solankh Pal*, who must be the *Lohang Deo* of the annalists.—See Sir H. Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, II., 228.

† Briggs' Ferishta, I., 202.

Kachhwâha who reigned from A. D. 1489 to 1487, or upwards of two centuries later than Altamsh. But all this mighty host of Rajputs is assembled in vain, for the Musalmâns prevail over them, and the danger becomes so imminent that the women prepare to perform the *johar*, or self-immolation. Then the 70 queens wait upon the Raja, and say to him—

> *Pahile hame ju johar pari,*
> *Tab tum jujho kant samhari:*

that *they* will first perform the *johar* and then that *he* must die with his beloved. The *johar* is accordingly carried out on the bank of the tank, which has ever since been called the *Johara Tâl*, and when the Raja knew that it was all over, he opened the gates and rushed out upon the enemy, and after killing 5,360 Musalmâns, he was himself slain with all his 1,500 followers.

> *Jujhyo Sârang Dyo ran rang,*
> *Ek hajâr pânch so sang.*
> Thus Sârang Dyo in battle died,
> And fifteen hundred men beside.

It is useful to compare this boastful account of the Hindu bard with the sober relation of the Muhammadan historian. According to Ferishta, Altamsh besieged Gwalior for a whole year, and the place being greatly straitened, "the Raja Deobal made his escape in the night, and the garrison capitulated, above 300 of whom were put to death."* From this account we learn that the death of the Raja and of his 1,500 followers, as well as the terrific slaughter of 5,260 Musalmâns, are all gratuitous inventions of the doggrel bard. I think, however, that the fact of the performance of the *johar* is as fully borne out by the straitened circumstances of the garrison, as by the still existing name of *Johara Tal*. The date of the capture was commemorated in four lines, which were carved on a stone over one of the gateways. This inscription was seen by the Emperor Baber, who states that it was placed over the gate of the *Urwâhi*, and that its date was the year 630 A. H., or A. D. 1232. Briggs, the careful translator of Ferishta, also says in a note that "the stone and the lines

* Minhâj-us-Sirâj, who was present at the siege, calls the Raja "*Milak Deo*, the accursed son of *Basil*, the accursed." *Milak* may be intended for *Parmâlik* by dropping the first syllable; and, if so, Fazl Ali was right in placing *Parmâl Deo* as the last of the Parihâr Rajas. Seven hundred captives were put to death.—Sir H. M. Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, by Dowson, II., 327. Ferishta's Deo-Bal should, perhaps, be read as *Deo Mal*.

are still to be seen," but his statement most probably refers to the time of General White's siege in 1805, for I have sought in vain for this inscription on several occasions, from 1844 to 1865, and all my enquiries for it have been equally fruitless.*

From the conquest of Àltamsh in 1232 to the invasion of Timur in 1398, Gwalior remained in the possession of the Muhammadan Kings of Delhi, who made use of it as a state prison for the confinement of near kinsmen whom they wished to get rid of, but could not openly put to death. During this long period of nearly two centuries Gwalior is rarely mentioned by the Muhammadan historians, and nothing whatever is recorded of it by the Hindu annalists, who pass at once from the reign of Àltamsh to that of Ala-ud-din Khilji, in whose reign the *Tomaras* of Gwalior first came into notice. From Ferishta we learn that Jalâl-ud-din Firuz in the year A. H. 695, or A. D. 1295, built a large and lofty dome at Gwalior for the use of travellers, but this building has long ago disappeared, and even its site is now unknown. In A. H. 716, or A. D. 1316, Mubârak Khilji put to death his three brothers who were then living as blinded prisoners in the fort of Gwalior. Twenty years later it was still used for the same purpose by Muhammad Tughlak, as noted by his contemporary Ibn Batuta, who says, "in this the Emperor imprisons those of whom he entertains any fear." These few meagre records are the only notices of Gwalior that I have been able to find in any Muhammadan authors for the long period of nearly two centuries immediately preceding the invasion of Timur, when the Tomara Chief, Bir Sinh Deo, declared his independence, and founded the Tomara Dynasty of Gwalior.

Kharg Rai begins his account of the *Tomaras* by tracing their descent from Parikshita, the son of Arjuna, one of the five *Pându* brothers. By this account, therefore, they are *Pândavas*, a lofty claim, which is universally acknowledged by their Rajput brethren. The earlier part of the genealogy is not given, and the list opens with the names of some of the later Tomara Rajas of Delhi. I procured a second list from the Tomara zamindar of *Suhaniya* in *Tomar-ghar*, who professed to trace his descent

* Baber's Memoirs by Erskine, p. 384.

from Raja Anang Pâl, of Delhi. These two lists I now place together for more ready comparison with each other, and with the list of Tomara Rajas of Delhi, which has already been given from other sources in my previous account of Delhi. In the lower part of the third column I add the genealogy compiled from different inscriptions. The actual Rajas are numbered on the left hand.

TOMARA RAJAS OF GWALIOR.

Date.		Kharg Rai MS.	Tomara Zamindar MS.	Tomaras of Delhi
Samvat.	A. D.			
1062	1005	Dhruva Bali ...	......	Jay Pâl.
1078	1021	Kusuma Pâl ...	......	Kunwar Pâl.
1108	1051	Vast Karu ..	Anang Pâl ...	Anang Pâl.
1138	1081	Tej Pâl ...	Bhum Pâl ...	Taj Pâl.
1162	1105	Madan Pâl ...	Mahendr Pâl ...	Mahi Pâl.
1187	1130	Khandagil ...	Hira Pâl ...	Anang Pâl.

Rajas.	Date.		Kharg Rai MS.	Tomara Zamindar MS.	Inscriptions.	Reign.
	Samvat.	A. D.				
	1208	1151	Ratan Sinh ...	Bag Pâl.		
	1232	1175	Syom Chand ...	Pritham Pâl.		
	1257	1200	Achal Brahm ...	Dilip Pâl.		
	1282	1225	Vira Sahai ..	Bir Pâl.		
	1307	1250	Madan Pâl ...	Anup Pâl.		
	1332	1275	Bhupati ...	Son Pâl.		
	1357	1300	Kunwar Si ...	Sultan Pâl.		
	1382	1325	Ghâtam Deo ...	Kunwar Pâl.		
	1407	1350	Brahm Deo ...	Deo Brahm.		
1	1432	1375	Bir Sinh Deo ...	Bir Sinh Deo ...	Vira Sinha Deva.	25
2	1457	1400	Udharan Deo ...	Viram Deo ...	Virama Deva ...	19
			Dhiram Deo ...	Udharan Deo.		
			Lakshmi Sen ...	Dhol Sahai.		
3	1476	1419	Ganpati Deo ...	Ganpat Deo ...	Ganapati Deva...	5
4	1481	1425	Dungar Si ...	Dongar Si ...	Dunggara Sinha.	30
5	1511	1454	Kirtti Sinh ...	Kil Sahai ...	Kirtti Sinha ...	25
6	1536	1479	Kalyân Sah ...	Kalyân Sahai ...	Kalyâna Malla. .	7
7	1543	1486	Man Sinh ...	Mân Raja ...	Mâna Sinha ...	30
8	1573	1516	Vikramâditya ...	Vikram Sahai ...	Vikramâditya ...	2
	1575	1518	Gwalior captured by Ibrahim Ludi.			
		1526	Râm Sahi ...	Ram Sahai ...	Râma Sâhâ.	
	1622	1565	Sarivahan Sahi...	Sâlivâhan ...	Sâlivâhana.	
	1652	1595	Syâm Rai ...	Syam Sahai ...	Syama Sâh.	
	1687	1630	Sangram Sahi ...	Sangram Sahai...	Mitra Sena.	
	1727	1670	Krishn Sahi ...	Kishen Sinh.		
	1767	1710		Bijay Sinh.		
				Hari Sinh.		

The list of Badili Dâs corresponds almost exactly with that of Kharg Rai, but Hirâman and my anonymous MS. differ in the list of kings by making Ganapati the immediate successor of Virama, as in the inscriptions. Fazl Ali agrees with Kharg Rai in making Udharan the second king, but he helps to explain the difficulty by noting that he was the brother of the first, and was followed by Bhiram (Virama), the son of the first. In the genealogies of the inscriptions, therefore, *Udharan* would naturally be omitted; but I conclude that he did not actually reign, as Ferishta states distinctly that on Bir Sinh's death, just before A. D. 1402, Gwalior descended to his son Brahm Deo (or Virama Deva),* and as Kharg Rai in another place limits the number of Bir Sinh's successors to seven, I conclude that the list of Kings found in the inscriptions is complete. There are also two short inscriptions of Virama himself which prove that he was reigning in A. D. 1408 and 1410. The differences in the names of the Tomara Kings of Delhi in the early part of the list are trifling and as the number of names between Anang Pal and Bir Sinh Deo give the correct average of 25 years to an Indian generation, I think that the Tomara Rajas of Gwalior have a very strong claim to be considered as the direct descendants of the famous Tomara Rajas of Delhi.

All the annalists are agreed in assigning the rise of the Tomar Chief, *Bir Sinh Deo*, to the reign of Ala-ud-din, by whom the great Khilji King of that name is probably intended, as his prime minister is called Nusrat Khan by Kharg Rai. But as the great Khilji King died in A. D 1315, there would be a discrepancy of about 80 years in making him a contemporary of Bir Sinh Deo, and as Fazl Ali calls the minister Sikandar Khan, the identification of the king is doubtful. The mention of Nusrat and Sikandar would rather suggest that the rise of the Tomaras must have taken place during the few troubled years that immediately preceded the invasion of Timur, when two of the successful disputants for the throne bore the names of Sikandar-Humâyun and Nusrat. This is a mere suggestion, which is only deserving of notice, because its acceptance would solve most of the difficulties that I have just pointed out.

---

* Briggs' Ferishta, I, 502.

Bir Sinh Deo is said to have been a zamindar in the district of Danharoli to the north of Gwalior. Having entered the minister's service, he was placed near the king, whose notice he attracted by his zeal and assiduity, for which qualities he was appointed governor of the important fortress of Gwalior. Fazl Ali relates that the fort was then held by a Sayid, who refused to give it up, which, if true, would at once dispose of the difficulty about Ala-ud-din, as no one ever dared to disobey the orders of the great Khilji King. The Tomara Chief then had recourse to treachery, and having invited the Sayid and his principal officers to a feast, at which opium was mixed with the food, made his guests prisoners, and took possession of the fort. I think it highly probable that the latter part of this story is a true version of the manner in which Bir Sinh Deo made himself master of Gwalior, more especially as the account is derived from the Hindu annalists themselves, and not from the Muhammadan historians.

The only notice that I can find of Bir Sinh's immediate successors is the fact that they paid tribute to Khizr Khan of Delhi in A. D. 1416 and 1421. On the accession of Dungar Sinh in A. D. 1424, Gwalior was besieged by Hushang Shah of Mâlwa until relieved by Mubârak Shah, of Delhi. This assistance must have been purchased by the promised payment of tribute, for only two years afterwards, in 1426, Mubârak "marched to Gwalior and received the tribute from the Raja."* As these visits to Gwalior were repeated in 1427, 1429, and 1432, it would appear that the tribute was always withheld until the king advanced in person to demand it with a large force. Some years afterwards Dungar Sinh found himself sufficiently powerful to lay siege to the strong fort of Narwar, which then belonged to the Muhammadan kingdom of Mâlwa. Sultan Mahmud immediately marched against Gwalior, laying waste the Raja's country on his road. The Rajput garrison made a sally from the fort, but they were defeated and obliged to retreat, and Dungar Sinh, in consequence, was induced to raise the siege of Narwar, in order to protect his own capital.† This unsuccessful attempt took place, according to Ferishta,

* Briggs' Ferishta, I., 519.

† *Ibid*, IV., 205.

in the year A. H. 842, or A. D. 1438. It was during Dungar Sinh's long and prosperous reign of 30 years that the great rock-sculptures of Gwalior were first begun. During his time also the Hindu kingdom of Gwalior became one of the strong powers of Northern India, whose alliance was courted by the Muhammadan Kings of Jonpur, Delhi, and Malwa. The inscriptions of this reign are dated in S. 1497 and 1510, or A. D. 1440 and 1453.

Dungar Sinh was succeeded by his son Kirtti Sinh, during whose reign the rock-sculptures were completed. The inscriptions bearing his name are dated in S. 1525 and 1530, or A. D. 1468 and 1473; but the best illustrations of his reign are found in the different histories of the contemporary kings of Jonpur, Delhi, and Màlwa. According to the local annalists his reign lasted for 25 years, or from A. D. 1454 to 1479, during the first half of which time he was in close alliance with Delhi against Jonpur, and during the latter half in alliance with Jonpur against Delhi. There is a discrepancy of two years in the earliest mention of Kiran Rai between Ferishta's date of A. H. 856, or A. D. 1452, and the accession of Kirat Rai according to the chronology of the annalists. Kiran Rai and his brother, Prithi Rai, were both present as allies of Bahlol Ludi, of Delhi, at the great battle with Mahmud Sharki, of Jonpur, in which Prithi Rai was killed by Fateh Khân Harvi, who, being afterwards taken prisoner, was put to death by Kiran Rai out of revenge, and his head sent to Bahlol. In the year A. H. 870, or A. D. 1465, Husen Sharki, of Jonpur, "sent a considerable army to reduce the fortress of Gwalior which was invested, and after some time the Rai made peace and consented to pay tribute."* From this time the Raja of Gwalior took the side of Jonpur against Delhi, and in A. H. 878, or A. D. 1473, Rai Kiran deputed his son, Kalyân Mall, to condole with Husen on the death of his mother, Bibi Râji. Again in A. H. 883, or A. D. 1478, when Husen was finally defeated by Bahlol at Râbiri, he retreated across the Jumna to Gwalior, where the Raja Rai Kiran Sinh furnished him with some lakhs of *tankas* and with tents, horses, and camels, and accompanied him to Kalpi. In the following year, A. D. 1479, *Rai Kiran*, or

* Briggs' Ferishta, IV., 376.

Kirat Sinh, died, and was succeeded by his son, *Kalyân Mall*, during whose short reign of only seven years nothing whatever is recorded either by the local annalists, or by the Muhammadan historians.*

In A. D. 1486, Kalyân Mall was succeeded by his son, Mân Sinh, who was scarcely seated on the throne ere he was attacked by Bahlol Ludi in person, whom he propitiated with a present of 80 lakhs of *tankas*. Bahlol died in 1489, and in the following year his son, Sikandar Ludi, who inherited all his father's energy and ability, sent a deputation to Gwalior with a horse and an honorary dress for Raja Mân Sinh, who acknowledged his authority by sending his nephew, attended by 1,000 horsemen, to wait upon the Sultan at Bayâna with the return presents. Gwalior was saved by this politic submission, and remained undisturbed until A. D. 1501, when Mân Sinh deputed an envoy, named Nihâl, to the king with rich presents, but Nihâl having offended the king with his "coarse and improper answers to the questions put to him about Raja Mân's affairs," was ordered to quit the court immediately. Shortly afterwards Sikandar marched in person against Gwalior, when Raja Mân sued for peace and delivered up Sayid Khan, Baber Khan, and Rai Ganes, three fugitives who had sought his protection. "At the same time he deputed his son, Vikramâditya, with costly presents to propitiate the king's favour." In 1505 Sikandar again proceeded against Gwalior, but he was so vigorously opposed by the people of the country, who cut off his supplies, that he was obliged to retreat, when he fell into an ambuscade, from which he only escaped after a very severe loss. In the following year, 1506, he captured Himatgarh, after passing by the fortress of Gwalior, which he "*despaired of reducing*." From this time Raja Mân remained in undisturbed possession of Gwalior until the latter end of 1517, when Sikandar "summoned all the distant nobles to Agra with a determination to reduce Gwalior, and was in the midst of his preparations when he died of quinsy."

Sikandar was succeeded by his eldest son, *Ibrahim Ludi*, who, being offended with Mân Sinh for giving an asylum to

* Niâmat Ullah, History of the Afghans, by Dorn, pp. 51-58; and Briggs' Ferishta, I., 557, 559.

his rebellious brother, Jalâl Khan, determined to subdue Gwalior. This is Ferishta's account, but Niâmat-ullah attributes his determination to ambition, which was, perhaps, even more powerful than revenge.* "About this time," says Niâmat, "it occurred to Sultan Ibrâhim that, although Sultan Bahlol, as well as Sikandar, had always cherished the plan of reducing Gwalior, and had several times undertaken campaigns for that purpose, without however being successful, yet he might perhaps succeed in accomplishing his design, if fortune should ever favour him, which conquests would secure him the attachment of the grandees of the empire and the extermination of infidelity in Hind." He accordingly sent an army of 30,000 horse and 300 elephants, with the necessary engines, under Azim Humâyun, against Gwalior, and directed seven other chiefs with all their troops to join in the siege. A few days after the place was invested, Raja Mân Sinh died, leaving behind him a name which was equally respected by his enemies and his subjects. Ferishta calls him "a prince of great valour and capacity," and Niâmat-ullah adds "that he was said to be inclined to to Islamism, though externally bearing the appearance of a Hindu; and to this circumstance it is to be attributed that he never exercised violence against any person."

During the long reign of Mân Sinh, the power of the Gwalior Tomaras attained its greatest splendour. Agriculture was systematically encouraged by the construction of large *jhils*, or reservoirs of water, for irrigating the fields during the dry season. Thus the great *Moti jhil* to the north-west of Gwalior was constructed by Raja Mân; and to him also are attributed most of the irrigation *jhils* in the two districts of *Jitwâr* and *Tomarghâr* to the north of Gwalior. He was also a liberal patron of the arts, of which his own palace, perhaps, affords the noblest specimen of Hindu domestic architecture in Northern India. In sculpture we have to regret the loss of the great elephant, and its two riders, which won the admiration of the discriminating Baber, the courtly Abul Fazl, and the simple W. Finch. In music he was a proficient composer, as well as a munificent patron, and many of his compositions still survive to justify the esteem in which they were held by his contemporaries. He

* Niâmat-Ullah, History of the Afghans by Dorn, pp. 73-74: and Briggs' Ferishta, I., 594.

was especially fond of the *Sankirna Râgs*, or mixed modes, of which no less than four specimens are named after his favourite Gujarni queen, *Mrignena*, or the "fawn-eyed." These are the *Gujari*, *Bahul-Gujari*, *Mal-Gujari*, and *Mangal-Gujari*; and I infer from their names that this lady most probably must have had some share in their composition. According to the bard she was the most beautiful of all Raja Mân's 200 queens, not one of whom was inferior to the lovely nymph Urvasi. According to Fazl Ali, Raja Mân was an excellent ruler, during whose reign his subjects enjoyed both peace and plenty, and Kharg Rai closes his account of this popular Hindu sovereign with a trite couplet that the rule of Raja Mân on earth was like that of the gods in heaven. Thus the Hindu kingdom of Gwalior attained its greatest splendour immediately before its downfall, and when Raja Mân died, the great fortress was already beleaguered by the imperial army which was to effect its final submission.

The reign of Vikramâditya, which was thus inauspiciously begun, is said by the annalists to have lasted either two or three years; but in this account I have followed the chronology of the Muhammadan historian as being more trustworthy than that of the bards. Azim Humâyun opened the siege by attacking the outwork of Bâdilgarh, which protects the eastern entrance to the fortress. In approaching the gate, he lost great numbers of men by the steady fire of the Hindus; but he succeeded at last after several months in carrying the Bâdilgarh Gate by burning it with logs of wood piled up against it.* In this outwork he found a brazen bull, which had been for a long time an object of worship. It was sent to Delhi and set up before the Bagdad Gate. It was afterwards removed by Akbar to Fatehpur-Sikri, where it was seen by Abdul Kâdir in A. H. 1002, or A. D. 1593, who records that it was afterwards broken up and manufactured into plates, bells, and all kinds of instruments.† The second, third, and fourth gates were taken in the same manner after a most obstinate resistance. In the first assault on the fourth gate, or Lakshman Paur, one of Ibrahim's principal nobles, named Tâj-Nizâm, was killed, and

* Fazl Ali's MS.: Niamat-Ullah's Afghans, p. 74; and Briggs' Ferishta, I., 591.

† Sir H. M. Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, p. 229.

his tomb is still shown on the side of the ascent between the third and fourth gates up to this point. The siege had lasted for a whole year, and only the uppermost gate or *Hâthiya Paur*, now remained to be taken, when Raja Vikramâdityâ, dreading the result of a final assault, surrendered on favourable terms. He was immediately forwarded to Agra to Sultan Ibrâhim, who gave him the district of Shamsâbâd as a *jâghir* and enrolled him amongst the other nobles of the Muhammadan empire of Delhi. Thus fell the *Tomara* kingdom of Gwalior, which had subsisted in great power and prosperity for 120 years, in the midst of the three rival Muhammadan States of Delhi, Jonpur, and Malwa, each singly stronger than Gwalior, but each checked as much by the jealous rivalry of the other two, as by the undoubted strength of the fortress itself.

Gwalior remained in the possession of the Ludi family until A. H. 932, or A. D. 1526, when the fatal battle of Pânipat, where Ibrahim was killed, transferred the empire of Delhi from the Pathans to the Mogals. There also fell Vikramâditya, the last of the Tomara Rajas of Gwalior, who, as a faithful vassal, had accompanied his suzerain to oppose the Mogals. His death is noted by the Emperor Baber,* as well as by the humble Hindu bard Kharg Rai :

Jujhi Virâhim Khân tahân paryo
Râja Vikram [illegible] lon giryo.
Ibrahim Khan died where he fell,
And Raja Vikramâjit as well.

Ibrahim Khan was buried on the western side of Pânipat, and his modest tomb has only disappeared within the last 15 years. At his tomb, says Niâmat Ullah, "on every Friday night an amazing number of people assemble, and the pilgrims of Narwar and Kanoj offer homage to the name of this sublime martyr." From the mention of Narwar I am inclined to believe that many of the pilgrims must have been Hindus from the districts of Gwalior and Narwar, who had travelled thus far to see the fatal spot where the last of the Tomara Rajas had so gallantly fallen. The conqueror immediately took possession of Delhi, and pushed forward his son

* Memoir by Erskine, p. 308.

Humâyun to occupy Agra, and secure the public treasure. The fort of Agra, which was garrisoned by the troops of Vikramâjit, late Raja of Gwalior, held out; but his wives and children, and some of his chief followers, were seized in attempting to escape. "Humâyun," says Erskine, "behaved generously to this ancient Hindu family, and prevented their being plundered. They, in return, showed their gratitude by making him a present of jewels and precious stones, among which, says Baber, was one famous diamond which had been acquired by Sultan Ala-ud-din.* It weighed 8 *mishkals*, which are equal to 320 ratis, or about 580 English grains. Ferishta calculates the 8 *mishkals* at 224 *ratis*, but this must be either a misprint or an error of the copyist for 324 *ratis*, as the values of the *mishkal* and *rati* are both well known. Erskine, in his life of Baber, has identified this diamond with the famous Koh-i-nûr described by Tavernier, and I think that he is very probably right.† Tavernier says that the great Mogal diamond, when rough, weighed 907 *ratis*, or 793 carats, and when cut, 319½ *ratis*, or 279$\frac{9}{16}$ carats. According to this account the great diamond of Shah Jahan was of *exactly* the same weight as the great diamond of Baber, a coincidence of weight which is so highly improbable in two stones of this remarkable size as to be almost impossible. I have a drawing of the Koh-i-nûr now before me, which I made myself in 1839, when Ranjit Sinh allowed all his finest jewels to be brought to the Governor General's camp for inspection. This drawing enables me to state positively that Tavernier's sketch of the diamond is altogether wrong. As I observe also that his sketches of all the twelve Zodiac coins of Jahângir are equally faulty, I conclude that the drawings of both must have been made from memory. His description, however, is sufficiently accurate, as he compares its shape to that of a half egg, but the actual section should have been a longitudinal one, and not a transverse one, as shown in his engraving. The Koh-i-nûr also had a flat top, six-tenths of an inch in length, when I saw it, whereas Tavernier's drawing gives it a pointed top. His account of its acquisition by Shah Jahan seems too circumstantial to be doubted, but as he has made no mention whatever of the great ruby inscribed with Shah Jahan's name, I

* Memoirs by Erskine, p. 308.

† History of India, I, 438.

think it possible that *it* may have been the gem which was presented by Mir Jumla to the Emperor.

The most interesting point regarding the diamond presented to Baber by the Gwalior family is the fact that it had formerly belonged to Ala-ud-din Khilji, of Marva. But how did the Tomara Rajas of Gwalior obtain this valuable gem from the Muhammadan Kings of Malwa? As it certainly could not have been ceded by the powerful Khilji King to the weaker Raja, I think it probable that the Gwalior Chief, Kirtti-Sinh, must have been an ally of Rana Kumbho at the great victory which the Rajputs achieved in A. H. 860, or A. D. 1455, over Ala-ud-din Khilji. Ferishta states that the action was a severe one, and that the retreat was mutually sounded.* But as he admits that the Muhammadan King was persuaded by his officers to retire to Mându, on "account of the reduced numbers and wretched state of the camp equipments of his army," there can be no hesitation in accepting the account of the Hindu annalists that the result of the battle was a most decisive victory for the Hindus. This is supported by the popular tradition that the magnificent pillar of Rana Kumbho in Chitor was erected in commemoration of his victory. Now, as Ala-ud-din only two years previously had entered into an offensive alliance with the King of Gujarât against the Râjputs of Mewar, I conclude that Rana Kumbho must have sought for allies amongst the neighbouring Hindu princes, of whom the Tomara Chief of Gwalior was one of the most conspicuous. Mahmud's retreat after this battle was so rapid that it is probable the crown jewels of Mâlwa fell into the hands of the Hindus. In the same way only two years previously Mahmud himself had obtained "the crown, the girdle, and many other valuable jewels" belonging to the King of Gujarât. Similarly also, in A. D. 1518, the "splendid crown-cap and golden girdle" of Mahmud II. of Malwa fell into the hands of Râna Sanga, of Mewàr, who retained them when he set the Muhammadan prince at liberty.† These were now presented to Baber by another Vikramâditya, the younger son of Râna Sanga. But in whatever way the Gwalior diamond was acquired from the King of Malwa, it

* Briggs' Ferishta, IV., 223.

† Ibid.—IV., [illegible] and 263; also Baber's Memoirs, p. 385.

seems to me quite certain that it never could have been ceded willingly. I am therefore unable to propose any other more probable mode of its acquisition than that which has been suggested above.

Shortly after the occupation of Agra, Baber pushed forward Rahimdâd with a strong force to Gwalior at the invitation of Tâtâr Khan, the Afghan Governor, who being hard pressed by Raja Mangat Rai, a member of the Tomara family, chose "rather to submit to a Musalmân, though an enemy to his race, than to a pagan, the enemy of his religion."* On the arrival of Rahimdâd at Gwalior, the Afghan Governor changed his mind, and would not admit him into the fort; but after few days' delay Rahimdâd obtained possession of the place by a stratagem, which was suggested by Shekh Muhammad Ghaus, a holy man of Gwalior, who possessed great wealth and local influence. In the following year, however, A. D. 1527, Gwalior was again blockaded by Mangat Rai. In the local annals, this chief is called Mangal Deo, and is said to have been a younger son of Kirat Sinh. He received an estate of 120 villages in Dhondri and Amba of Tomarghâr, where many of his descendants are still to be found. As Kirtti Sinh died in A. D. 1479, there is nothing improbable in the statement that one of his younger sons should have attempted to seize Gwalior in A. D. 1526, or 47 years afterwards. The attempt was unsuccessful, and the fortress remained in charge of Rahimdâd until 1529, when his intended revolt was prevented by the activity of Baber, who forgave his treachery at the intercession of Muhammad Ghaus.

Baber died in December 1530 A. D., and was succeeded by his son, Humâyun, who is said to have visited Gwalior and built the *Humâyun Mandir* (or palace) during the early part of his reign. In A. H. 949, or A. D. 1542, the fortress was surrendered by his Governor, Abul Kâsim Beg, to the celebrated Shir Shah, who, according to Hirâman, "took up his residence for some time at Gwalior, and then built the *Shir Mandir*, and also constructed a large tank in its area. In the same year Râm Sâh, the son of Vikramâditya of Gwalior, having failed to obtain possession of his fortress

---

* Baber's Memoirs, p. 346; and Erskine's History of India, I., 453.

from the Mogals, joined the side of their enemy, Shir Shah, and thus enabled his General Shuja Khan to make a complete conquest of Malwa.

In A. D. 1545 Shir Shah was succeeded by his son Islâm, or Salim, who immediately marched to Chunar to secure his father's treasure, which he removed to the stronger fortress of Gwalior. In the following year, 1546, after the defeat of the Niâzis, Islâm took up his residence at Gwalior, which now became the actual capital of the kingdom of Delhi. In 1547, after his successful campaign in Malwa, he returned to Gwalior, and again in 1552, after his second campaign against the Niâzis, he once more repaired to his favourite residence at Gwalior. In 1553 he died in the great fortress, which afterwards remained in the possession of his governor, *Suhel Khân*, until A. D. 1556, the second year of Akbar's reign, when Bairâm Khân, to divert the king's mind from his own acts, projected an expedition against Gwalior. Suhel Khân, "hearing of Akbar's intentions, wrote to Ramsah, a descendant of Raja Mân Sinh, saying that as his ancestors had been masters of Gwalior, and as he was not capable of holding the place against the king, he would put it into the possession of the Raja for a reasonable sum. Râm Sah availed himself of this offer and moved towards the fort; but Yekbâl Khân, who possessed an estate in the neighbourhood of Gwalior, having raised his vassals, attacked and defeated the Hindu prince, who fled into the dominions of the Râna. After which Yekbal Khan having invested Gwalior, Suhel Khân surrendered it into his hands." This is Ferishta's account, but that of Fazl Ali and his copyist Hiraman is somewhat different. According to their version, Gwalior remained after Islâm Shah's death "in the hands of *Bahbal*, a slave of Shir Shah, who held it until Akbar came to the throne. The Rajputs, however, desirous of regaining their ancient ascendancy in these parts, with Râm Sâh, a son of Bikramâjit, assembled a large force and attacked the fortress Upon this occasion, *Kabâ* Khan, one of Akbar's generals, was despatched to relieve and take possession of it. When Kabâ arrived at Gwalior he was met by the forces of Râm Sah, and an obstinate battle of three days' continuance ensued, which ended in favour of Akbâr's troops. After this Bahbal

remained to be subdued and the fort to be taken, which, after a short siege, was completed." The difference of the Governor's name in these two accounts is owing chiefly to the uncertainty of the Persian characters in the rendering of proper names. Thus *Suhel* and *Bahbal*, whether written without points, or with points carelessly inserted, are almost indistinguishable. So Dow reads *Bihil*, where Briggs reads *Suhel*.

According to Ferishta, Râm Sah took refuge with the Râna, that is, with the ruler of Mewar, a proceeding which is explained by the fact that his son, Sâlivâhan, had married a *Sisodani* princess. The date of Râm Sah's death is not stated, but as he must have been very young in 1526, when his father was killed at the battle of Panipat, it is probable that he may have lived as late as A. D. 1565, and, perhaps, even later. According to Tod, however, the Raja of Gwalior was the only Râjput chief of note who escaped the massacre of Akbar's assault on Chitor in 1568. This must have been the young Prince Sâlivâhan who, as the husband of a Sisodani princess, and as a refugee at the Sisodiya court, was doubly bound to fight for the Rana's cause. The great fortress was now in the hands of Akbar, but the descendant of the ancient Tomara Kings was still acknowledged by all the Rajput chiefs as the Raja of Gwalior. But the power of Akbar was too great, and his policy towards fallen princes too conciliatory to be resisted for any length of time. We find accordingly from the Rohitâs' inscription that the two sons of Sâlivahan, named *Syâma-sâhi* and *Mitra-Sena*, had accepted service, under the great Mogal Emperor, and were proud to record the fact that Jalâl-ud-din Shah had designated them as "unique heroes."* It is most probable, therefore, that their father had died some time before Akbar, or about A. D. 1595. From the Rohitâs inscription we learn that Syâma-Sâhi died before S. 1688, or A. D. 1631, and that his younger brother, *Mitra Sena*, was at that time governor of that fort. Of the further fate of Mitra Sena nothing is known; but the Tomara zamindars continue the family of the elder brother, Syâma Sâhi, for three generations

* See translation of the Rohitas' inscription in Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal 18, p. 700.

later. Syâma had two sons, Sangrâma-Sâhi and Nârâyana Dâsa, of whom the former succeeded to the nominal title of Raja of Gwalior, about A. D. 1670. Sangrâma's son was Raja Kishen Sinh, who must have died about A. D. 1710, leaving two sons, Bijay Sinh and Hari Sinh, both of whom were obliged to seek refuge in Udaypur. The former died in S. 1838, or A. D. 1781, without issue, but the descendants of the latter are still living in Udaypur.

On the decay of the Muhammadan empire of Delhi in the middle of the last century, the fortress of Gwalior was seized by the Jât Chief of Gohad, from whom it was shortly afterwards taken by the Mahrattas. In A. D. 1779 it was captured by escalade by the British troops under Major Popham, and was again made over to the Rana of Gohad, from whom it was once more taken by Mâdhoji Sindhia in 1784. It remained in the hands of the Mahrattas until 1803, when it capitulated to General White, but was restored to Daulat Rao in 1805. The Mahrattas retained undisturbed possession of the fortress until 1844, when, after the battles of Maharajpur and Paniar, it was garrisoned by a Native force commanded by British officers. In 1857 the fortress fell into the hands of this mutinous force, by whom it was held until June 1858, when it was captured by assault by Sir Hugh Rose, and since then it has been garrisoned by European soldiers only.

I will close this account of the great fortress of Gwalior with a list of the inscriptions which I have collected for the illustration of its history. Several of the earlier and more important records have already been translated by Babu Rajendra Mittra; but of the great inscription, No. VII, from the *Sâs-bahu* temple, he has given only a very brief abstract, and he has not even attempted the translation of the two long inscriptions, Nos. IX and X, which belong to a very interesting period of the history immediately preceding the first capture of the fortress by the Muhammadans. No. X would be especially valuable, as it is dated in the time of the Parihâr Rajas, and would appear to contain, as I have already suggested, the name of Govinda Chandra, the Râthor Chief of Kanauj.

GWALIOR INSCRIPTIONS.

No	Place	Date.		King.	Position.
		Samvat of Hijri	A. D.		
1	Gwalior	..	275	Pasupati ...	Temple of Sun.
2	,,	.	800	. .	Rock Tablet.
3	,, ...	.	800	...	Rock-cut Pilaster.
4	,, ...	933	876	Bhoja Deva ..	Rock-cut Temple.
5	Suhonya ..	1013	956	. . . .	Jain Figure.
6	,	1034	977	Vajra Dâma .	,,
7	Gwalior	1150	1093	Mahi Pâla .	Sas-bahu Temple.
7a	,, .	1160	1103	. . .	,,
8	,,	1161	1104	Madhusudana ...	Long Slab.
9	,, .	1165	1108	....	Jain Temple.
10	,,	1207	1150	(Govin) da Chandra	Square Slab.
10a	Chitaoli ..	1207	1150	Râma Deva ...	Sugar Mill.
11	Gwalior	.	.	.	Teli Mandir.
12	,,	.	.	....	,,
13	,,		...	.. ..	,,
13a	..	630	1232	..	Urwâhi Gate.
14	,, ..	1465	1408	Virama Deva	Trikonia Tâl.
15	Suhaniya .	1467	1410	,, ..	Ambika Devi
16	,,	1467	1410	.. ...	Chandranâth Statue.
17	.	1497	1440	Dungara Sinha	Temple Pillar.
18	Gwalior	1497	1440	,, ..	Adinath Statue
19	,, .	1497	1440	,, .	Reservoir.
20	.. ..	1505	1418	...	Dhondha Gate Rock.
21	,,	1510	1453	Dungara Sinha ..	
22		1522	1465	. . .	Lakshman Gate
23	,,	1525	1468	Kirtti Sinha .	Six different inscriptions.
24	Basaipur	1525	1468	. . .	Pillar on tank
25	Gwalior .	1526	1469	.	Chandraprabha Statue.
26	,, .	1527	1470	.	,,
27	,, .	1530	1473	Kirtti Sinha	Adinath Statue.
28	,,	1552	1495	Man Sinha ..	Dhondha Gate.
29	Mahona .	1557	1500	,, ...	Sati Pillar
30	Gwalior .	1563	1506	....	Lower Dhondha Gate
31	,, .	1566	1509		
32		935	1528	Baber.	
33	,,	938	1531	Humâyun.	
34	,,	938	1531	,, ..	
35	,,	1663	1606	Raj Sinh ...	Kachhwâha Raja.
36	,, .	1670	1613		
37	.. ..	1671	1614	Jahangir ...	A. H. 1023.
38	Rohitâs ..	1688	1631	Vira Mitra.	
39	Gwalior .	1058	1648	Shah Jahân.	
40	Narwar .	.	1650	Sangram Shah ...	Pillar.
41	Gwalior ...	1071	1660	Aurangzib ...	Kachheri.
42	,, .	1073	1662	,, ..	Alamgiri Gate.
43	,, ..	1075	1664	,, ...	Gwalipa Masjid.
44	,, ..	1078	1667	,, .	Johara Tâl.
45	,, .	1078	1667	,, ..	Kabutar Khâna Tâl.
46	Narwar .	1857	1800	Daolat Rao.	

XVII. NURABAD.

Nurâbâd is an inconsiderable town, situated on the old high road between Agra and Gwalior, at 63 miles to the south of the former, and 15 miles to the north of the latter. The houses are mostly of stone, but the place is much decayed since the time of the Mogal Emperors. It contains a masjid, built in A. H. 1071, or A. D. 1660, and a large ruined sarâi, built in the year A. H. 1072, or A. D. 1661, as stated in an inscription over the western gate. Both of these were erected by Motamid Khan. It boasts also of a fine bridge of seven arches over the Sânk River, which is attributed by the people to the same reign. The arches, which are all pointed, are 18 feet 10 inches in span, resting on piers 16 feet 9 inches thick, and 21½ feet high to the spring. The roadway of the bridge between the abutments is 260 feet in length, and 32 feet 9 inches in breadth, and the walled roadway of the approaches is 48 feet in breadth. The long lines of parapet are broken with square-headed trefoil openings, and are ornamented with four pairs of small octagonal minarets on the central piers and abutments. Altogether this is a very fine specimen of a Muhammadan bridge, although it possesses the usual Indian fault of excessively thick piers. In the two Narwar bridges, the piers are of the same thickness as the span of the arches, but in the Nurabad bridge the thickness of the piers is exactly one-ninth less than the span of the arches. This difference was, however, much too small to save the bridge from being turned by the stream, and when I first saw it in 1850, there was an open gap of 100 feet in length at the northern end. There is a fair sketch of the bridge in Tod's Rajasthan, which, however, scarcely does justice to it, as it is deficient in those architectural details which form the most pleasing part of the structure. Inside the sarai there is a small tomb of Guna Begam, the widow of the notorious Vazir Ghâzi-ud-din, who was equally famous for her poetical talent as for her beauty. It bears the short inscription—"Alas! Guna Begam! 1189," or A. D. 1775.

XVIII. KUTWAR, OR KAMANTALPUR.

Kutwâr is situated on a low rocky hill in a bend of the Ashin River, 10 miles to the north-east of Nurabad. Its

original name is said to have been *Kamantalpuri*, which was derived from its founder Kamant-Bhoj, the father of Kunti, who became the mother of the five Pându brothers. Its antiquity is undoubted, as there is an accumulation of from 20 to 30 feet of ruins on the top of the rock, in which old coins are found in considerable numbers. Wilford calls the place Kotwâl, and says that its ancient name was *Kânti-pura* which he identifies with the *Kântipuri* of the Purânas, one of the chief cities of the nine *Nâga* kings. I give the name as I obtained it on the spot, but I have also heard it called *Kuntalpuri*, which is the form used by Kharg Rai, and which is said to be derived from the Princess Kunti herself. The local traditions are unanimous in making Kutwâr more ancient than Gwalior, and, if Wilford is right in identifying it with the Kântipuri of the Purânas, its greater antiquity is undoubted. It is also said to have belonged to Suraj Sen, the founder of Gwalior, previous to his adventure with the hermit Gwâlipâ. The ruins cover an extent of about one square mile, the highest point being on the west, where a small mud fort was erected by Chhatrpati, Rana of Gohad, about 150 years ago. The well inside is 120 feet deep, which shows the height of the castle above the bed of the river. Of this height the uppermost portion of 30 feet consists of the accumulated ruins of former buildings, which rest on a low rocky hill or mound, about 50 feet above the general level of the fields. The position is well chosen for defence, as it is protected on two sides by the River Ahsin. On the north-east side, where the rock stretches across the river, the steep sand-stone cliff is not less than 40 feet in height, and quite inaccessible. But on the land faces to the south and east, the hill has a gentle slope, and therefore must have been formerly protected by walls. There are, however, no traces of walls at the present day, nor could we reasonably expect to find any, for the place is said to have decayed very rapidly after the foundation of Gwalior, and the consequent transfer of the seat of government from Suhaniya and Kutwâr to that fortress. It is said to have been the most ancient capital of the Gwalior district, and I see no reason to doubt the generally accepted tradition, that it is as old as the time of the five Pandus, or about 1400 B. C. At present the mound is only partially occupied by the mud fort already mentioned, and 1,396 stone houses containing about 7,000 inhabitants. But some of the houses of the zamindars are

very fine ones, with highly ornamented gateways. The small temple of Ambikâ Devi is attributed to Suraj Sen, but, as it now stands, it is certainly modern.

XIX. SUHANIYA, OR SUDHINPUR.

The old town of Suhaniya is situated on the north bank of the River Ahsin, 14 miles to the north-east of Kutwâr, and 25 miles to the north of Gwalior. It is popularly said to have been 12 *kos*, or 24 miles, in circuit, and the positions of its four gates are confidently stated to have been, 1st, at Biloni, one *kos* distant on the east, where two gate-pillars are still standing; 2nd, at Baoripura, one *kos* to the west, where a gateway, with portions of two side walls, still exists; 3rd, at Pûrâwas, two *kos* to the north; and 4th, at Barha, two *kos* to the south, where the two sides of a gateway are still standing. These points would give a circuit of 12 *kos*, and would also carry the city across the Ahsin River, which is almost impossible. I am willing, however, to accept the local tradition as good evidence of the large size of the city in former days, which is further corroborated by the great extent of the existing ruins. The size, however, has been very much exaggerated, as the utmost limits that I could trace do not show a greater extent than three miles in length from east to west, and one and half mile from north to south, or altogether a circuit of nine miles. Within these limits, the ground, in many places, is thickly strewn with fragments of sculpture and squared stones, amongst which ancient coins are found in considerable numbers after the annual rains.

Sudhinpur, or *Suhaniya*, is said to have been built about 2,000 years ago by the ancestor of *Suraj Sen*, the founder of Gwalior. Its original name is not known, and its present name is referred to Suraj Sen, who, after having bathed in the tank attached to the temple of Ambikâ Devi, was cured of leprosy, and in grateful remembrance assumed the name of *Suddhana*, or *Sodhana* Palâ, which means "cherished by the purifying" goddess Ambikâ Devi. At the same time he changed the name of the town to *Suddhanopura*, or *Suddhaniya*, which has now been corrupted to *Sudhinpur*, or *Suhaniya*.

His queen, the Rani *Kokanavati*, is said to have built the great temple, called the *Kokanpur-math*, which is visible

from the fort of Gwalior. This temple is now much ruined, but enough still remains to show that, in size at least, it must have rivalled the largest temples of Northern India, although it is much inferior to them both in the quantity of its sculpture and in the richness and extent of its architectural ornamentation. It is about 100 feet in height, and the same in length. The only parts now standing are the *Mahá-Mandapa*, or great hall, the *Antarála*, or antechamber, and the *Garbha-griha*, or sanctum. The lower half of the sanctum is square, with projections on each side, surmounted by a highly ornamented cornice. Above this the tower rises in a paraboloidal form diminishing rapidly towards the top, which is crowned by the serrated *amalaka* fruit. As the smaller tower of the *Mahá-Mandapa* is finished in a similar manner, I infer with some certainty that the entrance porch, or *Arddha-Mandapa*, must also have been crowned with an *amalaka* fruit. If the traditions of the people could be relied on, the date of this temple would be fixed in the time of Suraj Sen, the founder of Gwalior, about A. D. 275. But the tapering form of the tower is of a much later period, and as the building was originally dedicated to Vishnu, I do not think that it can be assigned to an earlier date than the seventh or eighth century, or perhaps even later. It is said to have been ruined by one of the Muhammadan Kings of Delhi. His name is not given, but I conclude that he must have been Sikandar Lodi, partly because the temple was still frequented by pilgrims in the Samvat year 1497, or A. D. 1440, and partly because Sikandar, who reigned from 1494 to 1517 A. D., is known to have destroyed all the temples in the neighbouring towns of Narwar, Mandrel, and Himatgarh. The inscription just referred to is cut on one of the inner pillars of the temple, and records the adoration of a pilgrim at the shrine of Vishnu during the reign of King Dunggara. In later years the fane has been turned into a shrine for the *lingam* of Siva, but it is now altogether desecrated and deserted.

The great temple just described stands on the western side of the ruins, one mile to the north-west of the present village of Suhaniya. The village contains a small mud fort, about 600 feet square outside, and upwards of 300 inhabited houses, of which one-third are occupied by Sanawar

Brahmans, and one-third by Tomara Rajputs. Close to the village, on the west side, there is a small temple of Ambikâ Devi, and another of Vishnu. In the court-yard of these temples a number of sculptures are collected, amongst which I observed a figure of *Vâman*, or the dwarf incarnation of Vishnu, and another of *Durga* slaying the *Maheśâsur*, or buffalo-demon. Here also I found the three inscriptions, Nos. V., VI., and XV., dated, respectively, in the Samvat years 1013, 1034, and 1467, or A. D. 956, 977, and 1410.* To the west of the village there is a rough stone pillar called Bhim Sen's *lât*, which is 18 feet in height and 18 inches in diameter. It bears a rude inscription in one line, which is unfortunately quite illegible. Half a mile to the south of the fort there is a colossal Jain figure of *Chandi*[illegible], 1[illegible] feet in height, with a short inscription dated in S. 1467, or A. D. 1410. It is flanked by two other Jain figures each [illegible] feet in height. All three are standing and naked, and are worshipped by the [illegible] Baniyas.

Of the history of Suhaniya I could only learn that it was besieged and ruined by Ajay Chand [illegible] of Kanoj, who ruled from A. D. [illegible] to [illegible]. This tradition corroborates my reading of the [illegible] inscription, No. X., which I have referred to Govinda Chandra, the predecessor of Vijaya, or Ajaya Chandra. At that time it is said that there was no Raja of Suhaniya, but only a Rao-Thakur [illegible] subject to Gwalior.

Perhaps the most valuable discovery [illegible] Suhaniya was the acquisition of a long stone slab inscribed with the numeral figures from 1 to 13 in regular order. Its age is doubtful, but it is later than the [illegible] of the Guptas, and earlier than A. D. 700. I am inclined to assign it to the fifth or sixth century. The figures from 1 to 10 are represented by separate cyphers, from 11 to 13 are represented in the Roman fashion by 10 with the cyphers for 1, 2, and 3 added on the right. The figure for 11 is a combination of the 10 and the 1. This slab I have already sent to London.

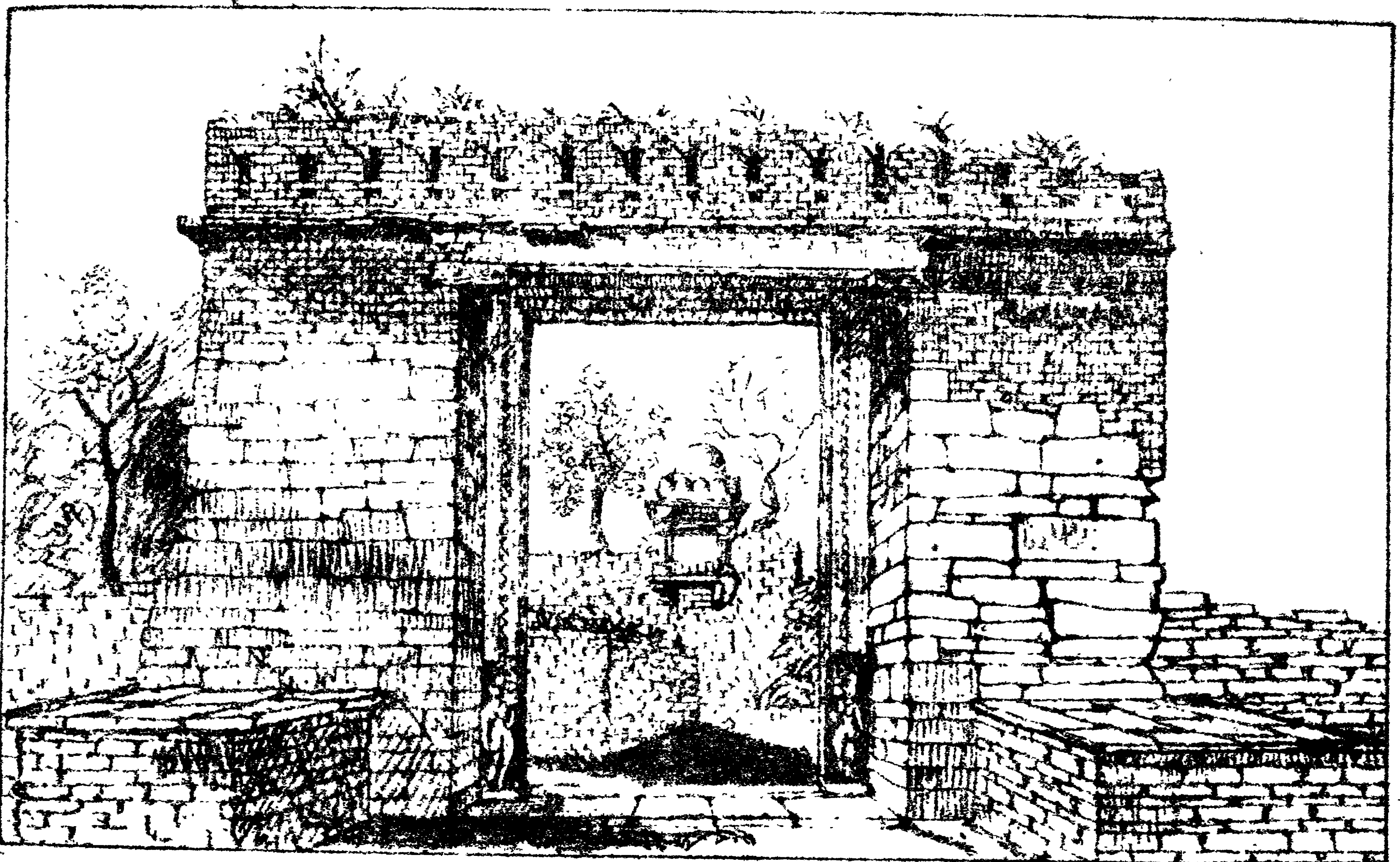
XX. BURI CHANDERI, OR OLD CHANDERI.

The old city of Chânderi is situated 9 miles to the north north-west of the present city, and the same distance

---

* See Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, [illegible]

to the west north-west of the Râni-Ghât, on the Betwa River opposite Lalitpur. It has been in ruins for several centuries, but the exact period of its desertion is not known. It was certainly occupied for some time after the Muhammadan conquest of Malwa, as there are small domes crowning the cupolas of the palace. The immediate cause of its decay was the transfer of the local government to the new city and fort of Chânderi, but as the date of this event is unknown, I can only conjecture that it may have taken place early in the fifteenth century, soon after Mâlwa had become an independent kingdom. The people are unanimous in referring its foundation to the Chândel princes of Mahoba, who reigned from about A. D. 700 to 1184. The name is pronounced indifferently, either as Chânderi or Chândeli, but the latter alone is used for the famous gossamer muslins which are still manufactured in the new city. The first mention of Chânderi that I have been able to find is by Ferishta, who states that in A. H. 649, or A. D. 1251, Nasir-ud-din Mahmud, of Delhi, subdued Chânderi and Mâlwa, over which he appointed a governor. As there is no mention of any siege, I conclude that this must have been old Chânderi, and not the strong fort of new Chânderi, which, in those days, would most probably have held out for a whole year, instead of being captured without any apparent resistence. But this conquest was not permanent, as the Hindus were again in possession of Chânderi before the time of Ala-ud-din Khilji, who, in A. D. 1298, was recommended by the kotwal of Delhi to conquer "the southern kingdoms of Hindustan, such as Rantambhâwar, Chitor, Jâlwar, and *Chânderi*." This recommendation was carried out in A. D. 1304, when his general, Ain-ul-mulk of Multan, "reduced the cities of Ujain, Mându, Dhâr, and Chânderi." In A. D. 1321 the place was still in the hands of the Muhammadans, when Taghlak Shah despatched his son with the troops of Chânderi, Badaon, and Mâlwa against Telingâna. From this time it remained in the hands of the Kings of Delhi until the end of the thirteenth century, when Dilâwar Khan, Governor of Mâlwa, taking advantage of the troubled state of the country during the invasion of Timur, declared his independence and became the first Muhammadan King of Mâlwa. Chânderi is not mentioned again until A. D. 1434, when Mahmud Khilji bestowed the district on Nusrat Khan, who



was, however, shortly afterwards displaced by Hâji Kâlu. In the following year Râna Kumbho of Chitor, invaded Mâlwa and "occupied Chânderi, where the inhabitants and soldiers of Hâji Kâlu revolting from him, received the (Hindu) prince with every demonstration of joy."* Mahmud then proceeded in person against Chânderi, which held out for eight months before the city was taken, and after a few days the garrison of the hill-fort capitulated. The Chanderi last-mentioned must certainly be the *strong hill-fort* of new Chânderi, and not the *old city* of Buri Chânderi, which, though walled, was not capable of making a protracted defence. The city alone is mentioned by Ibn Batuta, who visited it about A. D. 1335, during the reign of Muhammad Tughlak. His words are—"We next came to the city of Chânderi, which is large;" and as he makes no allusion to the fortress, I think it most probable that his notice must refer to the old city.

Buri Chânderi is situated on the spur of a hill which rises about 300 feet above the table-land on the high western bank of the Betwa River. It is now covered with dense jungle, which can only be penetrated by a few narrow paths made by the wood-cutters from the neighbouring villages. The eastern entrance, which is the most accessible, is still in good order. A roughly-paved road cut on the north side of the hill leads up to a gateway, inside which the road is more carefully paved, and is protected by a parapet wall for about half a mile up to a second gateway, which forms the main entrance to the ancient city. This gateway is 15 feet high and 12½ feet wide, and is still in good order. It is built entirely of stone, but the lower part only, which is made of large stones, appears to me to be of Hindu workmanship. On the door-posts are sculptured two female figures holding vases of flowers, which are certainly Hindu. But the upper part of the gateway, which is crowned by a loop-holed parapet with pointed battlements, must, I think, have been made by the Muhammadans.† At a short distance inside towards the north-west, there is a large ruined building which is called the palace. Only the lower walls of this building now remain, but there is a small balcony of four

* Briggs' Ferishta, IV., 204.

† See Plate XCII. for a view of the gateway of this deserted city.

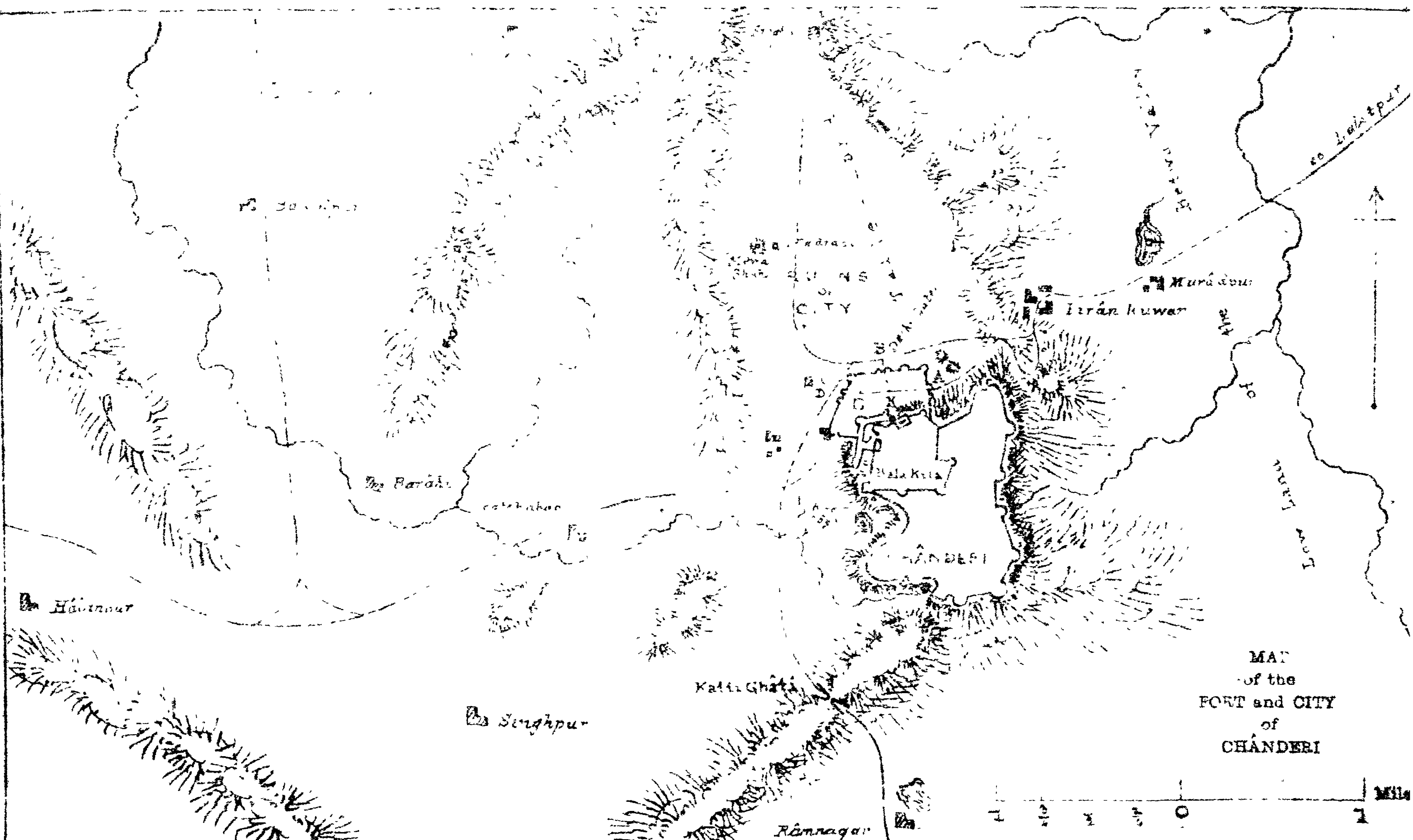
pillars resting on projecting brackets, and crowned by a hemispherical dome, which is certainly posterior to the Muhammadan conquest, and which was most probably built by one of the early Musalmân Governors.

To the south of the palace I found the remains of two temples, but they were so ruinous, the stones were so large, and the brushwood so thick, that I was unable to ascertain anything about them. Amongst the ruins of one of them I found a stone inscribed with some mediæval letters of the tenth or eleventh century. I found also the carved mouth of the water-spout which once gave exit to the water which had been poured over the idol enshrined inside. I was unsuccessful in my search for figures amongst the ruins, but at a distance, in a small room only 20 feet by 6 feet, I found 21 Jain figures placed against the walls, of which 19 were standing and 2 seated. The last two I recognised from their symbols of the *Swastika*, or mystic cross, and the crescent, as *Supârswanâtha* and *Chandraprabha*, who are the seventh and eighth of the 24 pontiffs of the Jains.

XXI. CHANDERI.

The fortress of Chânderi is situated on a low flat-topped hill on the edge of the table-land overlooking the valley of the Betwa. The bed of the river, opposite Chânderi, is 1,050 feet above the sea; the city of Chânderi, on the table-land, is 250 feet higher, or 1,300 above the sea; and the fort is 230 feet above the city. The fort is one and quarter mile in length from north to south by three-fourths of a mile in breadth. It is very irregular in shape on the north and east faces, but the circuit of the walls, measured on my plan, is rather more than 4 miles. This includes the *Bâla-kila*, or citadel, which occupies the north-west quarter of the fort, or somewhat less than one-fourth of the whole area. The present city is, properly speaking, only an outwork of the fort, the greater part of the actual city to the north and west being in ruins. Including the present city as an outwork, the whole circuit of the fort of Chânderi is upwards of five miles, or just the same size as Gwalior.* According to my information, the city still contains 1,393 houses, and about 7,000 inhabitants,

* See Plate XCIII. for a map of Chânderi.



A. Cunningham del.

Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office, Calcutta.

including 500 houses of Musalmân weavers. There are also 17 houses of *Kanojiya* Brahmans, 100 houses of *Bundela* Rajputs, 50 houses of *Jajhotiya* Baniyas, and 30 houses of *Srâwakis*, or Jains. But the ruins of the true city outside the walls extend over a space of at least three square miles, from the Sinhpur palace on the north to the *Katti-ghâti* on the south, a distance of four miles, with a mean breadth of about three-quarters of a mile. The greater part of this space is covered with the ruins of stone-houses, amongst which the most conspicuous are the tomb of Mewa Shah, and a *Madrassa*, or college. The tomb is situated on a lofty mound, which was most probably the site of a Hindu temple. There are popularly said to be 360 public buildings of several kinds, as 360 *Masjids*, 360 *Madrassa*, or colleges, 360 *Baoris*, or reservoirs of water, 360 *Sarais*, or inns, and 360 *Tombs*. Few of these buildings now exist, and none of any architectural pretensions; but the numbers may be accepted as showing the popular opinion as to the great extent of the city in former days.

The lower out-work or present city has five gates; on the east is the *Tâliya Darwâza*, on the north is the *Delhi Darwâza*, or Delhi gate; on the west are the *Fakir Darwâza* and the *Changa Darwâza*, and on the south is the *Khûni-Darwâza*, or "bloody gate," which leads up to the citadel. The last gate received its name from its position at the foot of the cliff, from which condemned criminals were hurled. The entrance to the citadel is called the *Hawâ Darwâza*, or "windy gate." The buildings inside are now poor and ruinous, but the *Hawâ Mahal*, or "palace of breezes," was probably as convenient and comfortable a residence as the more costly edifices of other places. The fort is badly supplied with water, the citadel being dependent on a single tank inside, which frequently dries up, and on a large tank at the foot of the hill outside, which is connected with the upper works by a covered way. This tank is called the *Kirat Sâgar*, but I was unable to gain any trustworthy information regarding the date of its construction. Some referred it to *Kirtti-Varmma*, the Chândel Prince of Mahoba, who reigned in the latter part of the eleventh century. But as this would place the erection of the Chânderi fort long prior to the Muhammadan conquest, I think that the tradition is very doubtful.

The most curious work about Chânderi is the *Katti-ghâti*, or "cut gate," which is a pass hewn through the rock in the form of a gateway on the high road leading from Chânderi towards the south. The main cutting is 192 feet in length by 39 feet in breadth and 80 feet in height. In the middle of the cutting, a portion of rock has been left which is hewn into the form of a gateway, with a pointed arch flanked by sloping towers. This opening is 17 feet long and 11½ feet wide.* On the north side of the pass a long flight of steps, also hewn out of the rock, leads to the top of the gateway, over which are some small rooms now in ruins. On each side of the gateway there is a sunken tablet containing two inscriptions,—one in Persian, and the other in Nâgari letters,—in which it is recorded that this most useful and costly work was made by Jiman Khân, the son of Shir Khan, in the *Samvat* year 1547, or A. D. 1490, during the reign of Ghiâs Shah, of Mâlwa. The people still call him Chiman Khan, and his name is so written in the Nâgari inscription. His father, Shir Khan, then held the governorship of Chânderi, but he rebelled on the death of Ghiâs Shah in A. D. 1500, and was apparently succeeded by his son, as Ferishta states that the government was conferred on *Himat Khân*, which I presume to be the same name as *Jiman Khân*, as the two might easily be mistaken when written in Persian characters.†

I have already stated that the earliest notice which I have been able to find referring with certainty to the great fortress of Chânderi, is Ferishta's brief account of its siege by Ala-ud-din Mahmud, of Malwa, in A. D. 1438.‡ The place had belonged to his predecessors, the Ghori Kings of Malwa, and, after Mahmud's successful rebellion, it was occupied by Prince Umar Ghori aided by a large force of Rajputs, which was led by Rama Kumbho in person. "The siege of Chânderi occupied eight months, when Sultan Mahmud, becoming impatient, resolved to take it, if possible,

* See Plate XCIV. for a view of this gateway.

† See Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, II., 548, for a notice of this gateway by Lieutenant Macdonald. He calls it "a famous ghât or passage, which has been cut with stupendous labour through a solid rock [illegible] feet high." The inscription, it is said, "sets forth that the lofty gate of Gumti and [illegible]li, near the tank, were erected by Juman Khan, son of Shir Khan, by order of the Sultan u[illegible]salâtin Ghiâs-ud-din on the 14th Jûmâd us Sani A. H. 700." This date should be 900 A. H., or A. D. 1494, the writer having read *saba* or seven instead of *tisa* or nine.

‡ Briggs' Ferishta, IV., 204.

by surprise; and, heading a party himself, he escaladed the lower town in the dead of night, and carried it, putting many of the enemy to the sword. Some few made their escape into the *hill fort*, but they were closely besieged," and, after a few days, surrendered themselves on condition that their lives should be spared. The government was then conferred on Malik Muzafar Ibrahim, who was still in charge in A. D. 1453, when he joined his master on his invasion of Gujrât, where he did good service with the Chânderi troops. A few years later he must either have died, or have been removed, as his successor, Mahabat Khan, was killed in battle in A. D. 1461.

The next mention of Chânderi is in A. D. 1482, when Shir Khan, the governor, was directed by his master, Ghiâs Shah, of Malwa, to collect the forces of Bhilsa Sârangpur and Chânderi for the purpose of opposing Bahlol Lodi, of Delhi, who had attacked Rantambhâwar.* Shir Khan marched to Biâna, but Bahlol, rather than risk a battle, retreated, and Shir Khan pursued him towards Delhi, when the politic Bahlol paid him a sum of money to retire without molesting the country. Eighteen years later, in A. D. 1500, during the disorders that followed on the accession of Nâsir Shah, Shir Khan rebelled, and being joined by many other malcontent nobles, advanced towards the capital. He was defeated by the king in person near Sârangpur, who pursued him as far as Chânderi, and then returned to his capital of Mându. Shir Khan again returned to Chânderi to collect fresh troops, but being attacked by the king's forces within two *kos* of the city, he was mortally wounded and died while he was being carried from the field on an elephant. His body was afterwards disinterred by Nâsir Shah, and hung up in the town of Chânderi. He was most probably succeeded by his son Jiman Khan, as I have already noticed in my account of the *Katti-Ghâti.*

In A. D. 1513 Shirza Khan was governor of Chânderi, but nothing is recorded of him save his loyalty to the reigning prince, Mahmud II. In the same year he was succeeded by Bohjat Khan, who, dreading the influence of Medini Rai, the Rajput minister, first excused himself from attending at

* Briggs' Ferishta, IV., 237.

court, and shortly afterwards went into open rebellion with many other nobles. The prince, Sâhib Khan, was invited to assume the reins of government, and they addressed a petition to Sikandar Ludi, of Delhi, begging him to send a force to their, assistance, because "the infidel Rajputs had gained an alarming ascendancy over the Muhammadans in Malwa," and their chief, Medini Rai, "had virtually become master of the country and its resources."* Sâhib Khan advanced to Chânderi, where he was met by Bohjat Khan, and proclaimed king under the title of Muhammad Shah. Mahmud immediately moved towards Chânderi, but his march was checked by the arrival of the Delhi army of 12,000 horse, which Sikandar Ludi had despatched for the support of the new king. Ferishta states that a proposal was made secretly by Medini Rai to read the public prayers, and to coin the money in the name of Sikandar, which was spurned by Bohjat Khan, as it offered him no personal advantage whatever. He accordingly made an excuse to separate himself from the Delhi troops, which was the very object that Medini Rai wished for. The Delhi troops were then re-called, and Bohjat Khan, despairing of further assistance, made overtures for peace, which were gladly accepted by Mahmud, who ceded to the rebel prince the forts of Raisin, Bhilsa, and Dhâmoni for his support, and presented him with ten lakhs of copper *tankas* and twelve elephants. By these terms the fort of Chânderi reverted to the king, and was garrisoned by Medini Rai's Rajput followers. This able chief also managed to get possession of the strong fort of Gâgron, the capital of Khichiwâra. But Mahmud's eyes being now opened to the designs of his minister, he resolved to garrison these forts with his own troops, and marched against Gâgron. But Medini Rai being joined by Râna Sanga, of Chitor, Mahmud was defeated and taken prisoner, and Chânderi and Gâgron thus remained in the possession of the Hindus. In 1518, however, Chânderi would appear to have been recovered by the rebel chiefs, as Ibrahim Ludi, of Delhi, deputed an officer to Chânderi "to remain with Muhammad Khan, the Prince of Malwa."†

The possession of Chânderi had been one of the cherished objects of Sikandar Ludi. As early as 1506 he had

* Briggs' Ferishta, IV., 253, 256.

† Ibid. I., 594.

agreed to support Shahâb-ud-dîn against his father, Nâsir Shah, on condition that Chânderi should be made over to him. This project failed; but, in 1513, Sikandar took advantage of the invitation of the rebel governor, Behjat Khan, to send a larger force to Chânderi, soon after which, according to Ferishta, he "issued a proclamation announcing the acquisition of Chânderi to his dominions."* In another place Ferishta quotes a statement that "public prayers were actually read, and coin struck in the name of Sikandar Ludi." But as none of these coins have yet been found to my knowledge, I think it more probable that the reading of the prayers was confined to his own army, and that, on the departure of the Delhi troops, the prayers were read, and the coin struck as usual in the name of Mahmud, the reigning King of Malwa. But the occupation of Chânderi by Ibrahim Ludi was more permanent, as I possess a coin of this prince, a square copper [illegible], minted after the type of the Malwa coinage and bearing his tribal name of Ludi. We learn also from [illegible] that Ibrahim's power was fully established in Chânderi; [illegible] the rebellion of Hasan Khan Firmali, the King [illegible] a private order to some Lodi [illegible] of Chânderi to [illegible] Hasan Khan, and he was accordingly assassinated in his [illegible]. The [illegible] date of the annexation of Chânderi to the Delhi kingdom is not known, but it must have been in A. D. 152[illegible] [illegible] took advantage of the death of the rebel prince, Muhammad Shah, to carry off his young son, Ahmad Shah, leaving a dependant of his own in the government of Chânderi. In the following year, however, Ibrahim was defeated at Dholpur by Rana Sanga, when "many of the Hindu chiefs, who till then had adhered to the King of Delhi, deserted him," and Chânderi amongst other important places, having fallen into the hands of the Rana, was bestowed on Medini Rai.

From this time until A. D. 1527, Chânderi enjoyed a long peace under its able Hindu ruler, Medini Rai. But in that year the Emperor Baber having nearly [illegible] the battle of Kânwa against the confederated Hindu princes determined to fulfil his vow of waging a holy war against the infidels. "Medini Rai, the Chief of Chânderi and one of the most formidable of them, was the first object of his

* Briggs' Ferishta, I, 584, and IV, 255.

vengeance."* Baber reached the place on the 20th January 1528, and having in vain offered to Medini Rai the district of Shamsâbâd in exchange for Chânderi, proceeded to construct his batteries, and to make preparations for an escalade. On the 28th he captured the lower out-work of the fort by escalade, and on the following morning assaulted the citadel. The main assault was directed against the point where the wall of the out-work protecting the Kirat Sâgar joins the main wall of the citadel. This out-work was taken by storm, and the garrison retired to the citadel, but only for a short time, to perform the last dreadful sacrifice of the *johar*, by putting all their wives and daughters to death. "Then," says Baber, "the pagans rushed out completely naked to attack us, and engaging with ungovernable fury drove our people along the ramparts." Thus after a siege of rather less than one month, the strong fort of Chânderi was taken by a bold escalade, aided by the despair of the garrison. Baber left the fort in charge of Ahmâd Shah, the nephew of Mahmud Shah, as the unfavourable news which he had just received from the east compelled him to give up his projected campaign against Raisîn, Bhilsa, and Sârangpur; and thus Chânderi once more came into the possession of a member of the royal family of Malwa.

During the life-time of Baber, his governor remained in undisturbed possession of Chânderi; but in March 1531, within six weeks after his death, Malwa was invaded by Bahâdur Shah, of Gujarât, who, after taking Mându by storm, proceeded against Silhâdi, the Hindu Prince of Raisîn, Bhilsa, and Sarangpur. Silhâdi was taken prisoner by treachery, and Raisîn having fallen after a long siege, the whole of Mâlwa became tributary to Bahâdur Shah, who appointed Alam Khan, *alias* Jelâl Khan Jigat, to the governorship of Chânderi, Raisin, and Bhilsa. Bahâdur Shah was killed in 1536, and in the following year Mullu Khan, one of the old nobles of Malwa, reduced the greater part of the country under his authority, and assumed the sovereignty of Malwa with the title of Kâdir Shah. At the same time Bhaput and Puran Mall, the sons of Raja Silhâdi, recovered their family possessions of Raisîn and Chânderi, and acknowledged themselves as vassals of the new king. Kâdir Shah was

* Erskine's History of India, I, 478, 481.

removed in 1540 by the famous Shir Shah, and shortly afterwards, Raisin having been taken by treachery, Chânderi was surrendered without a blow to the Afghan conqueror, who appointed his general, Shuja Khan, sole Governor of Malwa.*

During the reigns of Shir Shah and his son Islâm Shah, Malwa remained under the able administration of Shuja Khan. On the return of Humâyun, however, in A. D. 1554, the Afghan Governor was on the point of declaring himself independent, and of coining money in his own name, when he fell ill and died. But the project was carried out by his eldest son, Malik Bayâzid, who assumed the title of Sultan Bâz Bahâdur, and struck coins in his own name, of which I possess several specimens. In 1561 Mâlwa was invaded by Akbar's general, Adam Khan, and in the following year it was finally annexed to the Mogul Empire of Delhi, as I have already related in the notice of Bâz Bahâdur's career in my account of Sârangpur. From this time, until the decay of the Muhammadan power in the beginning of the eighteenth century, Chânderi formed a part of the *Suba* of Malwa, one of the great divisions of the Mogul empire of Delhi. About A. D. 1680 the Bundela Chief, Devi Sinh, was appointed Governor of the Chânderi district by the King of Delhi. He was succeeded by his son, Durga, Sinh, and his grandson, Durjan Sinh, the latter of whom took advantage of the weak state of the Delhi empire to make himself virtually independent. His name is recorded on a stone seat, or throne, in the palace of Chânderi, with the Samvat date of 1778, or A. D. 1721, which was probably the year of his accession. He was still reigning in S. 1811, or A. D. 1754, as recorded on a pillar at Bânpur, to the east of Chânderi. He was succeeded by Man Sinh, Aniruddh Sinh, Râm-Chandr, and Mor Prahlâd. The last chief ascended the throne about A. D 1811. He was a great drunkard, and his imbecility, and the predatory habits of his subjects, excited the cupidity and vengeance of Daolat Rao Sindhia, who, in A. D. 1815, sent General Baptiste against Chânderi. The fort was captured after a short resistance, and the Raja fled to Jhansi. With the approval of the British Government, Baptiste annexed the greater part of the province to

* Briggs' Ferishta, II., 271—Erskine's History of India, II., 429.

the Mahratta dominions, leaving only the small district of Bânpur to Mor-Prahlâd. This drunken chief died in 1843, and was succeeded by his son, Mardan Sinh, who, in 1857, joined the mutineers in wresting the district of Chânderi from the British authorities. In A. D. 1844 the district had been made over to the British Government for the payment of the contingent commanded by British officers. In 1858 it was captured by Sir Hugh Rose, and has now been finally annexed to the British dominions in exchange for Jhânsi.

XXII. KHAJURAHO.

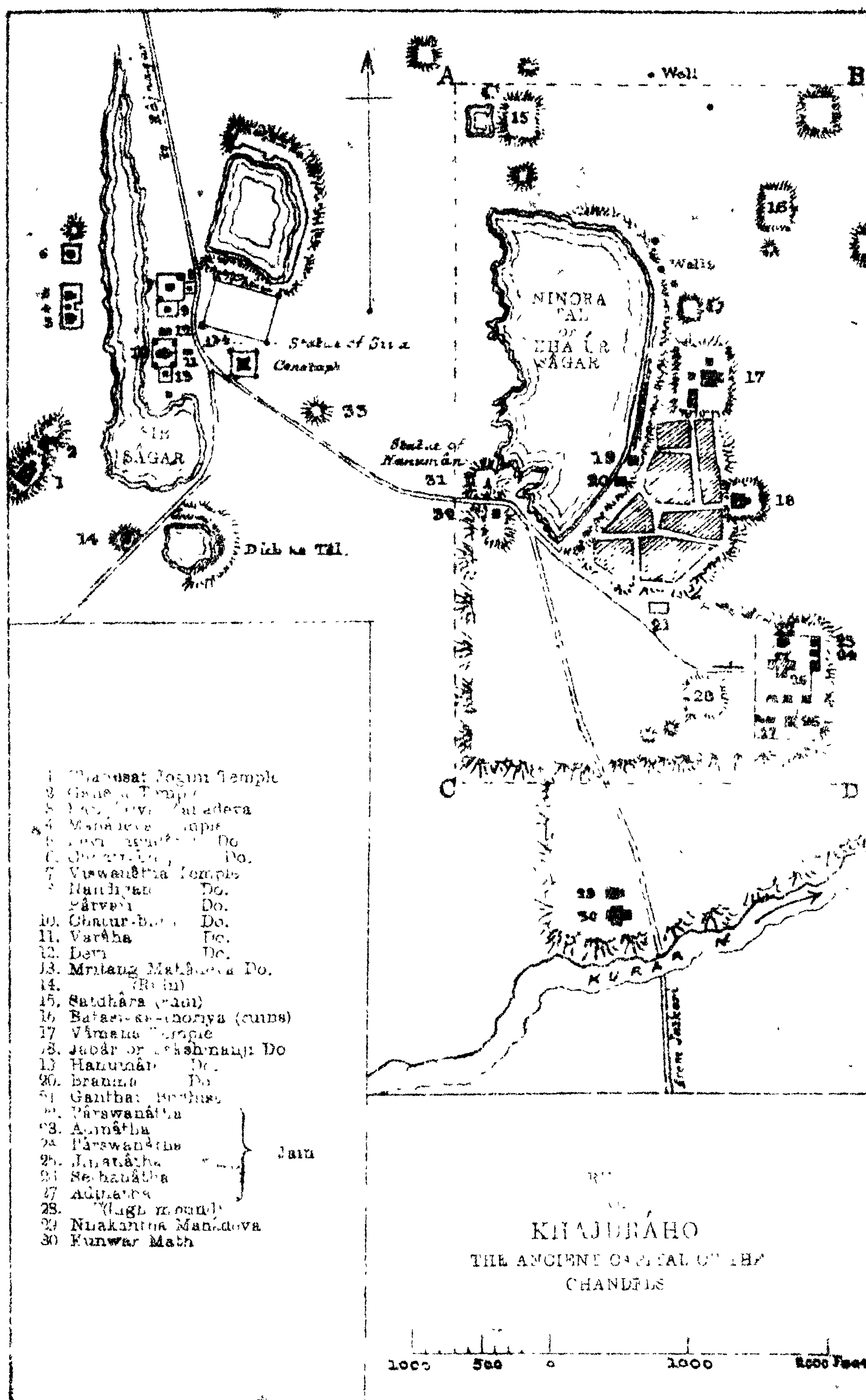
The ancient city of Khajurâho, the capital of the Chandel Rajputs, is situated 34 miles to the south of Mahoba, 27 miles to the east of Chhatrpur, and 25 miles to the north-west of Panna. It is inserted in sheet No. 70 of the Indian Atlas as Kujrow, in north latitude 24° 51′, and east longitude 80°, just 4 miles to the south of Râjnagar, and within 8 miles of the west bank of the Cane River. The word "mines" is attached to it in the map, which is, I believe, a mistake for "ruins." The earliest mention of this capital by name is by Abu Rihân, who accompanied Mahmud in his campaign against Kâlinjar in A. D. 1022. He calls it *Kajurâhah*, the capital of *Jajahuti*, and places it at 30 parasangs, or about 90 miles, to the south-east of Kanoj.* The true direction, however, is almost due south, and the distance about twice 30 parasangs, or 180 miles. The next mention of Khajurâho is by Ibn Batuta, who visited it about A. D. 1335. He calls it *Kajurá*, and describes it as having a lake about one mile in length, which was surrounded by idol temples.† These are still standing, and form, perhaps, the largest group of costly Hindu temples that is now to be found in Northern India.

The earliest mention of the province is by Hwen Thsang in A. D. 641. He calls it *Chi-chi-to*, or *Jajhoti*, and places the capital at 1,000 *li*, or 167 miles, to the north-east of Ujain.‡ The bearing is sufficiently accurate, but the distance is about double 1,000 *li*, or upwards of 300 miles, whether we take Mahoba or Khajurâho to have been the chief city at

* Reinaud. Fragments Arabes, &c., p. 106.

† Lee's Translation, p. 162.

‡ Julien's Translation. III., 168.



A. Cunningham del.

Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta.

the time of Hwen Thsang's visit. He describes the capital as being 15 or 16 *li*, or upwards of 2½ miles in circuit, and the people as being mostly heretics or worshippers of the gods. There were many dozens of monasteries, but only a few monks, while there were about 1,000 Brahmans attached to 12 temples. The king himself was a Brahman, but a staunch Buddhist. The country was famous for its fertility, and was much frequented by learned men from all parts of India.

From these accounts of Hwen Thsang and Abu Rihân, it is evident that the province of Jajhoti corresponded with the modern district of Bundelkhand, in its widest extent. The Chinese pilgrim states that the province was 4,000 *li*, or 667 miles, in circuit, which would form a square of about 167 miles to each side. Now, Bundelkhand in its widest extent is said to have originally comprised all the country to the south of the Jumna and Ganges, from the Betwa River on the west, to the temple of Vindhya Vâsini Devi, near Mirzapur, on the east, including the districts of Chanderi, Sâgar and Bilhari, near the sources of the Narbada on the south. But these are also the limits of the ancient country of the Jajhotiya Brahmans, which, according to Buchanan's information, extended from the Jumna on the north to the Narbada on the south, and from *Urcha* on the Betwa River in the west to the Bundela Nala on the east. The last is said to be a small stream which falls into the Ganges near Banâras, and within two stages of Mirzapur. During the last 25 years I have traversed this tract of country repeatedly in all directions, and I have found the Jajhotiya Brahmans distributed over the whole province, but not a single family to the north of the Jumna or to the west of the Betwa. I have found them at Barwa Sâgar near Urcha on the Betwa, at Mohda near Hamirpur on the Jumna, at Râjnagar and Khajurâho near the Kane River, and at Udaipur, Pathâri and Eran, between Chanderi and Bhilsa. In Chanderi itself there are also Jajhotiya *Baniyas* which alone is almost sufficient to show that the name is not a common family designation, but a descriptive term of more general acceptance. The Brahmans derive the name of Jajhotiya from *Yajur-hota*, an observance of the Yajurved; but as the name is applied to the *Baniyas*, or grain-dealers, as well as to the Brahmans, I think it almost certain that it must be a mere geographical designation

derived from the name of their country Jajhoti. This opinion is confirmed by other well known names of the Brahmanical tribes, as *Kanojiya* from Kanoj, *Gaur* from Gaur, *Sarwariya* or *Sarjupâriya* from Sarju-pâr, the opposite bank of the Sarju River; *Drâvira* from Drâvira, in the Dakhan, *Maithila* from Mithila, &c. These examples are sufficient to show the prevalence of geographical names amongst the divisions of the Brahmanical tribes, and as each division is found most numerously in the province from which it derives its name, I conclude with some certainty that the country in which the Jajhotiya Brahmans preponderate must be the actual province of Jajhoti.

As the Raja of Jajhoti was a Brahman at the time of Hwen Thsang's visit, we have a limit to the rise of the Chandel dynasty, by which we can correct the dates of the local annalists of the earlier dynasty of Jajhotiya Brahmans. There are no traditions whatever, and the only remains that I can attribute with any certainty to this period are a single pillared temple, No. 21, called *Ganthai*, and a high mound, No. 28, which is most probably a ruined monastery. But there are several other ruined mounds to the north and east of the village of Kajurâho, which are most probably the remains of some of the monasteries mentioned by Hwen Thsang. I infer that the *Ganthai* temple was a Buddhist building, because I found lying amongst the ruins outside, the pedestal of a colossal draped figure inscribed with the well known formula of the Buddhist faith, "*Ye dharmma hetu prabhava*," &c., in characters similar to those of the Sarnâth inscription, which are generally assigned to the sixth or seventh century. Over the centre of the entrance to the sanctum there is a four-armed female figure of *Dharmmâ*, the second member of the Buddhist triad, and the passive agent of creation according to the earlier Buddhists, but the first person of the triad, and the active creator of the universe according to the materialistic doctrines of the later Buddhists. The high mound, No. 28, I take to be the remains of a Buddhist monastery, because I was able to trace the walls of many of the surrounding cells. Both the mound and the temple are close to the group of Jain temples, a proximity which I have observed in other places with the ancient Buddhist remains and the modern Jain temples.

Of the famous dynasty of Chândel Rajputs, the remains are more numerous and more interesting than those of any other ancient family. The remains of the powerful Gupta dynasty are more important, but they are at present confined almost entirely to coins and inscriptions, while those of the Chândels include some of the most magnificent and costly temples in Northern India. As the history of this dynasty will be discussed in my account of Mahoba, which will follow immediately, I will confine my account of Khajuraho to a description of its temples and ruins, which still exist to attest the former splendour of this powerful dynasty.

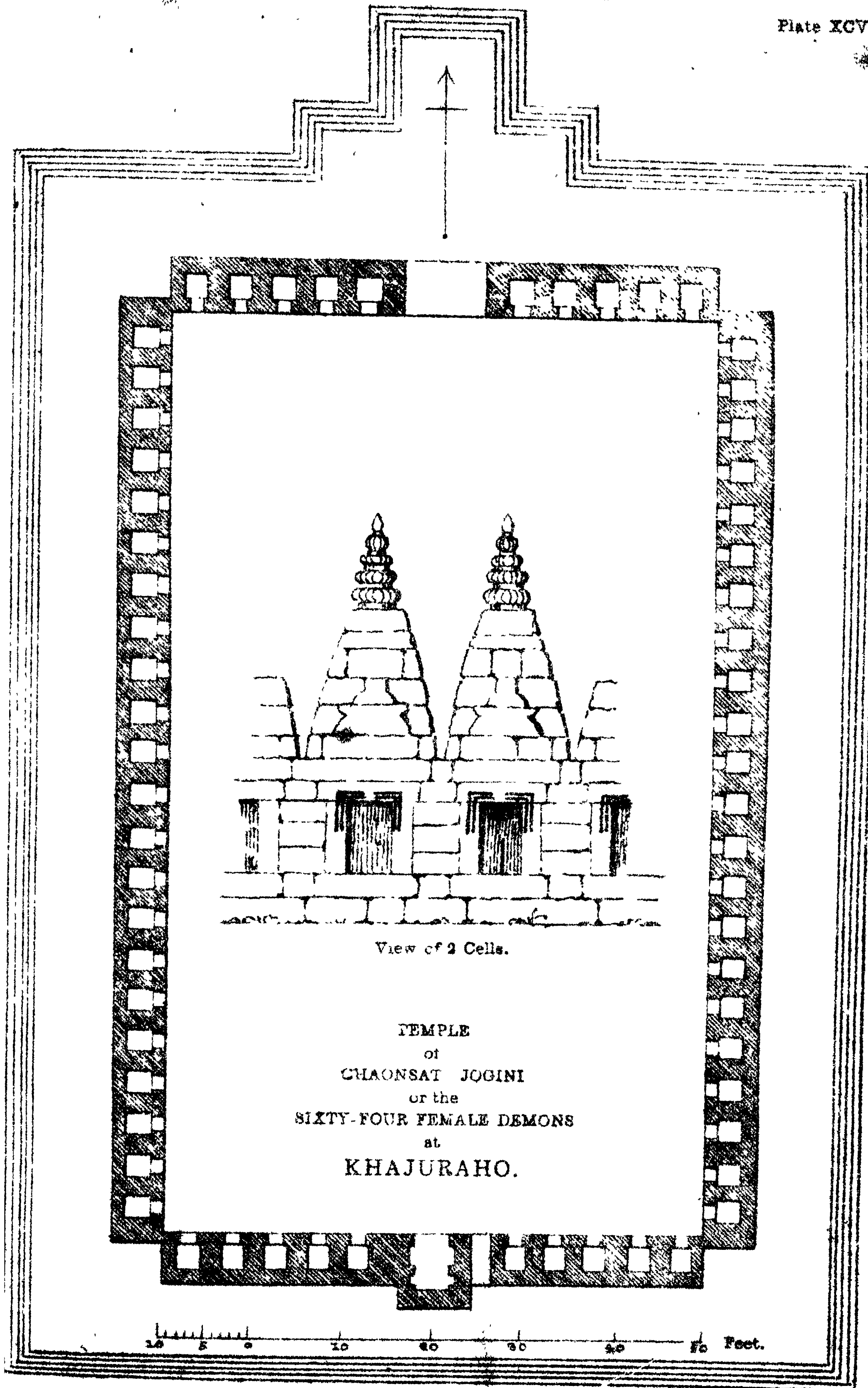
Khajurâho is a small village of 162 houses, containing rather less than 1,000 inhabitants; amongst these there are single houses of seven different divisions of the *Jajhotiya* Brahmans, and eleven houses of Chândel Rajputs, the chief of whom claim descent from Raja *Paramál Deo*, the antagonist of the famous Prithi Raj. The village is situated at the south-east corner of the *Khajur-Ságar* or *Ninora-Tál*, which is about half a mile in length, and a quarter of a mile in breadth when full, but less than half of that width in the dry season. The village is surrounded on all sides by temples and ruins, but these are more thickly grouped in three separate spots on the west, on the north, and on the south-east. The western group, which consists entirely of Brahmanical temples, is situated on the banks of the Sib-Sâgar, a narrow sheet of water, about three-quarters of a mile in length from north to south in the rainy season, but not more than 600 feet square during the dry season. It is three-quarters of a mile from the village, and the same distance from the northern group of ruins, and a full mile from the south-eastern group of Jain temples. Altogether the ruins cover about one square mile; but as there are no remains of any kind between the western group and the Khajur Sâgar, the boundary of the ancient city could not have extended beyond the west bank of the lake. On the other three sides of the lake, the ruins are continuous extending over an oblong space 4,500 feet in length from north to south, and 2,500 feet in breadth from east to west with a circuit of 14,000 feet or nearly $3\frac{3}{4}$ miles. This corresponds almost exactly with the size of the capital as recorded by Hwen Thsang in A. D 641, but at some later period the city of Khajurâho was extended to the east and

south as far as the Kurar Nala, when it had a circuit of not less than three-and-a-half miles.* As Mahoba must have been about the same size as Khajurâho, it is doubtful which of the two was the capital at the time of Hwen Thsang's visit. But as the very name of *Mahotsava* or *Mahotsava-nagara*, the "city of the great jubilee," is specially connected with the rise of the Chândel dynasty, I think it most probable that Khajurâho must have been the capital of the earlier dynasty of Jajhotiya Brahmans. It is therefore almost certainly as old as the beginning of the seventh century; and if we may judge from the "[illegible] dozens of Buddhist monasteries" seen by the Chinese pilgrim in A. D. 641, its date must reach back to the first century of the Christian era.

In describing the ruins of Khajurâho I will begin with the group of temples on the west, and conclude with the group on the south-east, according to the consecutive numbers of my survey. This plan is the most convenient that can be followed, as the want of fixed dates for the different temples altogether precludes any chronological arrangement. The relative ages of some of them are known, and there are no less than three dated inscriptions in the western group of temples but as two of them are in one temple, and as not one of them is perhaps in its original position, it is doubtful whether any one of them refers to the building in which it is now placed. It is clear, however, that they must belong to this group, and as all the temples, except one, are evidently of about the same age, while the three inscriptions have a range of only 47 years, from A. D. 954 to 1001, I think that the mass of the western group may be assigned with some certainty to the tenth and eleventh centuries. In the following account of the Khajurâho temples I have adhered to the names by which they are now known to the people, but as some of these have been changed even within my remembrance, and as many of them are undoubtedly wrong. I have also numbered them according to their positions in my survey of the ruins, so that any one of them may hereafter be referred to with certainty.

No. 1, called *Chaunsat Jogini*, or the "64 female goblins," appears to be the most ancient temple at Khajurâho. It is situated to the south-west of the Sib Sâgar on

* See Plate XCV, for a map of the ruins of Khajurâho.



A. Cunningham del.

Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta.

a low rocky ridge, 25 feet above the level of the country. It is the only one of all the temples that is not placed due north and south. It is also the only temple that is built of granite, all the others being of a fine light coloured sandstone from the quarries on the east bank of the Kane River. The *Yoginis*, or *Joginis*, are female goblins who attend upon *Káli*, the goddess of slaughter. When a battle takes place, they are said to rush frantically to the field with their bowls to catch the blood of the slain, which they quaff with delight. In the *Prabodha Chandrodáya* they are called the "spouses of demons who dance on the field of battle." From their connexion with the blood-drinking goddess Kâli, it is probable that the temple may have been orignally devoted to siva—a suggestion which is partly confirmed by the position of a small shrine of Ganesa on the same rocky ridge immediately in front of the entrance. But as the Brahmans on the spot assert that the dedication of a temple to the *Joginis* ensures victory to the dedicator, it is possible that this temple may still retain its original name.* Under this view, however, we might expect to find the temples of the Joginis rather numerous, as many generals would be willing to purchase victory at so cheap a rate. But as this is the only shrine of these goddesses that I have yet met with, I am inclined to doubt the tradition, and to assign the temple to Durgâ or Kâli, the consort of Siva.

The central temple of the Chaonsat Jogini has altogether disappeared, and only the surrounding walls, with the 64 small cells of the female goblins, now remain. The court-yard is oblong in shape, being 102¼ feet in length from north-east to south-west, and 59½ feet in breadth. The walls are 5½ feet thick, and are pierced all round with small cells, each 3¾ feet deep, 2 feet 4½ inches broad, and 3½ feet high. The entrance of each cell, which is only 32 inches high and 18 inches wide, has once been closed by a double wooden door, as shown by the mortice holes in the granite lintels. Externally, each cell is covered with a small pyramidal roof, which was originally crowned with three *amaloka* fruits, one over the other,

* Vans Kennedy's Hindu Mythology, p. 490, mentions the names of six Yoginis,—*Brahmi, Maheswari, Kaumâri, Vaishnavi, Varâhi, Mahendri*,—who were called by Siva to devour the flesh and drink the blood of the great Daitya Jalandhara.

surmounted by a pointed pinnacle. By this arrangement each cell is actually a distinct temple, in which was most possibly enshrined the statue of a *Jogini*, or perhaps a phallic emblem of Siva; but the former is the more probable if one may take the popular name as a guide. In the middle of the south-west end there is a single large cell, answering in size to the entrance gate-way at the north-east end, and on the east side of this cell there is a narrow passage of only 2 feet leading to the outside. Internally the ornament is limited to two sunken lines round the upper half of each door-way, and to a peculiar triangular projection over the front of each cell. Externally the only ornament consists of three horizontal bands of broad flat mouldings, which run all round the building, and of a bold projection at the back of each cell, which are in excellent keeping with the simple and massive character of the building. Altogether the *Chaonsat Jogini* is one of the most curious buildings that I have yet met with. Of its age I cannot speak with any certainty. I think, however, that it is beyond all doubt the oldest building at Khajurâho, and therefore prior to A. D. 900; and if the simple and even rude form of the peculiar-triangular ornament over each cell may be taken as the original of the more elaborate ornaments of the same kind which are found in six other Buddhist and Brahmanical excavations at Kholvi and Dhamnâr, then this temple must be of older date than the sixth or seventh century.* But as this simpler form may, perhaps, be due solely to the difficulty of working anything more elaborate in such a hard and coarse material as the Khajurâho granite, it can only be accepted as a doubtful test of greater antiquity. I think, however, that I am quite safe in placing the date of the *Chaonsat Jogini* in the eighth century of the Christian era, with a reservation that it may be probably even two or three centuries older.

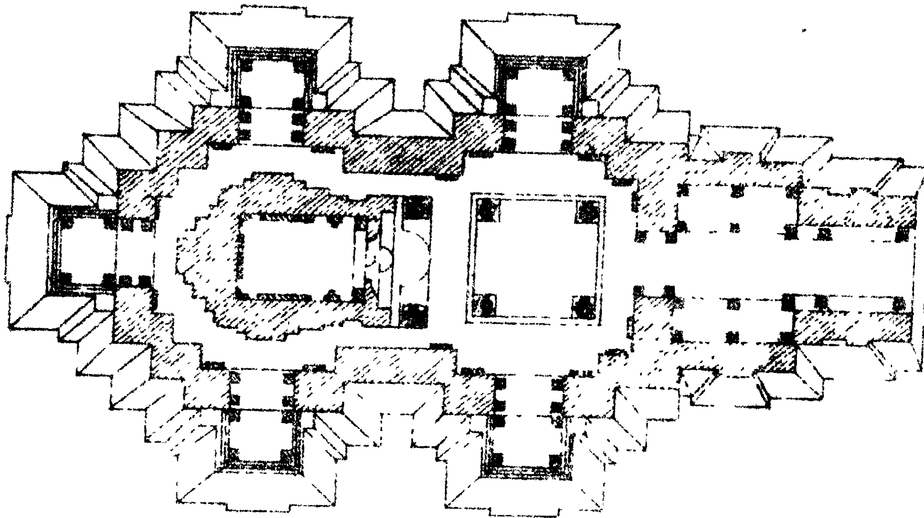
No. 2 is a small ruined temple of *Ganesa*, which is situated on a lower level of the rocky ridge in front of the entrance of the *Chaonsat Jogini*. The figure of the god, which is 6 feet high, faces the Jogini temple, and is evidently connected with it, just as the bull of Siva and the boar of Vishnu are always placed facing the temples of those

* Several examples of this peculiar ornament are given in Plate LXXX.

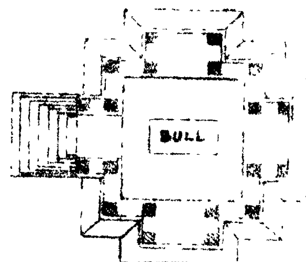
KHAJURAHO.

SAIVA TEMPLES

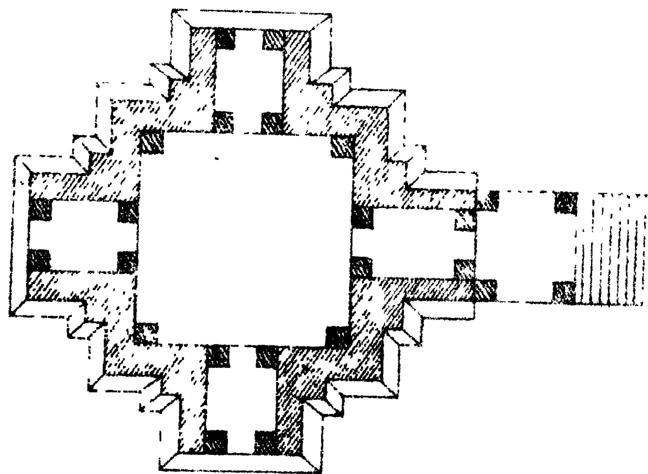
Kandârya Mahadeo



Nandigan.



Mritang Mahâdeo.



10 0 20 40 60 Feet.

A Cunningham del.

Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta

gods. But the building is of sand-stone, and on that ground alone I am satisfied that it must be of later date than the old granite temple of the Joginis. The figure of Ganesa also is very elaborately carved, and cannot, I think, be older than the tenth or eleventh century, when the worship of Siva began to prevail over that of Vishnu.

No. 3, called *Kandáriya Mahádeo*, is the largest of all the Khajurâho temples, being 109 feet in length and 59½ feet in width externally, with a height of 116½ feet above the ground, or 88 feet above its own floor. Its general plan is similar to that of most of the larger mediæval temples of Northern India.* It has the usual *arddha-mandapa*, or portico, the *mandapa*, or nave, the *mahá-mandapa*, or transept, the *antarâla*, or ante-chamber, and the *garbha-griha*, or sanctum, each of which has its separate pinnacled roof rising in regular gradation from the low pyramid of the entrance to the lofty spire of the sanctum. But the interior arrangement differs from the usual construction in having an open passage all round the sanctum, which thus forms a sort of high altar at the inner end of the temple. This open passage also necessitated a change in the exterior arrangement, which, instead of the usual dead walls of the sanctum, has three open porticoes at the back and sides similar to those of the *mahá-mandapa* for the purpose of lighting the passage round the sanctum. By this alteration the breadth of the sanctum externally is as great as that of the *mahá-mandapa*, or transept, and the plan thus becomes a large double cross, instead of the simpler and more beautiful single cross of the common plan. The recessed ceilings of this temple are singularly beautiful and most ingeniously varied. That of the transept, between the four central pillars, is a large circle with eight small richly-cusped circles rising above it, each with its bold pendent drop from the centre, and the top closed by another elaborately carved circle, from which the pendent drop has unfortunately fallen. The ceiling of the *mandapa*, or nave, is formed of four cusped squares placed diagonally, and closed by a similar square at top, each square having a rich pendent hanging from its centre. But the richness of the carvings is rivalled by the profusion of the sculptures, which have been inserted with

---

* See Plate XCVII. for a plan of this temple.

the most liberal hand wherever a resting place could be found. There are ten groups on the walls of the transept, and each of its four pillars has eight projecting brackets for the reception of statues. The walls of the sanctum also are covered with sculptures, and I counted no less than 226 statues inside the temple, and 646 outside, or 872 statues altogether, of which the greater number are from 2½ to nearly 3 feet in height. The interior it is impossible to describe from the variety and multiplicity of its details. The plinth of the temple is formed of a succession of bold and deep mouldings, 13 feet in height, that slope rapidly upwards and give it a look of solid stability, which is in excellent keeping with the massive superstructure. Immediately above the plinth there are three broad belts of sculpture running completely round the temple. The principal groups are in the recesses between the pillars of the transept and sanctum. All of these are highly indecent, and most of them are disgustingly obscene, but the remainder of the sculptures are the ordinary representations of the Hindu gods and goddesses, in different positions and under various forms. Above these there are several bands of projecting mouldings that completely encircle the temple and form cornices to the pillared balconies of the nave, transept, and sanctum. These are succeeded by more bands of sculptures, and small pillared recesses and numerous pinnacles, which are repeated again and again up to the top of the spire, which is formed of a large *amalaka* fruit surmounted by a bell-shaped ornament. The general effect of this gorgeous luxury of embellishment is extremely pleasing, although the eye is often distracted by the multiplicity of the details.

This magnificent temple contains a marble *lingam* of *Mahadeo*, 4¼ feet in girth, and over the centre of the entrance to the sanctum there is a small figure of Siva, with figures of Brahma and Vishnu to the right and left. It was therefore originally dedicated to Siva, and the *lingam* is most probably the old one that was at first enshrined in the temple. There is no inscription now remaining to show its date, but there are masons' marks of single letters on many of the stones, and on the under-side of a beam there is the word *dasan*, or "beam," in well-executed *Kutila* characters, which prove that the temple cannot be older than the tenth or eleventh century, a date which I should otherwise

be inclined to adopt on account of the gross indelicacy of the principal sculptures.

Immediately to the north of the last there is a small half ruined temple, No. 4, which has been repaired and added to in the present century by the Rajas of Chhatrpur. It is called simply *Mahádeo,* which is correct as there is a figure of Siva over the centre of the entrance, with figures of Brahma and Vishnu to the right and left. The old portion of this temple is only 18½ feet in length by 13½ feet in breadth, but owing to the modern restorations, there is nothing now left to show whether it was originally a large five-chambered temple, like the last, or a simple shrine with an entrance porch on four pillars. From its scanty ornamentation, however, I presume that it was the latter.

No. 5 is a large temple to the north of the last, 77 feet in length by 49½ feet in breadth, now known by the name of *Devi Jagadámbi,* or the goddess-mother of the world." It was originally dedicated to Vishnu, as his figure occupies the centre of the entrance to the sanctum, with the figures of Siva and Brahma to the right and left. Inside the sanctum there is a very elaborate standing statue, 5 feet 8 inches in height, of a four-armed female who, as she is represented holding lotus flowers, must be intended for *Lakshmi,* the consort of Vishnu. It is very probable, therefore, that this figure may have been the original goddess of the shrine, and consequently that the name of *Devi Jagadámbi* may be the correct one. The temple consists of only four chambers, the *ardha-mandapa,* or small entrance hall being omitted, or perhaps lost, and it wants the open passage round the sanctum which is found in the Kandâriya temple.* Its plan, however, is more beautiful than that of the larger temple, while its ornamentation is equally rich and elaborate. It has the same three rows of sculptures on the outside immediately above the plinth, of which only a few are indelicate, but these few are as grossly bad as the worst of the other temples. I found no inscriptions of any kind, but a few masons' marks of single letters show that this temple must have been built in the tenth or eleventh century, during the most flourishing period of the Chândel rule.

* See Plate XCVIII. for a plan of this temple.

No. 6 is situated at a short distance to the north of the last temple, and on the west side of the old bed of the Sib-Sâgar tank. It is known by the odd name of *Chhatr-ko-patr*, of which the meaning is unknown. The temple, however, was certainly dedicated to the sun, as there are three figures of *Surya* over the entrance to the sanctum, and inside the shrine there is an elaborate sculpture 8 feet in height, representing the sun in the usual form of a two-armed male figure, 5 feet high, holding lotus flowers in both hands. On the pedestal also are sculptured the seven horses belonging to the chariot of the sun. The original dedication of the temple is, therefore, beyond all dispute. Its plan is similar to that of the Jagadâmbi temple, but it is one-sixth larger, being 87 feet in length by 58 feet in breadth. The greater part of the original entrance, portico, and nave, has disappeared, and has been replaced by a thickly-plastered modern addition. The arrangement of the *mahâ-mandapa*, or transept, is different from that of the other temples, as the corners have been cut off to form an octagon round the four central pillars. I noticed that the ornamentation of these pillars has only been traced out with the chisel, which shows that the temple was not finished according to the designer's intention. Externally there are the same three rows of sculptures above the plinth, which have already been described in the other large temples. There are, however, no large obscene subjects as on the others, but many of the smaller figures are very indelicate. The three principal groups consist of Brahmâ and Saraswati on the south side, of Siva and Pârvati on the west, and of Vishnu and Lakshmi with the Varâha on the north. There are no inscriptions, but the masons' marks are numerous, amongst which I found the names of *Bhima* and *Subhachâ Nahila* in the well known Kutila characters of the tenth or eleventh century.

No. 7 temple, called *Viswanâth*, is situated on the east side of the old bed of the Sib-Sâgar, and is the most northerly building of this half of the western group. Its plan is similar to that of the Kandâriya temple with its five chambers, and its open passage round the sanctum. It is, however, one-sixth less in size, being only 87½ feet long by 46 feet broad, but it is altogether in better preservation itself, and its five subordinate temples are still standing or traceable

at the four corners of its terrace, and in front of the entrance. *Vishwanâtha*, or the "lord of the universe," is a title of Siva, and is most probably the original name of the temple, as there is a figure of Siva seated on his bull *Nandi* over the centre of the entrance to the sanctum, with figures of Brahmâ on his goose, and of Vishnu on his eagle, to the right and left. Inside the shrine also there is a *lingam* of Siva, and most of the principal groups, both of the interior and exterior, have reference to Siva and his consort. The large central groups of the outside are like those of the other temples, highly indelicate; and everywhere there are numbers of female figures who are represented dropping their clothes, and thus purposely exposing their persons. The interior decoration is as lavishly elaborate as that of the other temples, the ornamentation of the flat recessed ceilings, with their numerous pendents, being singularly rich and varied. Outside there are the usual three bands of sculptures immediately above the plinth, and the same profuse accumulation of mouldings, sculptures and pinnacles as in the Kandâriya temple. The spire also is finished in the same manner with a large *amalaka* fruit, surmounted by a bell-shaped ornament. Altogether I counted 602 statues of from 2 to 2½ feet in height, in the different ranges of sculpture of this gorgeous temple. There are also ten half-size elephant statues fixed on slabs projecting from the ten angles of the roofs above the five pillared balconies of the transept and sanctum. The general effect of the building is much injured by these huge monsters thus suddenly protruded in mid-air from the corners of the building, without any real or apparent support sufficient for their enormous weight.

Inside the entrance portico of this temple there are two large inscribed slabs which are dated, respectively, in the Samvat years 1056 and 1058, or A. D. 999 and 1001, but as they are of different sizes, and are not fixed, it is probable that only one of them actually belongs to the temple. As the earlier record was the only inscription seen by Burt in 1838, I conclude that it most probably belongs to the temple. It has been translated by Mr. Sutherland, but the translation requires revision in many places, and more especially in the proper names of the Chândel genealogy as well as in the

date.* The inscription opens with an invocation to Siva, and records the building of the temple to *Sambhu* (or Siva), "the chief of the gods," and the dedication of a *lingam* made of emerald *(marakatamayam)* by Raja *Dhanga*, of the *Chandrâtreya* race. As Dhanga died upwards of 100 years of age, before the inscription was engraved in A. D. 999, the building of the temple must have been begun some years earlier, or about A. D. 980. The temple itself is said to have been called *Pramatha Nâtha;* but in spite of this difference of name, I think it is almost certain that this Saiva inscription must refer to the Saiva temple now called *Viswanâtha.* The emerald *lingam* has of course disappeared long ago, and several of the statues are missing from the niches, but the temple is otherwise in very good order for a building of so remote an age. The masons' marks and the pilgrims' names are unusually numerous about this temple. Many of the former, including several of the masons' names, are inverted, showing that they must have been cut before the erection of the building. I found the name of *Sri-Jasa-Râna, Sri-Deva-Nanda, Sri-Devâditya, Sri-Mahânâga, Sri-Juga-Deva,* and others several times repeated in rude Kutila characters of the tenth or eleventh century, which corroborate the assignment of the inscription to this temple.

The small temple at the south-west corner of the platform is dedicated to Siva, whose figure occupies the centre of the entrance to the sanctum. Inside there is a small seated figure of Durgâ, eight-armed, holding a trident and bowl. The small temples at the north-east and south-west corners are gone, and that at the north-east corner has been modernized with plaster restorations.

No. 8 is a small open temple containing a colossal recumbent statue of the bull Nandi, which faces the entrance of the Saiva temple of Viswanâth. In plan it is a square of 16 feet with 12 pillars, and a small open porch of two pillars on each of the four sides, thus forming an open temple of 20 pillars.† The plinth is ten feet in height, with plain mouldings, excepting a single row of elephants facing the front with two human figures between each pair. The roof

---

* Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1839, p. 159.

† See Plate XCVII. for a plan of this temple.

is a straight sided pyramid of 16 steps, with small pillared openings on the four sides, and an *amalaka* fruit on the top, surmounted by a bell-shaped ornament. The ceiling is recessed in the usual manner by overlapping stones, by which the square is first reduced to an octagon, and then to a circle, but it is very plain. The figure of the bull is 7¼ feet in length, and is highly polished. The horns and knees have been broken, but are now repaired with plaster. On the pedestal, immediately under the bull's head, there are the marks of a seated female figure. There is no writing to show the date of the building, but its style and position prove that it must be of the same period as the Viswanâth temple, of which it evidently forms a part.

No. 9 is a small temple of *Pârvati* situated to the south of the Viswanâth. It is now much ruined, the sanctum only being left entire; but this is sufficient to show, by the figure of Vishnu over the centre of the doorway, that the temple was originally dedicated to that god, and not to Siva, or his consort Pârvati. Inside there is a four-armed standing female statue 5 feet in height, which is said to be Pârvati, but which is certainly Lakshmi, as there is a small figure of Vishnu immediately over her head, while the positions to the right and left are occupied by Brahmâ and Siva.

No. 10 is another of the large temples of this group now called *Râmachandra*, but which in 1852, at the time of my first visit, was known as *Lakshmanji*, and in 1838, at the time of Burt's visit, as *Chaturbhuj*. All of these names refer to Vishnu, to whom the temple was certainly dedicated, but it is extremely doubtful whether any one of them was the actual name. I will call it *Chaturbhuj*, or "the four-armed," as this is a well known title of Vishnu,, and is also descriptive of the statue which is now enshrined inside. The temple is 85 feet 4 inches in length and 44 feet in breadth, or almost exactly the same size as Viswanâth. It is also similar in other respects, as it has an open passage round the sanctum as well as five subordinate temples attached to it, of which four are placed at the corners of its terrace, and the fifth opposite its entrance. It has also the same profuse decoration both inside and outside, but the statues are less numerous as there are only two bands of sculptures above the plinth. I counted 230 statues outside and 170 inside, or

altogether 400 statues from 2 to 2½ feet in height. The mouldings of the basement terrace are, however, much richer than those of any of the other temple, as they are covered with boar-hunts and processions of horses, elephants, and soldiers armed with many varieties of weapons. Some portions of the basement parapet are also in perfect order. These are imitations of wooden balustrades in high relief, which slope outwards like the parapets of the pillared porches of the temples. Inside the shrine there is a standing statue, 4 feet 1 inch in height, of a four-armed male figure with three heads, the middle head being human, and the others leonine. I believe that it is intended for the *Nara Sinha* or "man lion," *avatár* of Vishnu. The masons' marks and names in Kutila characters of the tenth or eleventh century are very numerous on this temple, and, as many of them are upside down, they must have been cut before the building was commenced. Inside the entrance porch there is a large slab, 6 feet long and 2½ feet broad, placed sloping against the wall. It was not seen by Burt in 1838, but it is said to have been found amongst the ruins at the base of the temple after 1843, when the building was being repaired by the Chhatrpur Raja. It gives the same genealogy of the Chândel Rajas as the other inscription, ending with *Sri Yaso Varmma Raja*, and his son *Sri Dhangga*, and is dated both in words and figures in S. 1011, or A. D. 954, just 45 years earlier than the Visvanath inscription. I understand it to record the building of a temple by Raja Yasovarmma and his son Dhangga, which was completed during the reign of the latter, who, as he did not die until A. D. 999, must have reigned upwards of 45 years. As the inscription opens with an invocation to Bhagavata, and the Vasu Devas, it is almost certain that it must have belonged to this Chaturbhuj of Vishnu.

All of the four small corner temples are dedicated to Vishnu, whose image occupies the central position over the entrances. These temples are 18¾ feet in length by 11½ feet in breadth, with small porticoes of two pillars each in front of the entrances. The two at the west corners, or back of the great temple, face towards the east, or towards its entrance, while the two at the east corners face each other, each pointing towards the entrance of the great temple. On one of the pillars of the south-east shrine there is a short

record of a pilgrim, which is dated in S. 1161, or A. D. 1104, or just 150 years after the erection of the temple.

No. 11 is a small open temple containing a colossal statue of the *Varâha Avatâr*, or "boar incarnation" of Vishnu. It is situated immediately to the east of the *Chaturbhuj* temple with its entrance facing the other. It is an oblong building, 20½ feet by 16 feet, with 3 pillars at each corner and 2 pillars on the west side forming the entrance portico.* The ceiling is formed of overlapping stones in plain squares, except the upper one, which is poorly ornamented. The statue of the boar is 8 feet 9 inches in length by 5 feet 9½ inches in height. It is represented standing with the two left legs advanced. On the pedestal under the boar there is a long undulated *Nága*, or snake, with his tail supporting the boar's tail, and his head crushed by a seated human figure. Close beside the snake's head there are two feet of another human statue, which must have been that of *Prithvi*, or the earth, as there are some traces of her hand on the boar's neck. The body and legs of the boar are entirely covered with small human figures in rows of which I counted 674.

No. 12 is a small temple situated 16 feet to the north of the boar, which the people now call *Devi* as it contains a statue of a four-armed female. But as the central figure over the door-way of the sanctum is that of Vishnu, with Siva and Brahmâ to the right and left, it is certain that the temple could not have been originally dedicated to *Párvati*, the consort of Siva, as the name of Devi would usually imply, but to Lakshmi, the consort of Vishnu, who is also called Devi, but generally with some additional title as in the instance of *Devi-Jagadámbi*.

No. 13, called *Mrilang Mahádeo*, or *Mrityunjáya Mahádeva*, the "victorious over death," is a large square temple enshrining a colossal *lingam* of Siva, 8 feet in height and 3 feet 8 inches in diameter. It is situated 30 feet to the south of the Chaturbhuj temple, and is most probably of the same age, although there are no inscriptions nor mason's marks now remaining to determine its date. It is 24½ feet square inside, and 35 feet square outside, with a projecting porch

* See Plate XCVIII. for a plan of this temple.

18¼ feet long and 9¼ feet broad on each side.* The temple is apparently quite plain on the outside, for it is so thickly coated with white-wash that any common ornamentation has been lost in the slime, and is no longer visible. It has a bold pyramidal roof receding by steps, and is surmounted by a brightly gilt pinnacle, the work of the late Raja of Chatrpur. As I was not permitted to enter this Priapian temple, I am unable to give any account of the ceiling except that it is also coated with white-wash.

No. 14 is a small ruined temple to the south of the Sib-Sâgar, of which nothing now remains to determine either its age or its name. To the north of No. 6, the temple of the sun, there is another ruined mound, but there is nothing now left to give any clue to the nature of the building which once occupied the site. These are the last remains of the western group, which was the only portion of the ruins visited by Burt in 1838, as he limits the number to seven temples, which he justly considered to be "most probably the finest aggregate number of temples congregated in one place to be met with in all India, and all are within a stone's throw of one another." Their vicinity to each other, as well as their number and still existing names, proves that Burt's visit to the Khajurâho temples was limited to the western group.

The northern group, which is situated at an average distance of three-quarters of a mile from the western group, consists chiefly of ruined mounds, which are very probably the remains of the numerous Buddhist monasteries mentioned by Hwen Thsang. No. 15 is a ruined mound 200 feet in length, from north to south, by 150 feet in breath, and 15 feet in height; it is called *Satdhâra*, a name which is familiar to us as that of one of the great Buddhist establishments near Bhilsa. The mound is a mass of broken bricks, amongst which I found several door lintels with four bracket capitals, and two elephants of stone. Nothing whatever is known about it, and I can only conjecture from its size as well as its name that it must be the remains of a Buddhist monastery. Three hundred feet to the south there is a smaller mound 80 feet square, on which I found the walls of

* See Plate XCVII. for a plan of this temple.

a small temple with several plain stone pillars. Five hundred feet to the north-west there is another mound of the same size, and between these are two other smaller mounds and a tank about 200 feet square. Nearly half a mile due east of the Satdhâra ruin, there is another mound of about the same size, which is also covered with broken bricks and squared stones, amongst which I found the lintel of a *Vaishnava* temple, with the figure of Vishnu sculptured in the middle of it. Between these two ruins there are two fine old wells.

No. 16 is another large ruined mound of broken bricks and cut stones, 200 feet in length from north to south, by 120 feet in breadth and 6 feet in length. It is called *Batasi-ki-Thoriya*. Six hundred feet to the east there is another large mound called *Baniyâni Thoriya*, also covered with broken bricks and cut stones, amongst which I found the remains of a temple door-way, with the figure of Siva sculptured in the middle of the lintel. Close to the south of No. 16 there is another small mound, and 600 feet to the south-west there are two fine old wells and two more mounds covered with broken bricks, of which not even the name is now known.

No. 17 is a large temple situated close to the north end of the village, and to the south of the last-mentioned mounds. The temple is called *Vâman*, or the "dwarf incarnation" of Vishnu, a name which is certainly not correct; for, although there is a large statue of the dwarf god, 4 feet 8 inches high, enshrined inside, yet there is a small figure of Siva himself over the centre of the entrance to the sanctum, with Brahmâ and Vishnu to the right and left. The temple is 60¼ feet in length by 38¾ feet in breadth, and is very much inferior to the great temples of the western group, both in the richness and variety of its ornamentation, and in the number of its sculptures. It has, however, two rows of statues on the outside, each 2½ feet in height, or about 300 statues altogether. I could find only one short masons' inscription, but as this is in Kutila characters, I conclude that the temple must have been erected in the tenth or eleventh century. To the north, the west, and the south-west there are three other ruined temples of small size, of which too little now remains to give any clue to their character. The whole of these temples are

grouped on a single high mound, which rises about 15 feet above the fields.

No. 18 is a small temple, 38 feet long by 26 feet broad situated on a mound immediately to the east of the village. At my first visit in 1852 it was called *Thâkurji* and *Lakshmanji*, but in the present year, 1865, I found that no one knew it by any other name than *Jabâr*, which is properly the name of the field, or land in which it stands, and has no connexion whatever with the temple. There is a figure of Vishnu over the centre of the sanctum, and inside there is a standing figure of *Chaturbhuj*, or the "four-armed" Vishnu.* There is nothing remarkable about this temple, which is a plain building of small size.

No. 19 is a small modern temple built of old materials on the east bank of the Khajûr Sâgar. It is called *Hanumân* from a colossal figure of the monkey god, 7 feet in height, placed outside the temple. Many stones of the old temple are still lying about, as well as several sculptures, amongst which I recognised a *Gadâdhar* figure of Vishnu, and a large male *Nâga*, or human-bodied serpent, 4 feet in height, with its tail coiled in regular folds.

No. 20 is a small pyramidal roofed temple, situated on the east bank of Khajûr Sâgar, and close to the last. It is called *Brahmâ*, from a four-faced symbol of that god which is placed inside; but as there is a figure of *Gadâdhar* over the centre of the entrance, it is certain that the temple must have been dedicated to Vishnu.* The building is only 19 feet square outside and 10½ feet inside, but its general appearance is very ancient, and its antiquity is, I think, further shown by the mixture of granite and sandstone in its construction. Thus the jambs of the four doors and the 12 pillars placed round the inside of the walls, are all of granite, while the walls and roof are of sandstone. Three of the openings are closed with thick stone lattices of simple but different patterns. The pyramidal roof also is surmounted by a bell-shaped ornament without the usual *amalaka* fruit. I notice all these small differences of detail as I believe them to be so many evidences of superior antiquity, by which I infer that the temple must be older than

* See Plate XCVIII. for a plan of this temple.

those of the western group, and may therefore date as early as the eighth or ninth century.

The south-eastern group of ruins, which consists entirely of Buddhist and Jain remains, is situated close to the village on high ground, formed of the debris of the old city. No. 21, the earliest of the group, is called *Ganthai*, the meaning of which no one knows. It is at present an open pillared temple, 40 feet in length by 20 feet in breadth; but there are traces of walls all round, from which I infer that the pillars now standing form only a portion of the old temple, including the three *mandapas*. This inference is borne out by the difference in the style and material of the pillars themselves, as all the inner pillars are of sandstone elaborately carved, while all the outer pillars, which would have been engaged in the walls, are of granite and quite plain. If this suggestion is correct, the original temple must have been nearly twice the size of the present remains. The four sandstone pillars, the remains of what I believe to have been the *mahá-mandapa*, or transept, are octagonal, 20 inches thick and 14½ feet in height. Over the centre of the entrance there is a seated four-armed female, which is most probably a figure of *Dharmmá*, who was either the first or the second person of Buddhist triad, according as the belief of the founder made her the passive or the active agent of creation. On the pedestal of a colossal seated and draped statue I found inscribed the well known profession of the Buddhist faith, beginning *Ye dharmma hetu prabhavá*, &c., in characters of the sixth or seventh century, similar to those of the Sârnâth sculptures. I conclude, therefore, that the *Ganthai* ruin was a Buddhist temple of that period, an opinion which I believe to be partially confirmed by the mixture of sandstone and granite in its construction. I found also several broken statues laying about the ruins, but all of them are naked Jain figures of a much later period. On one of them there was an inscription dated in S. 1142, or A. D. 1085, recording the gift of a figure of *Adinâth*, the first of the 24 Jain pontiffs, by the Sreshti *Sri Bibat Sah*, and his wife the *Sethini Padmâvati*. This would seem to show that the old Buddhist temple had been appropriated to their own use by the Jains of the eleventh century.

No. 22 is a small ancient temple which has been restored in modern times as a shrine of *Pârswanâth*, the 23rd of the

Jain pontiffs. The portion now remaining, which appears to be only the sanctum of the orginal temple, has a naked male figure on the left side of the door, and a naked female figure on the right side, with three seated female figures over the centre. Inside there is a small seated figure of *Pârswânâth*, which gives it name to the temple. Outside, the building is ornamented with three rows of small statues, of which those of the two lower rows are standing, and those of the uppermost row either sitting or flying. On the jambs of the door there are three short records of pilgrims in characters of the tenth or eleventh century, which is, I think, the most probable date of the original temple.

Nos. 23 and 24 are small ancient temples which have lately been restored with plaster, and dedicated to the Jain pontiffs, Adinâth and Pârswânath. Over the centre of each door-way there is a small female figure which looks like Lakshmi, but which must be one of the numerous Jain goddesses.

No. 25 is the largest and finest of this group of Jain temples, being 60 feet in length by 2[illegible] feet in breadth. At the time of my first visit in January 1852, it was fortunately deserted, and I was thus able to examine the inside with leisure. It was repaired five years ago by a Jain banker, and at my last visit in February 1865, I was not permitted to enter it. From the door-way, however, I could see that the whole of the statues, both large and small, which cover the entrance to the sanctum, had been most elaborately painted in blue, green, red, and yellow, and were still glistening as if recently varnished. The whole design of this temple is peculiar and novel. The interior consists of three chambers,—the *mandapa*, *antarâla*, and *garbhâgriha*,—or the open pillared hall, the vestibule and the sanctum, with a passage running all round the three. Externally the temple may be described as a simple oblong with a recess on each of the long sides, and a projection on each of the short sides, that to the east forming the entrance portico. The walls are decorated with numerous bands of mouldings, and with three rows of statues, as on No. 22, amongst which I recognised several of the Brahmanical gods. The ceiling of the portico is formed in the usual manner of cusped recesses, but the design is unusually beautiful. The square is reduced by overlapping stones, forming eight semi-circular recesses which are covered

by three successive circles. In the middle circle and in the four corners there are five pendent drops, which terminate in flying figures of very graceful and original design. Over the entrance to the sanctum, there is a single naked figure seated, and on the sides there are two naked figures standing, while the front of the door-step is occupied with an elaborate design of the churning of the ocean. There is no inscription now attached to the temple recording its erection; but, on the left jamb of the entrance, there is a short inscription of eleven lines, announcing the gift of various gardens to the temple of *Jinánatha* by Bhavya Páhila in the Samvat year 1011, or A. D. 954, during the reign of Raja Dhanga. The date of its erection may, therefore, be fixed as not later than A. D. 900, and, perhaps, even as early as A. D. 800. The pilgrims' records on this temple are both longer and more numerous than usual; and as two of them mention a Raja's son, it is probable that they may hereafter be of use in fixing the chronology of the kings as well as the date of the temple itself. I have numbered these records from I. to VIII. for easier reference.

ON DOOR-STEP.

I *Mahárájo-putra Sri Jaya Singha khelah*

"The King's son, Sri Jaya Singha * * * "

ON LEFT JAMB OF DOOR.

II. *Bháta-putra Sri Gohuna*

"Bhata's son, Sri Gohuna.

III. *Sri Bháta-putra Sri Mahula*

"Sri Bhata's son, Sri Mâhula."

IV. *Raja-putra Sri Jaya Singha*
Bháta-putra Sri Pithan.

"The King's son, Sri Jaya Singha."
"Bhata's son, Sri Pithan."

V. *Acharya Sri Deva Chandra, Sikhya Kumuda Chandra.*"

"The Teacher, Sri Deva Chandra; the Disciple, Kumuda Chandra."

ON RIGHT JAMB OF DOOR.

VII. *Bhata-putra Sri Deva Sarmma*
Viram (?) jayatu

"Bhata's son, Sri Deva Sarmma,
* * * * may he be victorious."

VIII. A magic square of 16 figures, which form 34 by addition every way, whether horizontally, perpendicularly, or diagonally. The figure 8 is remarkable for an additional stroke on the left side, which I take to be a mark of antiquity as it is a near approach to the figure in my Suhaniya numeral inscription. The figures are disposed thus—

7	12	1	14
2	13	8	11
16	3	10	5
9	6	15	4

No. 26 is an ancient Jain temple restored with plaster and old stones, and called *Setnâth*, which is most probably the original name, as the principal statue enshrined is a colossal standing figure of Adinâth, 14 feet in height, with the title of Setnâth. On the pedestal of this statue I found on my first visit an inscription dated in S. 1085, or A. D. 1028, but this is no longer visible as the whole has been covered with plaster. From the great difficulty of moving this enormous statue, I think that it most probably still occupies its original position, and consequently that the temple itself must be at least as old as the beginning of the eleventh century. The colossus was dedicated by *Sriya-Thakkur*, the son of *Achaksha*, and by *Sri Sivi* and *Sri Chandrama Deva*, the sons of *Devadhara*.

No. 27 is a small ancient Jain temple now dedicated to Adinâth. On the outside there is a single row of figures,

including some naked females; but there is nothing remarkable either in the design of the temple, or in the enshrined figure of Adinâth. There are, however, many Jain statues, both whole and broken, collected about these temples that are specially interesting and valuable from their dated inscriptions. These will all be noticed in my list of authorities for fixing the Chandel chronology, but I may give one here at full length as a specimen of the style of these records. It is inscribed on the pedestal of a colossal seated statue, which is known to be Sumbhunâth by the *horse* symbol: "On the 9th of the waning moon of *Magha*, in Samvat 1215 (A. D. 1158), during the prosperous reign of the fortunate *Madana Varmma Deva*, the Sreshthi Dandha of the solar race, and his son *Pâhilla*, dedicated this image. Then his sons, Mahâgana, Mahi-Chandra, Sibhi-Chandra, Jina-Chandra, Udaya-Chândra, paid their adoration to *Sambhunâth*. Mangala, high priest. Sculptor, Rama Deva." *Madana Varmma* constructed the great lake at Mahoba, called *Madan Sâgar*, and was the father of Paramârddi Deva, the antagonist of Prithi Raj Chohân. The mention of the sculptor's name is curious and useful, as it serves to fix the age of other undated statues which bear his name. I have found no less than three different sculptors' names amongst these Chandel inscriptions.

No. 28 is a large lofty mound of ruined bricks, from 20 to 25 feet in height, situated to the west of the Jain temples and to the south of the Buddhist temple of Ganthai. It is about 300 feet in length from north to south, and 200 feet in breadth, and very flat and level on the top. I traced numerous walls on three sides like the remains of cells, from which I infer that the mound is most probably a ruined Buddhist monastery. During the time of my last visit in February 1865, the people had discovered some very thick and long walls running from the north foot of this mound towards the Jain temples, which they were then engaged in digging up to furnish materials for a new Jain temple. At the south-east corner also there are two small mounds of brick ruins, which still show the remains of square buildings like temples. Several Jain figures had been lately discovered, and the people affirmed, apparently with good reason, that the whole mound on which this south-east group of temples is situated, is formed of the ruins of earlier buildings.

I have now described the three great groups into which the mass of the Khajurâho temples may be divided; but there still remains two more temples on the north bank of the Kurar Nala, three-quarters of a mile to the south of the village, and a small group of ruins, one mile still further to the south at the little village of Jatkari. These two groups may be called for convenience the Kurar temples and the Jatkari temples.

The two temples on the Kurar Nala are called *Nilkanth Mahâdeo* and *Kunwar Math*. The former, marked No. 29 in the plan, is a mere mass of ruins, the whole of the front having fallen, and the walls of the sanctum alone being now standing. Over the centre of the sanctum door-way there is a figure of Siva, with Brahmâ and Vishnu to the right and left: and inside the sanctum there is still standing in its original position, the *Argha*, or pedestal of a *lingam*. The temple was, therefore, certainly dedicated to Siva, and very probably under the name of *Nilakantha Mahâdeva*, although he is called *Gaura*, or the "white god," in a pilgrim's inscription of two lines carved on the wall of the sanctum. As this record is dated, I will give it in full—

Samvat 1174 Jyeshta-badi 3 khudai likhitam Kayastha
Jakturа Sri Gaura-nityam pranamyati

"In Samvat 1174 (A. D. 1117), on the 3rd of the waning moon of Jyeshta, this inscription was engraved, when the Kayastha Jaktura paid his adoration to Sri Gaura." From the early date of this pilgrim's record, I think that we are quite safe in assigning the erection of this temple to the tenth or eleventh century, during the most flourishing period of the Chandel rule.

No. 30 called the *Kunwar Math*, is also dedicated to Siva, whose figure occupies the central position over the door-way of the sanctum, between Brahma and Vishnu. Its name of *Kunwar*, or in Sanskrit *Kumâra*, may, therefore, be derived from *Skanda-Kumâra*, the son of Siva, although it is, perhaps, quite as probable that the appellation is only a popular one meaning the "prince's temple," just as in Gwalior there is the *Teli Mandir*, or "oil-dealer's temple," as well as the *Râni Tâl* and the *Chedi Tâl*, or the "queen's and slave-girl's tanks." I think, therefore, that the *Kunwar Math* may have been built by one of the young princes of the Chandel

dynasty. The building itself is one of the finest temples at Khajurâho, as it is equal to the best of the western group in its decorations, and is but little inferior to them in size, being 66 feet long by 33 feet broad outside, and 58 feet by 29 feet inside. It has the usual five chambers, but the ceiling of the transept is arranged differently from that of any of the other temples, being formed of successively diminishing large circles of overlapping stones, instead of the usual divisions of small circles. There is no inscription, nor even a pilgrim's record, to fix the date of this handsome temple; but as the word *Vagala*, a mason's mark, is repeated several times on the stones of both of these Kurar Nala temples, I infer that they are certainly of the same age, that is, of the tenth or eleventh century.

At Jatkari, 1½ miles to the south of Khajurâho, there are two dilapidated temples and several small mounds of ruins covered with cut-stones and broken sculptures. The northern temple is dedicated to Siva, whose *lingam* of marble is enshrined inside. Close to it there are two mounds of ruins, and at a short distance to the south there is a small ruined temple of Vishnu. Still farther to the south stands the second large temple, which is also dedicated to Vishnu as there is a figure of that god over the entrance to the sanctum, with Brahmâ and Siva to the right and left, and inside there is a colossal statue of the god as *Chaturbhuj*, or the "four-armed," 9 feet in height. These remains are too much dilapidated to be described, but it is necessary to mention them as a part of the magnificent suite of temples that were erected by the princes of the Chandel dynasty at their religious capital of Khajurâho.

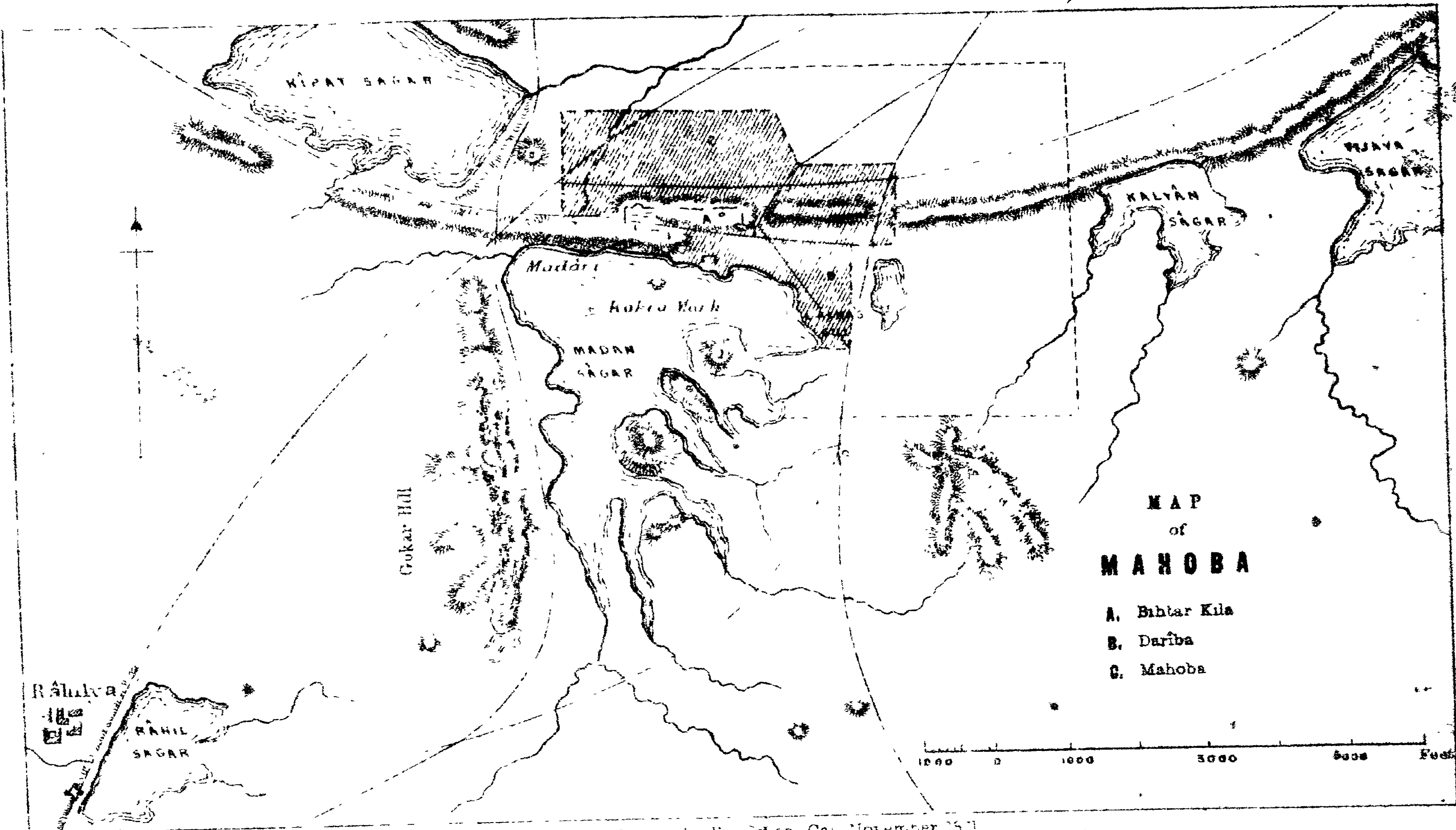
Besides these great temples and ruins which I have just described, there are numerous statues of all sizes scattered about the ruins, collected around the temples, and set up in various places about the tanks and under almost every large tree. The most important of these is a colossal statue of the monkey god, Hanuman, as it bears an inscription on the pedestal, which I read rather doubtfully as Samvat 925, or A. D. 868. It is the oldest dated inscription of the Chândels that has yet been found either at Khajurâho or Mahoba, but it is not otherwise interesting. There is also a colossal statue of Siva, four-armed, erected near the

Varâha temple, which is said to have been found in digging for stones to build the cenotaph of Pratâp Sing, the late Raja of Chhatrpur.

The decline of Khajurâho may, perhaps, be dated from the first advent of the Muhammadans under Mahmud of Ghazni, when *Nanda Rai*, or properly *Ganda*, was obliged to abandon his open capital of Khajurâho and take refuge in his strong fortress of Kâlanjar. From this time down to the end of the twelfth century, the Chândel Rajas would appear to have resided usually at Mahoba, where three of them constructed the great lakes of *Vijay-Sâgar*, *Kirat-Sâgar*, and *Madan Sâgar*, all designated by their own names. After the occupation of Kâlpi and Mahoba by *Kutb-ud-din Aibeg*, in the beginning of the thirtheenth century, the Chândel Princes were obliged for the sake of security to live permanently in the great fortress of Kâlinjar. During the residence of the Chândel Princes at Mahoba, the decline of Khajurâho was most probably very gradual, but, after the occupation of Mahoba by the Muhammadans, it would naturally have been more rapid. It was still, however, a great place of religious resort as late as A. D. 1335, when visited by Ibn Batuta, who describes Kajurâ as occupied "by a tribe of Jogis with long and clotted hair. Their colour inclined to yellow, which arose from their fasting. Many of the moslems of those parts attended upon them to learn magic."* But even these religious mendicants must have disappeared before the time of Akbar as the place is not even mentioned in the Ain Akbari. In the beginning of the present century it is said to have been overgrown with *jangal;* and Franklin, who surveyed the country after 1818, takes no notice of it in his memoir, and simply enters it in his map as *Kajrow,* with the addition of the word "ruins," which is misprinted "mines" in sheet No. 70 of the Indian Atlas. But Khajurâho is still frequented by pilgrims, who assemble in thousands for the celebration of the *Sib-ratrî* in the month of Phâlgun, at which time an annual fair is held, which is said to be attended by such numbers that their encampment covers 2 or 3 *kos*, or about 5 or 6 square miles of ground. On the 4th of February of the present year, both pilgrims and merchants had already

* Travels translated by Dr. Lee, p. 162.

PLATE XCIX.



A. Cunningham del.

Litho. at the Survr. Genl's. Office Cal. November 1871

begun to assemble, and every day after I left Khajurâho on my way to Mâhoba, I was passed by several hundreds of men, women, and children, all hurrying to the fair.

XXXIII. MAHOBA, OR MAHOTSAVA.

The ancient city of Mahoba is situated at the foot of a low granite hill, 54 miles to the south of Hamîrpur at the junction of the Betwa and Jumna, and 34 miles to the north of Khajurâho. Its name is a contraction of *Mahotsava-nagara*, or the "city of the great festival" which was celebrated there by Chandra Varmma, the founder of the Chândel dynasty. It is said to have been 6 *yojanas* long and 2 broad, which is only the usual exaggeration of silly story-tellers for a large city. At its greatest extent, according to my observation, it could never have exceeded 1½ miles in length, from the small castle of Rai-kot on the west, to the Kalyân-Sâgar on the east. It is about one mile in breadth, which would give a circuit of 5 miles, but an area of only one square mile, as the south-west quarter is occupied by the Madan Sâgar.* Its population, therefore, at the most flourishing period must have been under 100,000 persons, even allowing as high an average as one person to every 300 square feet. In 1843, when I resided at Mahoba for about six weeks, there were only 756 inhabited houses, with a population less than 4,000 persons; since then the place has somewhat increased, and is now said to possess 900 houses, and about 5,000 inhabitants.

Mahoba is divided into three distinct portions,—1st, *Mahoba*, or the city proper, to the north of the hill; 2nd, *Bíhtari-kila*, or the inner fort, on the top of the hill; and 3rd, *Daríba*, or the city to the south of the hill. To the west of the city lies the great lake of *Kírat Ságar*, about 1½ miles in circumference, which was constructed by *Kartti Varmma*, who reigned from A. D. 1065 to 1085. To the south is the *Madan Ságar*, about 3 miles in circuit, which was constructed by *Madana Varmma*, who reigned from A. D. 1130 to 1165. To the east is the small lake of *Kalyân Ságar*, and beyond it lies the large deep lake of *Vijay Ságar*, which was constructed by *Vijaya Pála*, who ruled from A. D. 1045 to

* See Plate XCIX. for a map of Mahoba.

1065. The last is the largest of the Mahoba lakes, being not less than 4 miles in circuit; but the most picturesque of all sheets of water in the beautiful lake district of Bundel-khand is the Madan-Sâgar. On the west it is bounded by the singularly rugged granite hill of Gokâr, on the north by ranges of ghâts and temples at the foot of the old fort, and on the south-east by three rocky promontories that jut boldly out into the middle of the lake. Near the north side there is a rocky island, now covered with ruined buildings; and towards the north-west corner there are two old granite temples of the Chândel Princes, one altogether ruined, but the other still standing lofty and erect in the midst of the waters after the lapse of 700 years.

As Mahoba was for some time the head quarters of the early Muhammadan Governors, we could hardly expect to find that any Hindu buildings had escaped their furious bigotry, or their equally destructive cupidity. When the destruction of a Hindu temple furnished the destroyer with the ready means of building a house for himself on earth, as well as in heaven, it is, perhaps, wonderful that so many temples should still be standing in different parts of the country. It must be admitted, however, that, in none of the cities which the early Muhammadans occupied permanently, have they left a single temple standing, save this solitary temple at Mahoba, which doubtless owed its preservation solely to its secure position amid the deep waters of the *Madan-Sâgar*. In *Delhi* and *Mathura*, in *Banâras* and *Jonpur*, in *Narwar* and *Ajmer*, every single temple was destroyed by their bigotry; but thanks to their cupidity, most of the beautiful Hindu pillars were preserved, and many of them, perhaps, on their original positions, to form new colonnades for the masjids and tombs of the conquerors. In Mahoba all the other temples were utterly destroyed, and the only Hindu building now standing is part of the palace of *Parmâl*, or *Paramârddi Deva*, on the top of the hill-fort, which has been converted into a masjid. In 1843 I found an inscription of Paramârddi Deva built upside down in the wall of the fort just outside this masjid. It is dated in S. 1240, or A. D. 1183, only one year before the capture of Mahoba by Prithi-Raj, Chohân of Delhi. In the Dargâh of Pir Mubârak Shah, and the adjacent Musalmân burial-ground, I counted 310 Hindu pillars of

granite. I found also a black stone bull lying beside the road, and the *argha* of a *lingam* fixed as a water-spout in the terrace of the Dargáh. These last must have belonged to a temple of Siva, which was probably built in the reign of Kirtti Varmma, between 1065 and 1085 A. D., as I discovered an inscription of that prince built into the wall of one of the tombs.

The earliest remains discovered at Mahoba itself, are those of the temple of Siva just noticed, which was probably built in the time of *Kirtti Varmma*. But there seems no good reason to doubt the popular tradition of its foundation by the first Chandel Raja, Chandra Varmma, as the story is at least as old as the time of the bard Chand, and is most probably much older. There is, indeed, one temple at the village of *Rahilya*, two miles to the south-west of Mahoba, which is universally attributed to *Râhil Barm*, or *Râhila Varmma*, who, according to the inscriptions, was the great-grandfather of Raja Dhanga, and must therefore have reigned about A. D. 900. The temple is built entirely of granite, and is now much ruined; but it is of large size, and is as highly decorated as the nature of its hard material would admit. The existence of this early temple may be accepted as a very strong confirmation of the local tradition, that Mahoba was occupied by the first princes of the Chandel dynasty. I will now describe, as nearly as possible in chronological order, the few Hindu remains that still exist at Mahoba, beginning with the temples on the lake of Madan-Sâgar, which are universally said to have been built by *Madana Varmma*, by whom the lake itself was constructed.

The *Kakra Marh*, or "Kakra temple," stands on a rocky island in the north-west corner of the Madan-Sâgar. In size it is equal to the largest of the Khajurâho temples, being 103 feet in length by 42 feet in breadth. It is built entirely of granite, and is therefore very much inferior to the Khajurâho temples in decoration; its architectural ornaments being limited to such small geometrical patterns as could be executed without much difficulty in hard granite. Its general arrangement of five chambers is similar to that of most Hindu temples of the same period, but the size of the *Mahá-Mandapa*, or transept, is greater than that of any

of the Khajurâho temples.* I am inclined, however, to attribute this difference solely to the stronger material, as a larger span could be safely used with granite architraves than with those of sandstone. On each of the outer faces of the sanctum there are three niches for the reception of statues, but neither outside nor inside could I find even the fragment of a figure. The name of *Kakra* is said to refer to the worship of Siva, and as there is the mark of a *lingam* in the middle of the sanctum, I think it most probable that the temple was dedicated to that god.

On another rocky island, a few hundred feet to the north of *Kakra Marh*, there is a large ruined temple, now called *Madâri*, which is a name of Krishna, one of the Avatars of Vishnu. Only the foundations of the building are now standing, which show that this temple was even larger than the other, being 107 feet in length by 75 feet in width. Opposite the east end, or entrance, there are the foundations of another small temple, 16 feet square, which I conclude from other examples must once have enshrined a statue of the *Varâha-Avatâr*, or boar incarnation of Vishnu. But the most curious and interesting remains of the ruined temple are five life-size elephant statues in sandstone, which on my two previous visits were under the water, and only partially accessible with great difficulty. At my third visit in February 1865, the level of the lake, owing to the scanty rains of the previous season, was 4 feet lower than I had seen it before, and I was able to examine and measure the of the statues without any trouble, although they were still partly immersed in the water. The average length was [illegible] feet, and the mean girth of body 12¼ feet. The legs of all five statues were broken off and lost, so that I was unable to complete the measurements for comparison with the living animal. But as both the length and girth correspond with those of the usual run of small male elephants, there can be no doubt that they were intended for life-size statues. There are no traces of riders on any of them, but the simple *jhâl*, or housing, is superficially indicated on all. There is nothing left to show the original positions of these statues; but, if we may be guided by the arrangement of the half-size elephant statues at *Khajurâho*, then these five

* See Plate XCVIII. for a plan of this temple.

enormous figures must have been projected in mid-air from the five disengaged faces of the two spires of the sanctum and transept. It is quite possible, however, that they may have been erected in pairs at each of the three entrances to the temple, that is, at the east or main entrance, and at the two side entrances to the north and south.

Dîpon, or *Dîwat*, is the name of a single granite pillar standing on the north bank of the lake in front of the temple of *Manya Deva*. Its name is derived from the practice of placing a lamp, or *dîp*, on its summit on stated occasions. But this certainly could not have been the original purpose of the pillar, as it is crowned with a broad flat-topped capital, and does not possess a single receptacle for a lamp. It is a single shaft 18 feet in height, and 1¾ feet square at the base. In the middle it is octagonal, and in the upper part round. The two lower portions are quite plain, but the uppermost is ornamented with four chains, and bells suspended from four lions' heads immediately beneath the capital. I think that this column was most probably connected with the temple of *Manya Deva*, in front of which it now stands; but there is nothing to show its age, and the present temple is a common plaster building in the modern Muhammadan style.

The old fort at Mahoba is situated on a low granite hill immediately to the north of the lake of Madan-Sâgar. On the north side the walls crown the crest of the hill, and on the east and west sides they run down to the lake, which forms the south boundary of the enclosure. It is 1,625 feet in length from the *Bhainsa Darwâza* on the west to the *Darîba Darwâza* on the east, but is not more than 600 feet broad in the widest part. It is a place of no strength, and there is no record of its ever having been defended. The walls are regularly built of squared blocks of granite, and the place has more the appearance of a large enclosure round a palace than of a place of defence.

The *Palace* of *Raja Parmâl*, or Paramârddi-Deva, is situated on the top of the fort hill. The portion now standing is an open pillared hall, 80 feet by 25 feet, which was formerly converted into a mosque by the addition of a back wall to the west, in which basement mouldings and other carved stones are built up one over the other. The Muhammadan pulpit with its staircase is still standing against this west

wall, in the middle of which there is the small *arched* recess that is common to all mosques. The pillars are massive blocks of granite, upwards of two feet square and 12 feet in height, and are richly decorated with deep mouldings, and bold geometrical figures. There are eight rows of pillars in the length, and three in the breadth of the building, making seven openings for the front of the mosque. The outer pillars of the east row are all of one bold and massive design, while the two inner rows are of another design, which is much more minute and complicated. The places of some of these pillars have been supplied by pilasters, the existence of which proves that the original building to which they belonged must have had walls in which they were engaged, while their present position shows that some portion of the old temples must have been re-built, and perhaps altered to adapt it for the purposes of a mosque. According to the tradition of the people, this building was the *Palace* of *Raja Parmâl*, the antagonist of Prithi Raj Chohân, and the last Chândel Raja of Mahoba. This tradition is confirmed by my discovery of an inscription of *Paramârddi-Deva or Parmâl*, placed upside down in the wall of the fort, immediately outside the mosque. This record is dated in S. 1240, or A. D. 1183, just one year before the capture of Mahoba by Prithi Raj.

In the south-east quarter of the city, called Darîba, there is a small stone pillar called *Alha-ka-lât* and *Alha-ka-gili*, that is, "Alha's staff," or "Alha's plaything." *Gili* is a child's toy of wood, about three inches long and round, like a small glass phial. The stone *lât* or *gili* is 9¼ feet in height and 13 inches in diameter, and is placed loosely in a square hole cut in a large mass of granite. It is usually moveable with the slightest touch, and is a continued source of wonder and amusement to the children. Nothing whatever is known either of its age, or of its real purpose.

On another granite rock close to *Alha's gili*, there is a sunken tablet about 2 feet square, containing the figure of a horseman, called *Chanda Matwâra*, about whom I could learn no particulars whatever. The figure, however, is still worshipped by the people with obeisance and libations of oil. There are also some small figures on other rocks close by, but they are nameless, and not respected by the people.

In the west part of the city, just outside the Bhanisa Darwâza of the fort, there is a flat-roofed masjid on Hindu pillars, which, according to an inscription over its door-way, was either erected or converted in the reign of Tughlak Shah, between A. D. 1321 and 1325; I am rather inclined to think that it must be part of the original temple slightly altered, as its floor is considerably below the present level of the ground. The inscription, which consists of ten-rhymed couplets in Persian, has been submitted to Major Lees for translation.

It will be observed that all the existing ruins of Mahoba, as well as they can be ascertained, are exclusively Brahmanical. But the numerous broken statues of the Jains which still lie about the city, including 8 or 10 inscribed pedestals of the Chándel period, show that the *Sráwakis* of former days must have possessed several rich temples, of which even the sites are now unknown. The discovery also of a single pedestal inscribed with the well known formula of the Buddhist faith, in characters of the eleventh or twelfth century, is sufficient to prove that the Buddhist religion was still existing in Mahoba at that late period.

I have already observed that the name of *Mahoba* is a contraction of *Mahotsavanagara*, or the "city of the great festival," which is said to have been celebrated on the 11th day of the waxing moon of *Vaisâkh*, when Chandra Varmma reached 16 years of age. There is no trace of this festival now, as the *Khajaliya Mela*, which is the only fair held in Mahoba at the present day, takes place on the full moon of *Srávana*, and lasts over the fol lowing day, and the annual fair at *Ráhilya* is held on the full moon of *Kártik*. The traditional story of the foundation of Mahoba was originally given by the bard Chand, and has been copied by the local annalists. According to the legend, the Chándels are sprung from *Hemávati*, daughter of Hem-ráj, the Brahman Purohit of Indrajit, Gahirwar Raja of Banâras. Hemâvati was very beautiful, and one day when she went to bathe in the Râti Tâlâb, she was seen and embraced by *Chandramá*, the god of the moon, as he was preparing to return to the skies. Hemâvati cursed him. "Why do you curse me?" said Chandramâ, "your son will be lord of the earth, and from him will spring a thousand branches." Hemâvati enquired

"How shall my dishonour be effaced when I am without a husband ?" "Fear not," replied Chandramâ, "your son will be born on the bank of the *Karnavati* River: then take him to *Khajurâya*, and offer him as a gift and perform a sacrifice. In Mahoba he will reign, and will become a great king. He will possess the philosopher's stone, and will turn iron into gold. On the hill of *Kâlanjar* he will build a fort. When your son is 16 years age you must perform a *Bhânda Jag* to wipe away your disgrace, and then leave Banaras to live at Kâlanjar."

According to this prophecy, Hemâvati's child, like another Chandramâ, was born on Monday, the 11th of the waxing moon of *Baisâkh*, on the bank of the *Karnavati*, the modern *Kayân*, or Kane River of the maps, and the *Kainas* of the Greeks. Then Chandrama, attended by all the gods, performed a "great festival" (*Mahotsava*), when Vrihaspati wrote his horoscope, and the child was named Chandra Varmma. At 16 years of age he killed a tiger, when Chandramâ appeared to him and presented him with the philosopher's stone, and taught him polity (*râjnit*). Then he built the fort of Kâlanjar, after which he went to *Kharjârpur*, where he performed a sacrifice (*Jag* or *Yajnya*) to do away with his mother's shame, and built 85 temples. Then Chandrâvati Râni and all the other queens sat at the feet of Hemâvati, and her disgrace was wiped away. Lastly, he went to *Mahotsava*, or Mahoba, the place of Chandrama's "great festival," which he made his capital.

The date of this event is variously stated by the different authorities. In 1843, during a residence of six weeks at Mahoba, I procured a copy of the *Mahoba Khand* of Chand, in which the date was put down in S. 225. In 1852, when at Khajurâho, I obtained a second date of S. 204 from Bahâdur Singh, a descendant of the Chândel Rajas. In 1865 I got a third date of S. 661, from the chief bard of Mahoba. A fourth date of S. 682 was furnished to Colonel R. R. Ellis by Dharm Dâs, Kanungo. The only way that I can see of reconciling these discrepancies is to refer the smaller numbers to a later era, as, for instance, that of *Sri-Harsha* in A. D. 607, which would make the two earlier dates equivalent to A. D. 810 and 831; while the larger numbers might be referred to the *Sake* era, which would make

them equivalent to A. D. 739 and 760. The inscriptions furnish a ready means of testing the accuracy of these dates, as they make Raja *Dhanga* the sixth in lineal descent from Raja *Nannuka*, the founder of the dynasty. Now, *Dhanga* was certainly reigning in A. D. 954, but as he did not die until 999, his accession cannot be placed earlier than A. D. 950; and if we allow 25 years to each generation, which is the average that I have deduced from numerous examples, then the establishment of the Chândel dynasty under Nannuka, and also the foundation of Mahoba, must have taken place in A. D. 800. But as I have found that the Indian generations vary between 20 and 30 years, the accession of Nannuka might have taken place as much as 30 years either earlier or later than A. D. 800. As these are, however, the utmost possible limits of the variation, the date of the establishment of the Chândel dynasty may be fixed with absolute certainty between A. D. 770 and 830, and approximately at A. D. 800.

The dates of several of the later Chândel Princes are fixed by various inscriptions which have been discovered at Khajurâho, Mhau near Chhatrpur, Mahoba, and Kâlinjar. Three inscriptions at Khajurâho give the dates of S. 1011 and 1056, or A. D. 954 and 999, for the reign of Raja Dhanga. An addition to one of these inscriptions gives the date of Jaya Varmma Deva at S. 1173, or A. D. 1116. Two of these inscriptions give the Chândel genealogy at full length from Nannuka to Dhanga. An inscription from Mhau near Chhatrpur, translated by Lieutenant Price, continues the genealogy from Dhanga to Madana Varmma.* Unfortunately one of the names is doubtful, but as it would appear that a second *Sallakshana-Varmma-Deva* is mentioned in the latter part of the inscription, I believe that this must have been the name of four syllables, which is doubtful in the earlier part. There is no date to the Mhau inscription, but this is of no consequence, as there are no less than four dated inscriptions of Madana Varmma, ranging from S. 1192 to 1220, or A. D. 1135 to 1163. One of the Mahoba inscriptions gives the genealogy from Dhanga to Kirtti Varmma, but its date is lost. Of Parmâl or Paramârddi Deva, there are three dated inscriptions ranging from S. 1224

* Asiatic Researches of Bengal, XII., 357.

to S. 1240, or A. D. 1167 to 1183. In the following list I have enumerated the whole of the inscriptions that refer to the Chândel Princes, as they furnish the only real foundation for the chronology of this dynasty :

CHANDEL INSCRIPTIONS.

No.	Locality.		Date.		King.	
			Samvat.	A. D.		
1	Khajurâho	..	...	700	.. ...	Buddhist profession of faith.
2	Mahoba	...	...	1000	.....	Ditto ditto.
3	Khajurâho	...	925	868	.. . .	Statue of Hanumân.
4	Ditto	...	1011	954	Dhanga.	
5	Ditto	...	.	954		
6	Ditto	..	1011	954	Dhanga.	
7	Ditto	...	1056	999	Ditto.	
8	Ditto	...	1058	1001		
9	Ditto	...	1085	1028		
10	Mahoba	.	. . .	1070	Kirtti V. D.	
11	Khajurâho	...	1142	1085	. ....	Bull symbol, Adinâth.
12	Ditto	.	1161	1104		
13	Mahoba	...	1169	1112		
14	Khajurâho	..	1174	1117		
15	Kâlanjar	..	1188	1131	Madana V. D. ..	No. IV. Maisey.
16	Mhau	...	...	1140	Ditto ..	Priest's inscription.
17	Mahoba	..		1140	Ditto.	
18	Ditto	..	1203	1146		
19	Khajurâho	..	1205	1148		
20	Barigarh	...	1207	11[illegible]		
21	Mahoba	..	1211	1154	Madana V. D. ..	Shell symbol, Neminâth.
22	Khajurâho	...	1212	1155	.. ...	Lion symbol, Viranâth.
23	Mahoba		1213	1156	. ...	Goose symbol, Sumatinâth.
24	Khajurâho	...	1215	1158	Madana V. D. ...	Horse symbol, Sambhunâth
25	Mahoba	...	1220	1163	Ditto ...	Elephant symbol, Ajitanâth.
26	Ditto	.	. .	..	. ...	Ditto ditto Jitanâth—fragment.
27	Ditto	.	1222	1165		
28	Ditto	...	1224	1167	Paramârddi D.	
29	Kâlanjar	.	1228	1178	Ditto ...	Maisey, No. I.
30	Khajurâho	...	1234	1177	.. ...	Bull symbol, Adinâth.
31	Bagrâri	...	.	...	Paramârddi D.	
32	Mahoba	...	1240	1183	Ditto ..	
33	Kâlanjar	...	1288	1231	. . . .	Maisey No. IV.
34	Dahi	..	1337	1280	Vira Varmma ...	Copper-plate, Ellis.
35	Ajaygarh	...	1345	1288	Bhoja Varmma ...	Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, 1837, October.
36	Kâlanjar	...	1372	1315	......	Maisey, No II [after Vira Varma].
37	Mahoba	...	...	1321	Tughlak Shah ...	Masjid of Tuglak Shah, near Nagod.
38	Raipur	...	1408	1351		
39	Chânderi	...	1547	1490	Ghiâs-ud-din ...	Shah of Malwa.
40	Lalitpur	...	...	1490	Ditto ...	Baori.

On comparing the traditional history of the Chândels, as handed down by the annalists, all of whom profess to copy

from the bard Chand, it is most disheartening to find that no two accounts agree exactly, and that some disagree so widely as to be scarcely recognizable as intended for the same story. At the same time their lists of kings differ so materially from the actual genealogy preserved in the inscriptions, that my confidence in the authenticity of all bardic chronicles is completely shaken. I possess no less than six different lists, of which three are taken from actual copies of Chand's poem, and the remainder from the local annalists. Two of Chand's lists differ only in the position of the name of Râhil, which my copy of 1843 places fourth while Ellis' copy places it near the bottom between Kalyân and Madan. In this arrangement it is followed by the other four lists, but in spite of their agreement, they are all wrong, as we learn from the inscriptions that Rahila Varmma was actually the fourth prince of the dynasty. I now place the five different lists side by side for comparison—all the princes take the title of Varmma:

CHANDEL DYNASTY ACCORDING TO THE ANNALISTS.

No.	CHAND. Mahoba MS.	CHAND. Rajnagar MS.	III. Khajurâho MS.	IV. Mahoba MS.	V. Râjnagar MS.
1	Chândra V.	Chândra V.	Chândra V.	Chandra V.	Chandra V.
2	Rama V.	Bala V.	Bala V.	Râma V.	*Tejana* V.
3	Rupa V.	Ratna V.	Bela V.	Bara V.	Bala V.
4	*Râhila* V.	Vrapa V.	Mâna V.	Ballha V.	Râma V.
5	Bala V.	Bela V.	Gaja V.	Patan V.	Ratna V.
6	Ratna V.	Nadana V.	Gyâna	Ganga V.	Gyâna V.
7	[illegible] V.	Punya V.	Jan V.	[illegible] V.	Jân V.
8	Bela V.	Jaga V.	Sikar V.	Bela V.	Madhava V.
9	Ganga V.	Gyâna V.	Bhit V.	Khajura V.	Keshava V.
10	Dilipa V.	Jan V.	Bhagat V.	Nabala V.	Nabala V.
11	Khajura V.	Jaisakti V.	(*erased*) V.	Keshava V.	(*erased*) V.
12	Nabala V.	Jagat V.	*Jagat* V.	Hara V.	(*erased*) V.
13	Keshava V.	Kil V.	Kilak V.	Dilipa	(*erased*) V.
14	Hara V.	Kalyâna V.	Kalyana	Dhana V.	Kalyâna V.
15	Surupa V.	Surya V.	Surya	Mâdhava V.	Surya V.
16	Dhana V.	Rupa V.	Rupa V.	Rupa V.	Rupa V.
17	Madhava V.	Bidhi V.	*Râhila* V.	*Râhila* V.	Buddha V.
18	Kalyâna V.	*Râhila* V.	*Madana* V.	Kalyâna V.	*Râhila* V.
19	*Madana* V.	*Madana* V.	Bheja V.	*Madana* V.	*Madana* V.
20	*Kirtti* V.	*Kirtti* V.	*Kirtti* V.	*Kirtti* V.	*Kirtti* V.
21	*Parmâl* V.	*Parmâl* V.	*Parmal* V.	*Parmal* V.	*Parmâl* V.
22	Brahmâjita V.	Brahmâjita V.	Brahmâjita V.	Brahmâjita V.	*Brahmâjita* V.

For readier comparison, I have printed in *italics* the only five names that correspond with those of the inscriptions; but there are others which may be identified with much probablity, as being either similar in sound, or synonimous in meaning. Of the first kind, *Ganga*, and, perhaps, Gyâna, may be accepted as simple misreadings for *Dhanga*,—*Bidhi* with perhaps *Budha* and *Mádhava* may be the equivalents of *Vidyâdhara*. and *Hara* is very likely the contraction of *Harsha*. Of the second kind, I think that *Kalyána* may be accepted as the equivalent of the synonimous *Harsha*, and *Jagat* of *Prithvi*. As all the lists agree in placing *Kirtti* between *Madana* and *Parmál*, it is probable that they are correct, although his reign cannot have extended beyond four years, as I possess one inscription of his father, Madana, dated in S. 1220, and another of his son or brother, Paramârddi, dated in S. 1224. But in this case he is not the Kirtti Varmma of the inscriptions, whom I would, therefore, identify with *Kil* and *Kilak*, and even with *Dilípa* of the annalists. But even with all these admissions, not more than one-half of the names will correspond with those of the inscriptions, and the remainder differ so widely that any attempt to reconcile them seems utterly hopeless. Some petty particulars are recorded of several of the kings, but they are much too general to afford any assistance towards the identification of the discrepant names. It is possible that some of the princes were only younger branches of the royal family, who having constructed tanks to perpetuate their names, have been elevated to the throne by the ignorant annalists, while the real princes, of whom nothing was recorded, were omitted.

The following list of the Chandel Rajas has been compiled from the genealogies contained in the different inscriptions, in which the founder, named *Nannuka*, is said to be a descendant of the *Chândrâtreya* line, which derive its name from the two mythological progenitors, *Atri* and *Chândra*:

CHANDEL DYNASTY.

No.	Accession.		Kings	Authorities.
	Samvat.	A. D.		
1	857	800	Nannuka.	
2	882	825	Vâkpati.	
3	907	850	Vijaya.	
4	932	875	Râhila.	
5	957	900	Harsha	
6	982	925	Yaso Varmma	
7	1007	950	Dhanga.	Khajurâho Ins. S. 1011 = 954, S. 1056 = 999 A. D.
8	1056	999	Ganda	Nanda Rai of Ferishta, A. D. 1021.
9	1082	1025	Vidyâdhara D.	
10	1102	1045	Vijaya Pâla.	
11	1122	1065	Kirtti Varmma D.	
12	1142	1085	Sallakshana V. D.	Name of four syllables supplied from end of Mhau Ins.
13	1162	1105	Jaya Varmma D.	Khajurâho Ins. S. 1173 = A. D. 1116
14	1177	1120	Sallakshana V. D.	? Name of four syllables brother of Jaya
15	1182	1125	Prithvi Varmma.	
16	1187	1130	Madana V. D.	Ins. S. 1188 = 1131, S. 1220 = 1163 A. D.
17	1220	1163	Kirtti V. D. (?)	
18	1224	1167	Paramârdi D.	Ins. S. 1224 = 1167, S. 1240 = 1183 A. D.
19	12[illegible]	1202	Trailokya V. D.	*Dalki* of Ferishta A. D. 1247.
20	1307	1250	Sandhira V. D.	Copper plate S. 1357 = 1280 A. D., Ellis
21	1337	1280	Bhoja Varmma.	Ajaygarh Ins. S. 1345 = 1288 A. D.
22	1367	13[illegible]5 [illegible]	Vira Varmma.	Maisey No. II [illegible] 13[illegible] A. D.
	A. H.			
	936	1530	...	Kâlanjar besieged by Humâyun.
	952	1545	Kirtti Rai.	Kâlanjar besieged by Sher Shah.
	972	1564		*Durgâvati* dr. of Raja Kâlanjar
	977	1569	Rama Chandra.	Raja of Kâlanjar

The Khajurâho inscriptions afford very little real information regarding the earlier Rajas, all of whom are described in the same general terms as invincible warriors. Of Raja Dhanga, the information is more particular, but it is also more than usually fulsome and ridiculous. The Kings of *Kosala*, *Karnâta*, *Sinhala*, and *Kuntala* are described as attending on the Chandel Chief, while the Kings of *Kânchi*, *Andhra*, *Râdha*, and *Anga*, are said to be his captives. We may admit that Raja Dhanga was a powerful monarch, whose rule was obeyed over all the countries between the Jumna and the Narbada, but it is quite preposterous to make his sway extend over the greater part of Southern India. In the third stanza of the Mhau inscription

as translated by Price, Dhanga is said to have conquered the King of *Kanyakubbja*, or Kanoj; but as there is no mention of this victory in the Khajurâho inscription and as the beginning of the Mhau inscription is wanting, I think it probable that the third stanza may refer to his son *Ganda Deva*, who, by his date, must be the same prince as Ferishta's *Nanda* Rai of Kalanjar, the conqueror of Kanoj. In cursive Persian characters *Nanda* may easily be misread for *Ganda*, and as *Ganda* succeeded to the throne in A. D. 999 while *Nanda's* conquest of Kanoj took place in 1021, I have no hesitation in identifying the two princes. The Raja of Kanoj was tributary to Mahmud of Ghazni, and this attack upon his vassal roused the vengeance of the great Muhammadan conqueror, who immediately marched to his aid," but before he reached Kanoj, he heard that the city had been taken and that the Raja with a number of his principal chiefs had been killed. "*Nanda Rai* of Kalanjar, took post on the frontier of his dominions, where he mustered with his army to oppose Mahmud, having with him 36,000 horse, 45,000 foot, and 640 elephants." But "the heart of the [illegible] failed him at the last moment, and he decamped [illegible] night in the utmost disorder, leaving behind him his [illegible], equipage, and baggage."* As Mahmud did not follow [illegible], I conclude that the spring of A. D. 1022 was [illegible] too far advanced to justify his entering upon a long campaign so far distant from Ghazni. But the project was only postponed for a fitting season, and towards the end of A. D. 1023 Mahmud again marched against Nanda Rai and [illegible] Gwalior, invested the fort of Kalanjar. Nanda Rai then submitted and offered Mahmud 300 elephants, besides many valuable presents of jewels and gold, and "a panegyric in the Indian tongue on the bravery of his troops." "The Muhammadan was pleased with the compliment, for "the poetry was much admired by the learned men of India, Arabia, and Persia, who were at his court. In return Mahmud conferred the government of 15 forts upon Nanda, among which was Kâlanjar itself," and marched back to Ghazni.

Of Ganda's immediate successors, *Vidyâdhara* and *Vijaya-Pâla*, no particulars are related; but his great grand-

* Briggs' Ferishta, I., 64.

son, *Kirtti Varmma*, is mentioned in the *Prabodha Chandrodaya* as the king before whom the drama was performed. From the prologue we learn that the Chandel King had been conquered by *Karna*, the King of *Chedi*, but was afterwards freed from his subjection by the favour of Vishnu. In Dr. Taylor's translation of this drama, the name of the King of Chedi is omitted, but it is given in the original Sanskrit, which is as follows:

Yena cha Vivekeneva nirjitya Karnam Mohamivorjitam,
Sri Kirtti Varmma nripatervodhayasye vodahah kritah.

"and who (Gopâla or Vishnu) having subdued the powerful *Karna*, gave prosperity to the King Sri-*Kirtti-Varmma*, as discrimination, after removing ignorance, gives rise to knowledge." The Raja of Chedi here mentioned must be *Karna Kalâchuri* who, according to Professor Hall, was a contemporary of the famous *Bhoja* of Malwa, who reigned from about A. D. 1000 to 1055, and also of Bhima Deva of Gujarât, who reigned from A. D. 1027 to 1069. The date of Karna may, therefore, be placed between 1050 and 1075, which corresponds with the period which I have assigned to Kirtti Varmma between 1065 and 1085. The temporary subjection of the Chandel Princes is further corroborated by the *Kalâchuri* inscriptions, in which the Rajas of Chedi assume the title of "lord of *Kâlanjjarapura*."* It is to this race, who profess to be descended from a Brahmani mother, that I would attribute the legend of *Hemâvati's* intrigue with *Chandrama*, or the "moon," which the annalists have since applied to the Chandels themselves.

Kirtti Varmma was succeeded by his son, whose name of four syllables is lost in the first part of the Mhau inscription; but which from verses 37, 38, and 39 would appear to have been *Sallakshana Varmma*. To this prince the inscription assigns a great victory, which was gained in the country of *Antarveda*, or the Gangetic Doab. As he was contemporary with *Madana Pâla*, the Râhtor King of Kanoj, who ruled from A. D. 1080 to 1115, there should be some mention of this Chandel invasion in the Rahtor inscriptions. But as these last are utterly silent on the subject, it is probable that the great victory was only a successful raid.

* Royal Asiatic Society's Journal, IV., 18.

Sallakshana I. was succeeded by his son, *Jaya Varmma Deva,* who reigned from about A. D. 1105 to 1120, as his inscription at Khajurâho is dated S. 1173, or A. D. 1116. He was followed by his younger brother, *Sallakshana Varmma* II., who was succeeded by his son, *Prithvi Varmma,* of whom no particulars are related. Prithvi's son was *Madana Varmma,* who is said to have vanquished the King of Chedi in a fierce fight, to have made the Raja of *Kási,* or Benares, tributary, and to have exterminated the misbehaving lord of *Málwa* in the "space of an hour." As Madana reigned from about 1130 to 1163 A. D., he must have been contemporary with the Kulachuri Princes, *Parmadi Deva* and *Vijala* II., of whom the latter, before he became king, bore the title of "great lord of *Kálanjjarapura.*" The assumption of this title by the heir apparent of the King of Chedi would seem to show that it was, perhaps, only a mere form which had been handed down from the time of their ancestor Karna. It is possible, also, that the title may have been continued even later, but during the reign of *Madana Varmma,* it could only have been an empty boast, as the power of this Chandel King is universally admitted to have extended from the Jumna to the Narbada. The annalists even say that he conquered *Gujarát,* by which they probably allude to his campaign in *Málwa,* on the confines of Gujarât. The same statement is also made in Maisey's No. 2 inscription from Kàlanjar, in which it is said "he, in an instant, defeated the King of Gurjara, as Krishna in former times defeated Kansa."* But I infer from the recorded rapidity of each victory that they are in reality the same, and that *Málava,* which borders upon Chanderi, must have been the actual scene of the war.

The genealogies of the inscriptions close with *Madana,* and we are now obliged to depend for our information upon the annalists, with occasional assistance from short inscriptions, which serve to fix the dates, and thus give coherence to the disjointed notices of the bards. The annalists are unanimous in making *Kirtti Varmma* II. the son and successor of Madana, but as I possess an inscription of his predecessor, *Madana,* dated in S. 1220, or

* Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, XVII., 171.

A. D. 1163, and another of his successor, *Paramârddi Deva,* dated in S. 1224, or A. D. 1167, the reign of Kirtti II. must have been comprised within the short intermediate period of four years. The intervention of this name is, I think, very doubtful. In a copper-plate inscription obtained by Colonel Ellis, which is dated in S. 1337, or A. D. 1280, the Chândel genealogy was read by his Pandit as follows:

1.—Kundo Barm Deo.
2.—Parmara Deo.
3.—Trilok Barm Deo.
4.—Sandin Barm Deo.

From an imperfect impression, which I saw in 1848, I read these names as—

1.—Yâdava Varmma Deva.
2.—Paramârddi Deva.
3.—Sri Trailokya Varmma Deva.
4.—Sri Sandhira Varmma Deva.

I am now, however, inclined to think that the first name must be *Madana Varmma Deva*, but as I cannot refer to the original, I must leave this point doubtful.

The reign of his son, *Paramârddi Deva*, or *Parmâl* as he is familiarly called by the bard Chand and the later annalists, has been rendered famous by his long sustained contest with Prithi Raj Chohân, which forms one of the most interesting portions of Chand's poem. The warlike deeds of his two Banâphar champions, *Alha* and *Udal*, are also celebrated by Chand, and they still form the theme of many of the most favourite songs of the people of Northern India. Prithi Râj crossed the Jumna between *Chandwâr*, now called Firuzâbâd, and Buteswar, from whence he proceeded to *Sirswâgarh* on the Pahoj, where he first encountered the Chândel army led by Parmâl and his two generals, Alha and Udal.* After a long contest, the Chohân King was victorious, and followed the flying Chândels by Erich on the Betwa, and by Rahat to Mahoba, where they made a final but unsuccessful stand. This occurred in the Samvat year 1241, or A. D. 1183, after which the dominions of the Chândel King were limited to the eastern district of Kâlanjar beyond the *Kayân*, or Kane River, while the western district of Mahoba was added to the

* Others place the scene of this battle at Painâgarh, 14 miles to the south-west of Urai. The position indicated is on the Betwa midway between Sirswâgarh and Rahat, and about 10 miles to the east of Erich.

wide domains of the Chohân Prince. The spirited narrative of Chand is well worthy of translation, and as it deals with contemporary events, it is most probably true. Chand begins with relating the impiety of Parmâl, and the consequent doom of Mahoba; the strong reluctance of the two Banâphar heroes to join in the defence of a fated place, and their subsequent consent, which is wrung from them by the passionate entreaties of the queen mother. The fight of Sirswâgarh, and the defence of Mahoba, with the gallant exploits of Alha and Udal, follow in quick succession, and the story closes with the final disappearance of the two Banâphar heroes in the fabulous forest of *Kajaliban*, or the *Kajali jangal*. After this Parmâl reigned at *Kâlanjar*, where he was attacked by Kutb-ud-din Aibeg, to whom he capitulated in A. D. 1196. He was again attacked and defeated in 1202, when Aibeg dismounting his cavalry laid siege to Kâlanjar. "The Raja seeing himself hard pressed, offered Kutb-ud-din Aibeg the same tribute and presents which his ancestors had formerly paid to Sultan Mahmud. The proposal was accepted, but the Raja's Minister, who resolved to hold out without coming to terms, caused his master to be assassinated while the presents were preparing. The Hindu flag being again hoisted in the fort, the siege recommenced, but the place was eventually reduced owing to the drying up of a spring upon the hill which supplied the garrison with water."* On this occasion the plunder of Kalanjar is said to have been great in gold and jewels. In Dow's translation of Ferishta, the Raja is named *Gola*; but as the name is omitted in the more accurate version of Briggs, no dependence can be placed upon Dow's rendering.

According to the annalists, Chandramâ had prophesied to Hemâvati that her descendants should continue to reign so long as they preserved the name of Varmma. In all the bard's genealogies, therefore, the founder of the family is called Chandra *Varmma*, and all his descendants are named *Varmma* down to *Parmâl Deo*. After his final defeat at Mahoba, the prophecy of Chandramâ was reported to Parmâl who was struck with shame, and exclaimed—"To-day, according to Chandrama's prophecy, the race of Varmma has nearly closed, and become like the end of a candle for want of a more name." This story is amply disproved by the genealogies

* Briggs' Ferishta, I., pp. 190 to 197.

of the inscriptions, in which we find only one *Varmma* amongst the first ten princes. But from *Kirtti Varmma*, the eleventh Prince, down to Parmâl Deo, the title of *Varmma* was borne by every member of the family. I have already noticed a similar and equally baseless legend connected with the 84 Kâchhwâha Princes of Gwalior, which shows the tendency of popular tales to repeat themselves in other places.

Parmâl Deo had four sons, of whom the eldest. Brahmâjit or Brahmâditya fell in the defence of Mahoba, and the second son, *Tilak Barm* or *Trilokya Varmma Deva*, succeedto the throne on the death of his father in 1202. His reign was most probably a long one, as I believe that he must be identified with the two princes who are mentioned by Ferishta in the following extract: "In the month of Shabân 645 A. H. (December 1247 A. D.), Nasir-ud-din Mahmud, &c., &c., &c., proceeded towards Karra, Ghias-ud-din Balban commanding the vanguard. He was met at Karra by the Rajas *Dalaki* and *Malaki* (or *Dilaki* and *Milaki*), whom he defeated and plundered, taking many of their families prisoners. These two Rajas had seized all the country to the south of the Jumna, and had destroyed the king's garrison from Malwa to Karra. They resided at Kâlanjar."* Now I venture to guess that the names of these two Rajas have been made out of the one long name, *Tilaki Wama Deo*, which in Persian characters might easily be misread as *Tilaki wa Milaki*.† If this identification be admitted, then the reign of Trilokya may have continued up to A. D. 1250, when he was succeeded by his son, Sanddhira Varmma Deva. Of this prince we know only from the *Dahi* copper-plate of Colonel Ellis, that he made a grant of land in S. 1337, or A. D. 1280, about which time his reign must have closed.

The next prince was most probably *Bhoja Varmma* of the Ajay-garh inscription which is dated in S. 1345, or A. D. 1288; and his successor was, perhaps, Vira Varmma of Maisey's Kâlinjar inscription No. 2, which would appear to be dated in S. (13) 72, or A. D. 1315, although it may possibly be one century later. From this time I have not been able to trace any notice of Kâlanjar until A. D. 1530, when it was besieged by Humâyun. The name of the Raja is not

* Briggs' Ferishta, I., 23.

† This identification must now, perhaps, be given up, as it appears that *Dalaki-wa-Malaki* was the Raja of Karra on the Ganges; but as he resided at Kalanjar, he must have been the Raja of that place also.—See Dowson's edition of Sir H. M. Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, II., 348.

mentioned, but it was probably Kirtti Rai, who held Kâlanjar against Shir Shah in A. D. 1545. The fort was captured after an obstinate defence, during which both the Muhammadan King and the Hindu Raja were killed. I conclude that this prince must have been the father of the celebrated Chandel princess *Durgâvati* the dowager Queen of Garha Mandala, who so gallantly died in defending her country against Akbar's General in A. D. 1564; for, as her son *Bir Nârâyan* was then eighteen years of age, she must have been married about 19 years earlier, or in A. D. 1545, in the very middle of Kirtti Rai's reign. His son was most probably Râma Chandra, who was reigning in A. D. 1569, when Kâlanjar was finally annexed to the Muhammadan empire of Delhi by the great Akbar.

I cannot close this account of the Chândels of Mahoba and Khajurâho without giving a short notice of their coins which have not hitherto been described. These coins are of three kinds,—gold, silver, and copper. They are all extremely rare, as I have obtained only 7 specimens in gold, and 9 in copper, during a period of more than thirty years, while the only other specimens that I have seen are 5 gold coins belonging to Colonel Ellis, the same number belonging to the late Mr. Freeling, and a single silver coin in James Prinsep's collection. The gold and silver coins are all of the well known type of the Rahtors of Kanoj, which bear a seated figure of the four-armed goddess *Durgâ* or *Pârvati*, on the obverse, and on the reverse the king's name in three lines of mediæval Nâgari characters. The copper coins bear on the obverse a two-armed male figure, which appears to be that of the monkey god Hanumân, and on the reverse the king's name in Nâgari characters. The following is a list of the Chandel coins in my possession :

	Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	
Kirtti Varmma Deva ...	1	...	...	1 large gold.
Hallakshana Varmma Deva	2	...	1	1 large, 1 small gold.
Jaya Varmma Deva ..	...	...	4	
Prithvi Varmma Deva ..	..	...	2	
Madana Varmma Deva ...	4	...	2	1 large, 3 small gold.
Total ..	7	...	9	

James Prinsep's silver coin, which is now in the British Museum, was a unique specimen of Jaya Varmma Deva. Colonel Ellis's coins were all lost at the burning of his house at Nagod during the mutiny.*

---

* I found six gold coins of *Sri Mat Prithvi Deva* in Payne Knight's Collection in the British Museum. Freeling had two large gold coins of Kirtti V., two small gold of Hallakshana V., and one large gold of Madana Varmma, besides three copper coins of Jaya Varmma Deva.

END.

INDEX

TO THE

REPORT ON THE

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA,

VOLUME II.

SUBJECT.	PAGE.
A	
Abar or Afar. The original appellation of the — found in the two names, Afrasiyab and Abriyan	29
—— **or Sabar.** Gakar only a variation of the ethnic title of — ...	32
Abar-Shahar, or Nishapur, in Khorasan, the ancient capital of the Abar or Afar	29
Abars. Gakars, a colony of — from Hyrkania	31
—— and Sus, different names of the same people	48
—— identified with the Aparni and Parni of Strabo and Ptolemy ...	18, 19
——. Jats best known in early times by their general name of — ..	55
——. Coins assigned to the —	58
Aberti or Aturti substituted for the Persian Susiana in inscription ...	48
Abbot, Colonel, fixed Embolima at Amb-Balima on the Indus ...	102
Abdagases, the nephew of Gondophares	47
——, a Parthian name in —	*ib.*
Abhisara. Hilly country between Murri and the Margala Pass is the position of the District of —	23
——. Ancient inhabitants of — were not of Indian origin ...	*ib.*
—— mentioned in the Raja Tarangini	27
—— known in the days of Asoka	28
—— at the time of Alexander	*ib.*
—— occurs in the Mahabharata and Puranas	29

SUBJECT.	PAGE.
Abisares. Dominions of —	23, 28
———. Arsakes, the name of the brother of —	23
——— kept two monstrous serpents	ib.
——— connected with the dragon worshipping Scyths of Media and Parthia	ib.
——— mentioned by Strabo	28
———. The name of — variously written by the classical Authors	32
———. Gakars or subjects of — connected with the Sobii or Chobi and Kathœi or Kathi . . .	40
Abriyan on the Jhelam, opposite Mangala, was the capital of the Gakars	29
Abu Rihan's account of the Tochari	65
——— testimony as to the race of the Yuchi at Kabul .	73
Abu Rihan. The name of Ohind written as Waihand or Oaihand by —	[illegible]
——— mentions Gangadwara	231
——— mentions Khajuraho by name in A. D. 1022 ...	112
Abul Fazl speaks of " Maya, Vulgo Haridwar"	232
Afrasiyab. Gakars, a colony established by —	29
Agnikulas. Origin of the legend of the ...	254
Agnimitra, son of Pushpamitra, encountered the Yavanas or Greeks on the Indus	41
Ahmedabad, the capital of Sopethes	180
Ajmer or Ajaymer. An account of the city of —	252
———. Earliest historical notice of — by Ferishta	255
———. Next notice of — in the year A. H 377 or A. D. 987 ...	256
——— Mosque at — described	258
———. Horizontal belts of writing of the North Minar of the —	261
Akesines and Hydaspes must once have joined their waters about 50 miles above Uch at the foot of the Karana Hills . .	38
Ala-ud-din Mahmud. Siege of Chanderi by — in A. D. 1438 ..	406

SUBJECT.	PAGE.
Ala and Udal, two Banaphar Champions	455
Alexander. Abhisara known at the time of —	28
——— despatched Hephæstion and Perdikkas to prepare a bridge over the Indus	102
———'s movements	174
——— battle with Porus	181
Alms-bowl of Buddha	87
——— was in Persia in A. D. 630	88
——— still exists near the modern Kandahar	ib.
Altamsh captured Gwalior in A. D 1232	313
Amakatis or Amakapis, a town placed by Ptolemy near Labokla or Lahor to the west of the Ravi	205
Amardi or Mardi. The name of Sa... or Abars has been compared with that of —	48
Amba a large ruined mound and village one mile to the east of Ransi	204
Ambakapi or Amakatis. An account of the village of — ..	203
Amber. An account of the old town of —	250
Amin. A lofty mound called —	223
Anala Chohan. Amber originally established by —	254
Anavas, or descendants of Anu, appropriated Panjab	14
——— called Anu or Anawar in spoken dialects	18
Anga, a descendant of Anu, gave his name to the district which he held	15
Antiochus the Great. Maurya King made a treaty with — on the banks of the Indus	11
Antiquities of Parashawar described by Hwen Thsang	87
Anu. Descendants of — called Anavas	14
Anuwan, the original name of the present Awan tribe	18
Aornos. An account of the Castle of —	95
———, the transcription of some Native name	96
———, a slight alteration of Varnos	97

SUBJECT.	PAGE.
Aornos. Objections to the Mahaban Hill as the representative of —...	98
——— cannot be identified with the ruined Castle of Raja Hodi ...	100
——— in the north-east corner of Yusufzai plain	*ib.*
——— identified with Rani-gat	101
———. Identification of — with Mahaban untenable	103
———. Identification of — with Rani-gat incomplete	*ib.*
———. Other possible positions of —	106
Aparni, a branch of the Turanian Dahœ	20
——— and Paralatæ. The connexion between — corroborated by a statement of Strabo	32
——— and Parni identified with the Abars and also with the Sus ...	48, 49
——— under the name of Mardi coupled by Pliny with the Jatii .	49
——— under the name of Mardieni placed by Ptolemy in Sogdiana...	*ib.*
——— or Parni identified with the Sakarauli or Sagaraukœ ...	*ib.*
———, a division of the tribe of Dahœ or Sus	*ib.*
Apollonius of Tyana. Travels of —	83
Aposeisares, the name of Abisares as written by Aelian	32
Arachosia, a part of the kingdom of Kipin	45
——— belonged to the Su	*ib.*
———. Kophes, the capital of —	*ib.*
Aria, a part of the kingdom of Kipin	*ib.*
Ariana. Date of the Scythian conquest of — is referred to B. C. 126 by the testimony of the Chinese and Parthian histories ...	54
———. Date of the Yuchi conquests of — one hundred years later	*ib.*
Arrian's Saranges represents Satlaj or Satadru	12
Arsakes, the brother of Abisares	23
———, founder of the Parthian monarchy	47
———, Governor of Urasa, the Varsa Regio of Ptolemy and the Rash of the present day	29

SUBJECT.	PAGE.
Arsakes, a Scythian of the Parnian tribe of Dahæ	47
Arrian. The Mekio of — identified with the Megs	11
Aryas include all the tribes of pure Kshatriya descent .	3
——— Earliest notices of the —	13
——— (Surajvansi) confined to the districts on the north of the Ganges, called Ayodhya, Mithila, and Vaisali .. .	15
Asarur or Taki. An account of the place called —	200
——— originally called Udamnagar or Uda-Nagari	ib.
——— the Pimprama of Alexander	201
———. Ruins of —	ib.
Ased. Malik Hath more correctly called —	24
Asiani and Saranco of Trogus Pompeius must be the Yuchi and Su of the Chinese	13
———, a tribe of the Tokharian horde	ib.
——— and Tochari identified with the Kuei-shwang and Yuchi ..	64
Asii, an Indo-Scythian tribe according to Strabo . .	43
Asoka. Abhisara known in the days of —	28
——— was in possession of Taxila	41
———. Stupa near Baoti Pind built by —	139
———. Ruins of Baoti Pind inhabited long before the time of —	141
———. Maitreya Stupa built by — near Baoti Pind	141
Attak. An account of the town of —	7
——— represents Utakhanda as believed by Loewenthal	93
Awan tribe. Anuwan, the original name of the —	18
Awans. An account of the tribe of —	17
——— now occupy the western half of the hills towards Nilab ...	ib.
——— must be the Juds of Babar	17
Ayodhya occupied by the Surajvansi Aryas	15

SUBJECT.	PAGE.
Azas and Azilises, immediate successors of Moga or Moas ...	59
—— and Moas belonged to the Su	40
B	
Baba-Wali or Panja Sahib. The tank of — at Hasan Abdal ...	136
——, Legend of the spring of — given by Moorcroft alone	ib.
——. Legend of the spring of — referred to the Naga or Serpent King named Elaputra, in the time of Hwen Thsang	ib.
——. Buddhist legend of the spring of — probably succeeded by a Brahminical version	ib.
——. Muhammadan version of the legend of the spring of — has given way to the Sikh legend related by Moorcroft	ib.
——. New and curious version of the legend of the spring of —	137
——. A genuine Buddhist legend of —	138
Babar-Khana. An account of the place called —	115, 120
Bactrian Greek Kings. Barbarous imitations of the coins of — ...	58
Badarpur. The tope of — one of the three largest in the Punjab ...	144
—— Stupa stood in the midst of a large open Court ...	145
Bairat or Vairat. An account of the place called —	242
——. The present town of —	245
——. The earliest historical notice of — is that of the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang	246
—— during the reign of Mahmud of Ghazni	ib.
Baisgram or Bugiad. A district called —	27
Bajrang-garh or Jharkon. An account of the old town of — ...	294
Balar. The tope of —	142
—— explored by the Gakar Chief of Khanpur on the Haro ...	ib.

SUBJECT.	PAGE.
Balar. Description of the top of—	143
Balas. An account of the tribe of—	33
———. Kathi claim descent from the —	34
——— once held possession of Multan and Sindh ...	ib.
——— may be the same tribe as the Malli or Malli of Alexander's historians	34, 35
Balbas tribe. Durga of the — expelled Kedar of the Kachwaha tribe	[illegible]
Balnat, the name of the mountain on the west bank of the Jhelam ..	ib.
Banga, a descendant of Aru, gave his name to the district which he held	15
Baoti Pind. An account of the village of —	139
——— Ruins of —	141
———, Domed Stupa at —	ib.
——— inhabited long before the time of Asoka	ib.
——— on the line of road leading from Hasan Abdal towards Haripur in Hazara	142
Barhatakin or Barategin. Story of —	67
Batan-Kaisara. Thanesar mentioned by Ptolemy as — ..	2[illegible]2
Bazar. An account of the village of — ..	101
———, the most probable representative of Bazaria	ib.
———, Identification of — with Bazaria strengthened by the proximity of Mount Bucephala ..	ib.
Bazaria identified with Bazar	ib.
Bhadari or Bharari. Old ruined city of — said to have been the capital of Raja Chola	40
Bharatpur. Traditions of the Jats of — point to Kandahar as their parent country	54
Bhatis. An account of the tribe of —	19
——— are Yadavas	ib.
———. Yadava, ancestor of the —, occupied Gajni or Gajnipur ...	20
Bhera. Jaya Pala established his new capital at —	42

SUBJECT.	PAGE.
Bhera. Acquisition of — on the Jhelam by Judhbhan	16
Bhoja Deva (Raja). Inscription of — found in a temple at Pehoa	224
———, paramount sovereign in S. 933 or A. D. 876 ...	376
Biana. Traditions of the Jats of — point to Kandahar as their parent country	54
Bijak-Pahar or "Inscription Hill" near Bairat	247
Binagara of Ptolemy identified with Thatha...	46
Bir or Pher. The small village of — stands on the most ancient part of the ruins of Taxila	116
Bithanda. Ohind called — by Ferishta	93
Boras. An account of the place called —	206
Brahmanical accounts of Sakala collected from the Mahabharata by Professor Lassen	195
——— rock-hewn temples of Dhamnar	276
———. Date of — assigned to the 8th or 9th Century	279
Brisabrita or Brisambritœ, near neighbours of the Sauviras ...	14
Buddha. Alms-bowl of —	87
Buddhist legend of the spring at Hasan Abdal	136, 138
——— ruins near Cypress Garden of the Mogul Emperors at Hasan Abdal	138
——— remains of Kurm Gujar	150
——— Synod in Kashmir	67
——— notices of Sakala	197
Budhi Nadi. The former bed of the Chenab traceable by its decisive name of —	39
Bugiad or Baisgram. A district called —	27
Bugial, the name of a branch of the Janjuha tribe	*ib.*
Bukephala or Jalalpur. An account of the town of —	173
———. Position of —	186

SUBJECT.	PAGE.
Bukepahala. Indo-Scythia of Ptolemy bounded to the north by — ...	46
Bundelkhand in its widest extent corresponds with ancient Jajhoti ...	413
Buri Chanderi or Old Chanderi. An account of the old city of — ...	401
———. Ruins of —	403
C	
Carian Princes. Zeus Labrandœus represented with a double-headed axe on the coins of the —	30
Cave of Prince Sudana in Mount Dantalok	101
—— of Kashmiri-ghur, 8 miles to the north-west of Bazar ...	102
Caves (excavated) in the hill of Dhamnar	270
—— of Dhamnar, probably of late date	276
—— of Gwalior	367
—— of Karmal	160
Chach-Hazara, the present name of the district of Takshasila ...	115
———, a corruption of Sirsha-Sahasra	*ib.*
Chaj occupied by the Pauravas prior to the Macedonian invasion ...	17
——. The district of — wrested from the Takkas or Bahikas ...	*ib.*
Chandel Inscriptions	418
—— Dynasty according to the Annalists ...	449
—— Dynasty	451
Chanderi. An account of the city of —	404
——. Earliest notice of — is Ferishta's brief account of its siege by Ala-ud-din Mahmud of Malwa in A. D. 1438	406
Chandra Gupta. Kingdom of — extended to the Indus	41
Chandravati or Jhalra Patan. An account of the old town of — ...	263
——. Ruins of —	264
Chaoti (Emperor). Hiungnu defeated by —	63
Chata Tak, a Tak chief, played a part in the wars of Prithi Raj ...	8
Chatur Bhuj. An old fort called —	238

SUBJECT.	PAGE.
Chedi. Karna, king of — conquered Kirtti Varmma	453
Chedi Coins	458
Chenab. Former bed of the — traceable by its decisive names, Budhi Nala and Budhi Nadi	39
Cheunu, in A. D. 516, completely re-established the power of the White Huns	77
Chibhs or Chibhan of Bhimbar assert their descent from the heroes of the Mahabharata	16
Chiefs of Sahi or Lohara traced their descent from Salivahan ...	22
Chitaoli. Inscription of Parihara dynasty of Gwalior found at — ...	378
Chobia of Ferishta identified with Sobii of Quintus Curtius and Sobæ of Dionysius	27
Chobnath (Raja). The old ruined city of Bhadari or Bharari, the capital of —	40
Chob-pati. Sopeithes or Sophites is the Greek form of — ...	ib.
——— or "Lord of the Club"	ib.
Chohan, one of the four Agnikula tribes	253
Chura. Remains of a large monolith called — at Taxila ...	126
Coins of the Indo-Scythians	57
—— assigned to the Sus or Abars	58
—— of the great Moga or Moas and his successors, Azas and Azilises	59
—— of Kozoulo Kadphizes	66
—— of Hoemo or Hima Kadphizes	67
Column (Stone). Remains of — , probably of Greek origin, found in Taxila	128
Constantinople. Maniach, the vassal prince of the Sogdoites, appeared at —	77
——— and Mount Altai. Several embassies followed between —	78
Copper-plate inscription discovered in a mound at Taxila ...	124
Court, General, opened certain topes in Manikyala	161—166
Curtius, Q. Customs of the people of Taxila recorded by — ...	6

SUBJECT.	PAGE.
Curtius, Q. Peculiarities assigned to the subjects of Sophites by — are the same as those attributed to the Kathæi by Strabo	35
Custom of the present Gakars	23
Customs of the people of Taxila recorded by Q. Curtius, Philostratus, and Fa Hian	6
Cutis, the name given to the city of Kophes by Pliny	45
D	
Daci and Dacia of Roman history representing Daku	48
—— originally formed part of the Getic horde	ib.
——. The name of — gradually applied to the whole Getic nation	ib.
Dacœ and Massagetœ must be the same as the Tahia and Su ...	ib.
Dahistan. The name of Dahœ still preserved in —	ib.
Dahœ. The name of — derived from Dahyu, a "robber" ..	47, 48
—— still preserved in Dahistan	48
—— called Dasœ by Stephanus Byzantinus	ib.
—— (Turanian). Aparni, a branch of the —	29
—— Aparni, an emigrant tribe from Dahœ above the Mœotis .	32
—— called Xandii and Parii	ib.
—— of the Caspian belonged to Massagetœ	48
—— and Sacœ. Su or Sus, a common appellation for — .	ib.
—— may be described as the Sus of the Oxus	49
—— or Sus divided by Strabo into three tribes the Aparni or Parni, the Xanthii or Xandii, and Parii or Pissuri ..	ib.
——, occupied by the Yuchi or Tochari, is confirmed by Justin ...	64
Daku. The word Dahœ used as — in modern Hindi	48
—— a form represented by Daci and Dacia of Roman history ..	ib.
Dantaloka. Hill of — near Palodheri	90
——, the Montes Dœdali of the Greeks...	101
——. Cave of Prince Sudana in —	ib.

SUBJECT.	PAGE.
Darapur. Old mound near — was the principal seat of the Karluki family	19
——. Ruined city near —	175
Daso given by Stephanus Byzant[illegible] r name for Dalor ...	48
Date of Tomara[illegible] A.D. [illegible]	311
—— of the foundation of Gwalior	37[illegible]
Dera or Darapur. Ibrahim Ghaznavi captured a fort in the Jud hills called —	21
——. [illegible] the defenders of —	ib.
Dhamnar. An account of the village of —	270
——. Excavated caves in the hill of —	ib.
——. Caves of — most probably of one date	276
——. Brahmanical rock-hewn temples of —	ib.
Dhanakakata. The name of — occurs in the cave inscriptions of Karle and Kanheri	[illegible]
Dharma Kshetra. District of Kuru-Kshetra also called — ...	213
Dhandhar or Jeypur. An account of the place called — ...	251
Dionysios speaks of the Kossaei as a people of Kaspeirian race ...	68
—— Periegetes. Megarsus, the name given to the [illegible] by — ...	32
—— —— says that the Scythians [illegible] held the lower valley of the Indus towards the end of the third century	47
Dominions of Abisares	23, 28
Drangiana, a part of the Kingdom of Kapisa...	45
—— belonged to the Sa	ib.
——. The name of Sakastene given to the greater part of —	ib.
Drupada only kept the name of Pantava	16
——. Panchala occupied by —	ib.
Duna, a hill tribe	13
Durlabha. Karkota dynasty established by a Naga named — ...	10

SUBJECT.	PAGE.
Duryodhana and Jarasandha adopted new patronymic of Kaurava ...	15
———. Hastinapura occupied by —	*ib.*
E	
Early Turanians include all those races who do not belong to the Aryas	2
Elapatra. Fount of — at Hasan Abdal	9
———, the dragon brother of Takshaka	*ib.*
——— (Serpent King). Tank of — visited by Hwen Thsang ...	135
———. Legend of the Spring at Hasan Abdal referred to — in the time of Hwen Thsang	136
Embassies followed between Constantinople and Mount Altai ...	78
——— of the Emperor Tiberius	*ib.*
Embolima identified with Ohind	101
——— A bridge was made at — by Alexander	102
——— fixed at Amb-Balima by Colonel Abbot	*ib.*
———. Ohind or Amber-Ohind, the most probable site of — ...	103
Ephthalites or White Huns. An account of the tribe of — ..	75
———, the same people as the Little Yuchi	*ib.*
Erythrean Periplus. Statement of — that about A. D. 100, the rulers of Minnagara were rival Parthians, who were expelling each other	54
Ethnology of Punjab Proper	1
Excavations at Kholvi	281
F	
Fa Hian. Customs of the people of Taxila recorded by — ...	6
———. Travels of —	84
——— visited Taxila	114
Farid Shah of Khorasan opposed by Raja Rijh at Haryo ...	20
Ferishta. Earliest historical notice of Ajmer by —	255
Fergusson. Chandravati described by —	267

SUBJECT.	PAGE.
Ferishta's brief account of the siege of Chanderi by Ala-ud-din Mahmud of Malwa in A. D. 1438	406
Fortress of Gwalior	330
Fount of Elapatra, the famous spring at Hasan Abdal	9
"Free Indians." People of the two neighbouring cities of Sangala called —	35
G	
Gajipur or Rawal Pindi. An account of the city of —	151
Gajni or Gajnipur occupied by the Yadava ancestors of the Bhatis ...	20
Gajnipur identified with Ghazni of Afghanistan by Colonel Tod ...	*ib.*
———. The true position of — at Rawul Pindi	*ib.*
Gakar named Malik Hath came to the aid of Prithi Raj... ...	24
——— chief had borne the foreign title of Malik before he became a Mahomadan	*ib.*
——— only a variation of the ethnic title of Sabar or Abar ...	32
Gakars. Janjhas ejected from Putawar by the —	18
———. An account of the tribe of —	22
———. The settlement of the — in the upper part of the Sindh Sagar Doab	23
———. Evidence of the Scythian origin of the —	*ib.*
———. Peculiar custom of the — of present time	*ib.*
——— were the defenders of Dera or Derapur	24
——— joining Hindu Chiefs against Mahmud of Ghazni ...	*ib.*
——— at earlier date formed a treaty of alliance with the Afghans, and compelled Raja of Lahor to cede a portion of territory	25
——— perhaps alluded to by Priscian when he speaks of the "Savage Gargars" Gargaridœque truces	*ib.*
———, according to general belief, a colony established by Afrasiyab	29
———. Abriyan, the capital of the —	*ib.*
———, a colony of Abars from Hyrkania	30
———. Kathi, a branch of the —	34

SUBJECT.	PAGE.
Gakars or subjects of Abisares connected with the Sobii or Chobia and Kathoi or Kathi	40
Gand-ghar origially called Gharghara	26
Gand-ghariyas. The present inhabitants of the Mount Gand-ghar are known as —	ib.
Gangadwara or Haridwar. An account of the place called — ...	231
——— at a short distance from Mayapur as noted by Hwen Thsang	ib.
——— mentioned by Abu Rihan and Rashid-ud-din ...	ib.
——— celebrated in the Puranas	236
Gangu group of monuments in Babar-Khana at Taxila	129
Gargar compared with the Sanskrit Gharghara	26
Gargaridæque truces. Gakars perhaps alluded to by Priscian when he speaks of the —	25
———. This epithet not used either in Dionysius Periegetes or in Avienus	ib.
Garh-katri, a holy place at Peshawar	89
———. Caravansari of Peshawar was built on the site of the — .	ib.
Gebeleizes or Zamolxis (god) must have been the Hercules of the Scythians	30
Gedrosia, a part of the kingdom of Kipin	45
Gegasios. The great ancestor of Porus called — by Plutarch ...	17
——— in which the name of Yayati or Jajati recognised ...	ib.
Getic horde. Daci originally formed part of the —	48
Gharghara has become Ghagra in the spoken dialects to the north of the Ganges	26
——— called Kagar or Gagar in the spoken dialects to the west of Delhi	ib.
——— the true name of the mount Gand-ghar	ib.
Ghazni of Afghanistan identified with Gajnipur by Colonel Tod ...	20
Girivraja or Girivrajaka identified with Girjak	14
Girjak, the ancient name of Jalalpur, identified with Girivraja or Girivrajaka	ib.

SUBJECT.	PAGE.
Girjhak, an old ruined fort on the top of the hill to the north of Jalalpur, 8 miles from Darapur	175
———, the old Hindu name of Jalalpur	176
Gomal or the Zhobi River identified with the Saparnus ...	32
——— River. Indo-Scythia included the valley of the — ...	46
Gonarda III. Serpent worship restored by —	10
Gondophares. Dynasty of —	60
Great Yuchi. Larger division of the five tribes of Yuchi called — ...	62
——— proceeding to the banks of the Ili	ib.
———. Chinese Emperor Wuti sent an embassy to obtain assistance from the —	ib.
——— consolidated their power	63
Greeks encountered on the Indus by Agnimitra .. .	11
——— under Menander about 150 B. C extended their conquests to the Ganges	ib.
———, a quarter of a century later, gave way to the Indo-Scythian Su or Sakas.	ib.
Gujar Kingdom in the north	7[illegible]
Gujarat or Gurjjara. Takka-desa forming part of the kingdom of —	8
———. Sarang Tak, the first Muhammadan king of — ...	ib.
———. City of — first called Hairat	71
Gurjjara. Kingdom of — attacked by Sankara Varmma of Kashmir...	ib.
——— corresponds with the modern district of Gujardes ...	ib.
——— race. Kaira copper-plate of three princes of the — ...	70
——— or Gujarat. Takka-desa forming part of the kingdom of —	8
Gushan. The name of Kuei-shwang written as — in their inscriptions	43
Gwalior. Inscription of Pusupati found at —	311
———. Captured by Altamsh in A. D. 1232	313
———. Tomar dynasty of — held Narwar from A. D. 1398 to 1506	317

SUBJECT.	PAGE.
Gwalior. An account of the old city of —	330
——. Fortress of —	*ib.*
——. Gates of—	333
——. Rock sculptures of —	364
——. Caves of —	367
——. Prisons of —	369
——. Date of the foundation of —	371
——. Kachhwaha Rajas of —	374
——. Parihara Rajas of —	378
——. Tomara Rajas of —	382
——. Inscriptions found at —	396
H	
Hairat. City of Gujarat first called —	71
Hantha or Gandhara conquered by Khieu-tsiu-ki	63
Haridwar or Gangadwar. An account of the place called — ...	231
——. Dispute as to the name of —	232
Haripur in Hazara	142
Haro, the old name of Hasan Abdal	21, 139
—— River. Several unexplored topes up the valley of the — ...	148
Haryo. Farid Shah of Khorasan opposed by Raja Rijh at — ...	20
Hasan Abdal. An account of the town of —	135
—— described by Elphinstone, Moorcroft, Burnes, and Hugel	136
——. Legend of the spring at — given by Moorcroft alone...	*ib.*
——. Spring at — called fount of Elapatra	9
—— originally called Haro	21, 139
—— Karluk and his son Muhammad asserted their independence by striking coins in their own names	19
Hashtnagar, or eight contiguous cities on the east bank of the lower Swat River	90

SUBJECT.	PAGE.
Hastinapura occupied by Duryodhana	15
Hatial, a strong fortified position in Taxila	117, 118
Hesidrus of Pliny represents Satlaj or Satadru	12
Hill tribes called Sati, Dund, and Sadan	13
Himmatgarh. An account of the fort of —	328
Hindu Kshatriyas in Kabul	71
——— Chiefs. Gakkers came to the aid of — against Mahmud of Ghazni	24
——— Jats are found in the frontier States of Bikaner, Jesalmer, and Jodhpur	57
Hiungnu. Teuman, Chief of the —, was forced to give up to the Yuchi his son Mothe as a hostage	62
———. Victorious career of the —	ib.
——— defeated by the Emperor Chauti	63
——— became a tributary to the Chinese Empire	ib.
Hodi (Raja). The ruined castle of — cannot be identified with Aornos	140
Hoomo or Hima Kadphises. Coins of —	67
Hoshka or Hushka. An old tope built during the reign of — on the site of the great Manikyal Tope	159
Hudi (Raja) succeeded Rasalu in Syalkot	21
——, not a Hindu but must have been an Indo-Scythian ...	ib.
Huns (White) or Ephthalites. An account of the tribe of — ...	75
———, same people as the little Yuchi	ib.
———. Knowledge of the — derived from the Chinese ...	ib.
———. First dynasty of the — was broken in A. D. 494 ...	77
———. Power of the — re-established by Cheumun in A. D. 516	ib.
Hushka, brother of Kanishka	67
Hwen Thsang. Account of Mayura (the present Mayapur) given by —	231
——— notes that Gangadvara was at a short distance from Mayapur	ib.

SUBJECT.	PAGE.
Hwen Thsang describes the Tuholo or Tocheri as weak and timid	78
———, Journeys of —	84
Hwen Thsang's travel. Geography of — [illegible] by M. Vivien St. Martin	85
Hwen Thsang. Antiquities of Parashawar described by —	[illegible]
——— visited Takshasila in A. D. 633	[illegible]
——— visited the tank of the Serpent King El[illegible] 115 miles to the north-west of Taxila	[illegible]
——— describes Sinhapura, which should be Kate[illegible]	[illegible]
———. Notice of Thanesar by —	[illegible]
———. Province of Jajhoti mentioned by — in A. D. 641 ..	412
[illegible] Seng, a Chinese pilgrim	[illegible]
Hydaspes and Akesines must once have joined their waters above Uch [illegible] foot of the [illegible] hills	[illegible]
Hyrkania. Gakars, a colony [illegible] from — . ..	[illegible]
I	
Iath, the Nat[illegible] of Xanth[illegible]	5[illegible]
Iath of Pliny and Ptolemy the same as the Xanthii or [illegible] .	[illegible]
— or Xanthi reckoned amongst the last [illegible] conquerors [illegible] Ariana and India	50
[illegible] The name [illegible] Sobii written as —	[illegible]
Ibrahim [illegible] captured [illegible] Fort in the [illegible] named [illegible] Derapur	24
India. Date of the Yuchi conquest [illegible] — referred to about 36 B. C.	54
Indo-Scythia included the valley of the [illegible] River	46
——— bounded to the north [illegible] by the territory of the Kaspiraei	ib.
——— to the north by [illegible], Taxila and Proklais.	ib.
———. The rulers of — were Parthians according to the statement of the author of the Periplus . ..	47
Indo-Scythian silver coin with the legend of Spalirisa	50

Subject.	Page.
Indo-Scythians. Invasion of — caused a very general displacement of the ruling races	18
———— were defeated by Salivahan, near Kahror, within 60 miles of Multan	21
————. An account of the tribes of —	43
————. Su and Yuchi, the two distinct hordes of the — ...	ib.
————. The tribes of — were named Asii, Pasiani, Tokhari and Sakarauli according to Strabo ...	ib.
————. Remarks on the coins of —	57, 58
————. Opinions relating to the —	ib.
————. Descendants of the — not found amongst any of the Rajput races	80
Indraprastha occupied by Yudhishthira	15
Inscription of Kanishka	67
———— found at Wardak	ib.
———— of Raja Bhoja Deva found in a temple at Pehoa ...	224
———— dated S. 748 discovered by Colonel Tod at Chandravati...	265
———— found at Ranod	305
———— of Toramana found at Eran	310
———— of Pasupati found at Gwalior	311
———— of the Parihara dynasty of Gwalior found at Chitaoli ...	378
Inscriptions. Takari used in the — upon the coins of Kashmir and Kangra	9
———— found at Gwalior	396
Isidorus of Charax gives the name of Sakastene to the greater part of Drangiana, and calls the people Saka Scythians, their capital Sigal, and one of their cities, Min ...	45
J	
Jadunka-dang. Salt range received the name of —	16
Jajhoti. Earliest mention of the province of — by Hwen Thsang in A. D. 641	412
——— corresponded the modern Bundelkhand in its widest extent ...	413

SUBJECT.	PAGE.
Jalalpur or Bukephala. An account of the town of — ...	173
———. Girjhak, a ruined fort to the north of —	175
———. Town of — described	176
———. Girjhak, the old Hindu name of —, found in the Ain Akbari	ib.
Jalandhara Doab. Traigarttas, or people of the —	16
Janjuhas assert their descent from the heroes of the Mahabharata ...	ib.
———. An account of the tribe of —	17
——— descended from Raja Mall	ib.
———, according to the Emperor Babar, lived on one-half of the hills between Nilab and Bhera	ib.
——— once occupied the whole of Putawar	17, 18
——— ejected by the Gakars from Putawar	18
——— most probably Anavas	ib.
Jauth, the Native form of Xanthii	50
Jaoh. An account of the village of —	146
———. Ancient remains of — consist of five ruined topes and two monasteries	ib.
Jarasandha. Magadha occupied by —	15
——— and Duryodhana adopted new patronymic of Kaurava ...	ib.
Jats. An account of the tribe of —	3
———. Meds established in Sindh with the —	53
———. Traditions of the — point to Kandahar as their parent country	54
———. Parent country of the — on the banks of the Oxus ...	55
——— best known in early times by the general name of their horde as Abars	ib.
——— would have occupied Sindh or Southern Indo-Scythia, while the Panjab or Northern Indo-Scythia colonized by the Meds ...	ib.
——— are included, as Colonel Tod says, in all the ancient Catalogues of the thirty-six Royal races of India	56
——— (Hindu) are found in the frontier States of Bikaner, Jesalmer, and Jodhpore to the east of Panjab	57

SUBJECT.	PAGE.
Jats (Musalman) are said to occupy the district of Harand-Dajel ...	57
Jatii Aparni and Parni, under the name of Mardi, coupled with the — by Pliny	49
Jaxartes. Provinces on the — in the early part of the 2nd Century, B. C., were in possession of the Su	44
Jaya Pala established his new capital at Bhera, and afterwards at Lahor	42
Jaypur or Dhundhar. An account of the place called — ...	251
Jesalmer. Yadava annals of —	16
Jhalra Patan or Chandravati. An account of the old town of — ...	263
Jhandiala Stupa at Taxila	120, 131
——— group of monuments	131
Jhandiala-ka-dheri A mass of ruin in Taxila called —	ib.
Jharkon or Bajrang-garh An account of the old town of — ..	294
Jhelam. The old bed of — leaves the present channel near Nun-Miani , ...	39
———. Town of — described	174
Jobnathnagar or Ahmedabad, the capital of Sopeithes	180
Jud, according to the Emperor Babar, lived on one half of the hills between Nilab and Bhera	17
—— of Babar must be the Awans who now occupy the western half of the hills towards Nilab	ib.
—— not the true name of the people, but applied to them as the inhabitants of Mount Sakeswar	ib.
——. Mount Sakeswar called — by the Muhammadans on account of its resemblance to Mount Jud or Ararat in Armenia	ib.
Judhbhan. Acquisition of Bhera on the Jhelam by —, nephew of Naba	16
Julien, M. Translation of Hwen Thsang's travels by — ...	85
Jushka, brother of Kanishka	67
Justin. Dahæ occupied by the Yuchi or Tochari is confirmed by — ...	64

SUBJECT.	PAGE.
K	
Kabul. Territory of —, after 126 B. C., divided between the Parthians, the Indians, and Su Kings of Kpin	45
——. Yuchi at —	73
——. Hindu Kshatriyas in —	74
Kacha-kot or "mud fort" in Taxila	110
Kachhwaha Rajas of Gwalior	374
Kachwaha tribe. Kedar, of the —, Raja of Bhera and Jammu, expelled by Durga of the Balbas tribe	27
Kadasa, the Pali form of the name of Kadravas	10
Kadravas or Kadraveyas found in its Pali form as Kadasa ...	ib.
Kahror. Salivahan defeated the Indo-Scythians near — ..	21
Kaikeya, a descendant of Anu	14
——. Name of — given to a district	ib.
——. Passage from the Ramayana show the position of — on the line of the Jhelam	ib.
Kaira copper-plate of three Princes of the Gurjjara race	70
Kalidas mentions Kankhal	231
Kalinga, a descendant of Anu, gave his name to the district which he held	15
Kalpi, a small ruined mound near Bhuipur	204
Kamantalpuri, the original name of Kutwar	398
Kandahar, according to traditions, was the parent country of the Jats of Biana and Bharatpur	54
——. Alms-bowl of Buddha still exists near —	88
Kangra. Takari used in the inscriptions upon the coins of — ...	9
Kanheri. The name of Dhanukakata occurs in the cave inscriptions of —	41
Kanishka (Buddhist King) abolished the serpent worship... ...	10
——. Conversion of — to the faith of Sakya Muni... ...	67
—— and his two brothers Hushka and Jushka ruled Kashmir for sixty years	ib.

SUBJECT.	PAGE.
Kanishka. Inscription of —	67
———. Stupa of — at Parashawar	88
Kankhal mentioned by Kalidas	231
Kaofu or Kabul conquered by Khiou-tsiu-ki	63
Kapi a small mound to the east of Amba	204
Karkota dynasty established by a Naga named Durlabha... ...	10
Karli. The name of Dhanukakata occurs in the cave inscriptions of —	41
Karluki Hazaras, the ruling tribe in the time of Babar, who held the districts on both banks of the lower Suhan River ...	19
——— family. Old mound near Danpur, the principal seat of the —	*ib.*
———. Coins of the —	*ib.*
Karna, King of Chedi	453
———. Kirtti Varmma conquered by —	*ib.*
Kashmir. Term used in the inscriptions upon the coins of — ...	9
——— originally peopled by the Ophiolatrous race	10
——— ruled by Kanishka and his brothers Hushka and Jushka for sixty years	67
———. Buddhist Synod held in —	*ib.*
Kashmiri-Ghar. The great cave of — 8 miles to the north-west of Bazar	102
Kaspeiraei of Ptolemy. Name of the Kushan tribe recognized in the —	68
Kaspiraei. The territory of the — to the north-east of Indo-Scythia...	46
———. Latest original notice of the —	72
Kasyapa. Sons of — by his serpent wife	10
——— Other sons of —	*ib.*
Kasyapapura, the earliest name of Multan	69
———, the Kaspapuros of Hekataeus	*ib.*
Katar-des or country of the Katars	80
Katars. Katar-des or country of the —	*ib.*
Katas or **Kataksha.** An account of the place called —	188

SUBJECT.	PAGE.
Katas should be Sinhapura, described by Hwen Thsang .	191
Kathi. An account of the tribe of —	33
———, descendants of the Kathæi	ib.
——— found also in the district of Kathiawar	ib.
———, like the Gakars, do not intermarry with any other tribe ..	ib.
———, a branch of the Gakars	34
——— claim descent from the [illegible]	ib.
Kathiawar. Kathi are found also in the district of —	34
Kathæa joined with the country of [illegible] by [illegible]	3[illegible]
Kathæi. Earliest mention of the — in the historians of Alexander .	ib.
———. Peculiar [illegible] attributed [illegible] Strabo are the same as those assigned to the [illegible] of [illegible] by [illegible] ..	ib.
———. People of Sangala alone are called —	[illegible]
———. One of the peculiar customs of the —	38
——— or free Indians of Sangala	37
——— or Kathi and Sobii or [illegible] connected with each other and also with the [illegible]	[illegible]
——— must have lost their independence shortly after Alexander's death . . .	40, 41
——— Kathiawar [illegible] the —	38
K[illegible]. Susarma [illegible] to the [illegible] of the — .	16
Kator or Little [illegible]. An account of the tribe of — ...	73
Kaurava. New [illegible]onymic of [illegible] by Jarasandha and Duryodhana	15
Kedar, of the Kachwaha tribe, R[illegible] of Bhera and [illegible] the [illegible]	27
——— expelled by Durga of the Balban tribe	ib.
Khajuraho. An account of the ancient city of —	412
———. Earliest mention of [illegible] name [illegible] by Abu Rihan in A. D. 1022	ib.
———. Description of —	415

SUBJECT.	PAGE.
Khajuraho. The ruins of —	416
Khieu-tsiu-ki, king of the Kuei-shwang tribe	63
——— conquered Kipin, Kaofu, and Hantha, or Ariana, Kabul and Gandhara	ib.
———. Yen-kao-ching, son of —	ib.
Kholvi. An account of the village of —	280
———. Excavations at —	281
———. Rock-cut Stupas of — belong to the very latest works of the Indian Buddhists...	287
King of Taxila kept two large serpents at the time of Alexander ...	9
Kipin or Kophene occupied by the Su in 126 B. C.	44
———. Kingdom of — comprised Aria, Arachosia, Drangiana and Gedrosia	45
———. Drangiana, a part of —, belonged to the Su	ib.
———. The first Scythian tribes who occupied — were the Su and Tahia	47
——— or Kophene occupied by the Sus or Tahias	63
——— or Ariana conquered by Khieu-tsiu-ki	ib.
Kirtti Varmma conquered by Karna, King of Chedi	453
Kitolo, the last king of the Yuchi, mentioned in history	63
——— or Kator. Name of —	73
Kodrana, the modern Kundor	32
Kophene. The district called —	45
Kophenii. People of Kophene called —	ib.
Kophes. Capital of Arachosia formerly called —	ib.
Kossaici stated by Dionysius as a people of Kaspeirian race ...	68
Kota-ka-dheri. An earthen mound called — near Manikyala ...	169
Kotera-ka-pind. A mound in Taxila called —	125
Kozoulo Kadphizes. Coins of —	66
——— mean "the good charioteer"	67

SUBJECT.	PAGE.
Krishna. Expulsion of — from the lower Indus	15
Kshatriyas (Hindu) in Kabul	74
Kuei-shwang, a tribe of the Great Yuchi invaded India	13
————. The name of — written as Kushan and Khushan on their coins	*ib.*
————. The name of — written as Gushan in their inscriptions	*ib.*
———— tribe. Khieu-tsiu-ki, king of the —	63
———— and Yuchi identified with the Asiani and Tochari .	64
———— the same as the Kushan and Khushan of the coins and the Gushan of the Arian inscriptions	*ib.*
Kulharas. An account of the town of — ...	302
Kunda Stupa. Position of Kurmal tope tallies with the site of —	149
Kundor, originally called Kodrana	32
Kurm Gujar. Buddhist remains of —	150
Kurmal An account of the village of —	149
———. Position of the chief tope of — tallies with the site of Kunda Stupa described by Hwen Thsang	*ib.*
———. Principal tope of —	150
———. Caves of —	[illegible]
Kurudhwaj Tirath, a place near Thanesar	219
Kuru-Kshetra. Country immediately around Thanesar known under the name of —	213
———— between the Saraswati and Drishadwati Rivers ..	*ib.*
———— or the field of Kuru	*ib.*
————. District of — is also called Dharma-Kshetra ...	*ib.*
Kushan and Khushan. Name of Kuei-shwang written as — on their coins	43
————. **Kingly title of** Rao accepted by the —	69
Kutwar or Kamantalpur. An account of the old city of — ...	397

SUBJECT.	PAGE.
Kutwar originally called Kamantalpuri	398
———. Ruins of —	ib.
L	
Lahor. Raja of — compelled by the Gakars to cede a portion of territory to them	25
———. Jaya Pala established his capital at —	42
——— representing Salatura	95
Lake (holy) to the south of Thanesar	218
———. Centre of attraction for pilgrims	ib.
Lassen (Professor) collected Brahmanical accounts of Sakala from the Mahabharata	195
Later Turanians include those races who migrated to India ..	3
Legend of the famous spring at Hasan Abdal given by Moorcroft ...	136
——— referred to the Naga or Serpent King named Elapatra in the time of Hwen Thsang	ib.
——— (Buddhist) of the spring at Hasan Abdal	136, 138
——— of Rasalu	153
——— of Rasalu identified with that of Buddhist Sakya's offering of his body to appease seven tiger cubs	154, 155
Little Yuchi. Smaller division of the Yuchi called — proceeding into Tibet	62
——— or Kator. An account of the tribe of —	73
——— identified with the White Huns or Ephthalites ...	75
Loewenthal believes that Utakhanda was the modern Attak ...	93
Lohara or Sahi. Chiefs of — traced their descent from Salivahan ...	22
Lunde. Takari also called —	9
M	
Madra, a descendant of Anu	14
Madra-desa, the name given by Madra to a plain country between the Jhelam and the Ravi	ib.
Madr-des. Sakala or Sangala still known as —	196

Subject.	Page.
Magadha occupied by Jarasandha	15
Magians encountered by Timur	13
Mahi Pala. Date of —	376
Mahoba or Mahotsava. An account of the ancient city of — .	439
———. Description of —	ib.
———, a contraction of Mahotsavanagara or city of the great festival	445
———. Story of the foundation of —	ib.
Mahotsavanagara. Mahoba, contraction of —	ib.
Mahmud of Ghazni. Bairat during the reign of —	246
——— ———. Gakars joining the Hindu chiefs against — ..	24
Makam-ka-pind. A tope in Manikyala called —	165
Makh or Magh tribe. Makhowal, the town of the —	12
Makhowal, the town of the Makh or Magh tribe . .	ib.
Maliar-ka-Mora. Mound near the village of —	129
Malik Hath, a Gakar, came to the aid of Prithi Raj	24
——— or more correctly Asad	ib.
———. Gakar chief had borne the foreign title of — before he became a Muhammadan	ib.
Mall (Raja), the founder of Mallot	17
———. Janjuhas descended from —	ib.
Malli or Mali of Alexander's historians may be the same tribe as the Balas	34, 37
—— or people of Multan	37
Mandehi, a ruined mound and village to the south-east of Amba and Kapi	204
Mandrueni. Meds, or Mands, the representatives of — . ..	51, 52
Maniach, the vassal prince of the Sogdoites appeared at Constantinople in A. D. 569	77
Manikyala. An account of the village of —	152
——— not named by Chinese pilgrims	154

SUBJECT.	PAGE.
Manikyala identified with the scene of Rasalu legend	154
———. Descriptions of the various topes of —	159–170
No. 1 the Great tope explored by General Ventura ..	159
No. 2 tope explored by General Court	161
Stands on the spot where Buddha made an offering of his body to appease seven tiger-cubs ...	162
Nos. 3 to 7 described by General Court	165
No. 5 identified with the blood-oblation Stupa ...	ib.
No. 7 called Makam-ka-pind	ib.
Nos. 8, 9, 10, 11. 12, 13, 14 are all opened by General Court	165, 166
No. 15, called Sonala Pind, opened by Major-General Cunningham	166
No. 16, a sand-stone ridge called Pari-ki-dheri ...	168
No. 17, an earthen mound called Kota-ka-dheri ...	169
Nos. 19, 20, large low mounds	ib.
———, ruins of monasteries	170
Mardi or Amardi. The name of Abars or Sus has been compared with that of the tribe of —	48
———. Aparni and Parni, under the name of — coupled by Pliny with the Jatii	45
Mardieni. Aparni and Parni, under the name of — placed by Ptolemy in Sogdiana	ib.
Marusthala. Naba, King of —	16
Massagetœ and Dacœ must be the same as the Su and Tahia ...	48
———. Dahœ of the Caspian belonged to —	ib.
——— and Sakœ may be described as the Sus Jaxartes ...	49
Matsya. Vairat, the capital of —	244
Maurya King made a treaty with Antiochus the Great on the banks of the Indus	41
Mayana or Mayapura. An account of the town of —	301
Mayura (present Mayapur). An account of — given by Hwen Thsang	231

SUBJECT.	PAGE.
Medi not one of the five tribes of Yuchi or Tochari	52
——. Earliest notices of the — by the Muhammadan writers ...	53
——, followers of the great King Moas or Raja Moga	54
—— or Meds. An account of the tribe of —	51
Media. Country on the Hydaspes called — in the Peutingerian Tables	52
——. Abisares connected with the dragon-worshipping Scyths of —	23
Meds retired towards south and established in Upper Sindh ..	54
—— or Mands must have accompanied the Iatii or Jats on their forced migration from the Oxus	52
———— are two spellings of the same name	ib.
————. Earliest notices of the — by Virgil who calls Jhelam Medus Hydaspes	ib.
———— are the representatives of the Mandrueni who lived on the Mandrus River	51, 52
————, according to Muhammadan writers, established in Sindh along with the Jats	53
———— were not in Sindh at the time of Mahabharata .	ib
——. Panjab or Northern Indo-Scythia colonized by the — ..	55
Meg tribe. The name of the — probably preserved in the Megarsus River	12
Megarsus, the name given to the Satlaj by Dionysius Periegetes ...	ib.
————. Name of the Meg tribe probably preserved in the— ...	ib.
Megs. An account of the tribe of —	11
——— identified with the Mekei of Arrian	ib.
Mekie of Arrian identified with the Megs	ib.
Mer or Mand. Name of — is still found in Panjab	53
Mera-ka-dheri. A large square mound called — at Manikyala ...	163
Mhau Maidan. An account of the old city of —	292
————. Still existing remains of —	293
Min, a Scythian city found in Min-nagara	45

Subject.	Page.
Minnagara. Rulers of — were rival Parthians who were mutually expelling each other	54
Mithila occupied by the Surajvansi Aryas	15
Moas was a Saka according to tradition	54
—— (King) or Moga (Raja) Medi followers of —	ib.
——, founder of Moganagara or Mong on the Jhelum .	ib.
——, Vonones, Azas, and other immediate successors of —	ib.
——, Coins of	59
—— and Azas belonged to the [illegible] . .	16
Moganagara or Mong [illegible] founder of — ..	64
Monastery Foundation of [illegible] ..	145
——, Ruins of — traced [illegible] Hasan Abdal .	138
—— of the [illegible] large square mound now called [illegible]	164
Mong or Nikæa. An account of the city of — .	180
Moorcroft Legend of the spring at Hasan Abdal given by —	136
Moradhoj or Mayuradhvaja. A mound [illegible] called —	237
M[illegible] Ajmer described	258
Mothe, son of Teuman, given up to the Yuchi as a hostage .	62
——, Yuchi defeated by —	ib.
Mong[illegible] Darapur was the principal seat of [illegible]	16
Mound at Hasan Abdal probably the remains of temple ..	138
Movements of Alexander	174
Muhammad and his father Hasan Karluk had asserted their independence by striking coins in their own names .. .	10
Muhammadan version of the legend of the spring at Hasan Abdal ...	136
—— remains at Thanosar	222
Multan. Balas once held possession of —	34
——, The earliest name of — was Kasyapapura	69

SUBJECT.	PAGE.
Munde, a ruined mound and village to the south of Ransi ...	204
———. Takari is also called —	9
Murri and Margala Pass. The hilly country between — is the exact position of the district of Abhisara ...	23
Musalman Jats are said to occupy the district of Harand-Dajel ...	57
N	
Naba, according to the Yadava annals of Jesalmer, King of Marusthala	16
Naga Kings. Names of — found on coins	310
Nagari character called Takari	8
Nagas, a race of dragon-worshippers	9
Nalapura. Description of the fortress of —	319
——— or Narwar. An account of the city of —	307
Names of Naga Kings found on coins	310
Nara-Sinha or Ransi. An account of the place called — ..	202
Narain of Abu Rihan identified with Narayan, the capital of Bairat or Matsya	242
Narod or Ranod. An account of the old town of —	303
Narwar or Nalapura. An account of the city of —	307
———, the ancient city of Padmavati	308
——— Inscription dated in S. 1177 or A. D. 1120	312
——— surrendered to Nasir-ud-din Mahmud of Delhi in A. D. 1251 ...	314
———. Ancient coins of —	*ib.*
——— held by the Tomar dynasty of Gwalior from A. D. 1398 to 1506	317
Nasir-ud-din Mahmud of Delhi captured Narwar in A. D. 1251 ...	314
Nikæa, the city which Alexander built on the scene of his battle with Porus	187
——— identified with Mong	*ib.*

SUBJECT.	PAGE.
Ninua. Taxila compared with — by Philostratus	113, 114
Nishâpur or Abâr-Shahar in Khorasan, the capital of the Abar or Afar	29
Nolas. An account of the place called —	206
Nomarch Sopeithes. Country of the —	36
Nur discovered relics in a tope at Taxila	130
— discovered a copper plate inscription in a tope at Taxila ...	133
Nurabad. An account of the town of —	397
O.	
Ohind or Udakhanda. An account of the city of —	92
—. The name of — written as Waihand or Oaihand by Abu Rihan in A. D. 1030	*ib.*
— called Bihanda by Ferishta	93
— the most probable site of Embolima	103
Ophiolatrous race. Kashmir originally peopled by the — ...	10
P.	
Pabhi range of hills in Jalalpur	178
Padmarti, the present Narwar	308
Pakores. Parthian name found in —	47
— one of the latest of the Indo-Scythian Kings ...	*ib.*
Palodheri or Varusha. An account of the village of — ...	90, 91
Pancha Pandava. Yudhishthira and his brothers called the — ...	15
Panchala occupied by Drupada	*ib.*
Pandus. Sat-ghara or "Seven temples" at Katas attributed to the —	189
Panini. Salatura, the birth-place of —	95
Panjab Proper. Ethnology of the —	1
— appropriated by the Anavas, the descendants of Anu ...	14
— or Northern Indo-Scythia colonized by the Meds ...	55

SUBJECT.	PAGE.
Paralatæ and Aparni. The connexion between — corroborated by a statement of Strabo	32
——— or Royal Scythians of Herodotus identified with the Parii or Pissuri	49, 50
Parashawara. Antiquities of — described by Hwen Thsang ...	87
Parihara Rajas of Gwalior	378
Pari-ki-dheri. A sand-stone ridge called — in Manikyala ...	168
Parikshita. Death of — by the serpent Takshaka	9
Parri or Pissuri identified with Paralatæ or Royal Scythians of Herodotus	49
Parthia. Abisares connected with the dragon-worshipping Scyths of —	23
Parthians were the rulers of Indo-Scythia as stated by the author of the Periplus	47
———. Su or Sakas not distinguishable from —	ib.
Pasiani, an Indo-Scythian tribe, according to Strabo	43
Pasupati, son of Toramana	310, 311
———. Inscription of — found at Gwalior	311
Paurava. Name of — only kept by Drupada	15
Pauravas or descendants of Puru, a son of Yayati	ib.
———. Valley of the Ganges appropriated by the — ...	ib.
——— Chaj and Rechna Doabs occupied by the — prior to the Macedonian invasion	17
Periplus. The author of the — calls the countries at the mouth of the Indus the "Seaboard of Scythia"	46
———. The statement of the author of the — that Parthians were the rulers of Indo-Scythia	47
Peshawar or Parashawara. An account of the city called — ...	87
———. Grand Caravansari of — was built on the site of the Garh-Katri	89
Peutingerian Tables. Taukur or Takor most probably the Tahora of the —	7
Philostratus. Customs of the people of Taxila recorded by — ...	6